THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION and CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

VOLUME III. PART I.



ENGLAND

IN

REBELLION and CIVIL WARS

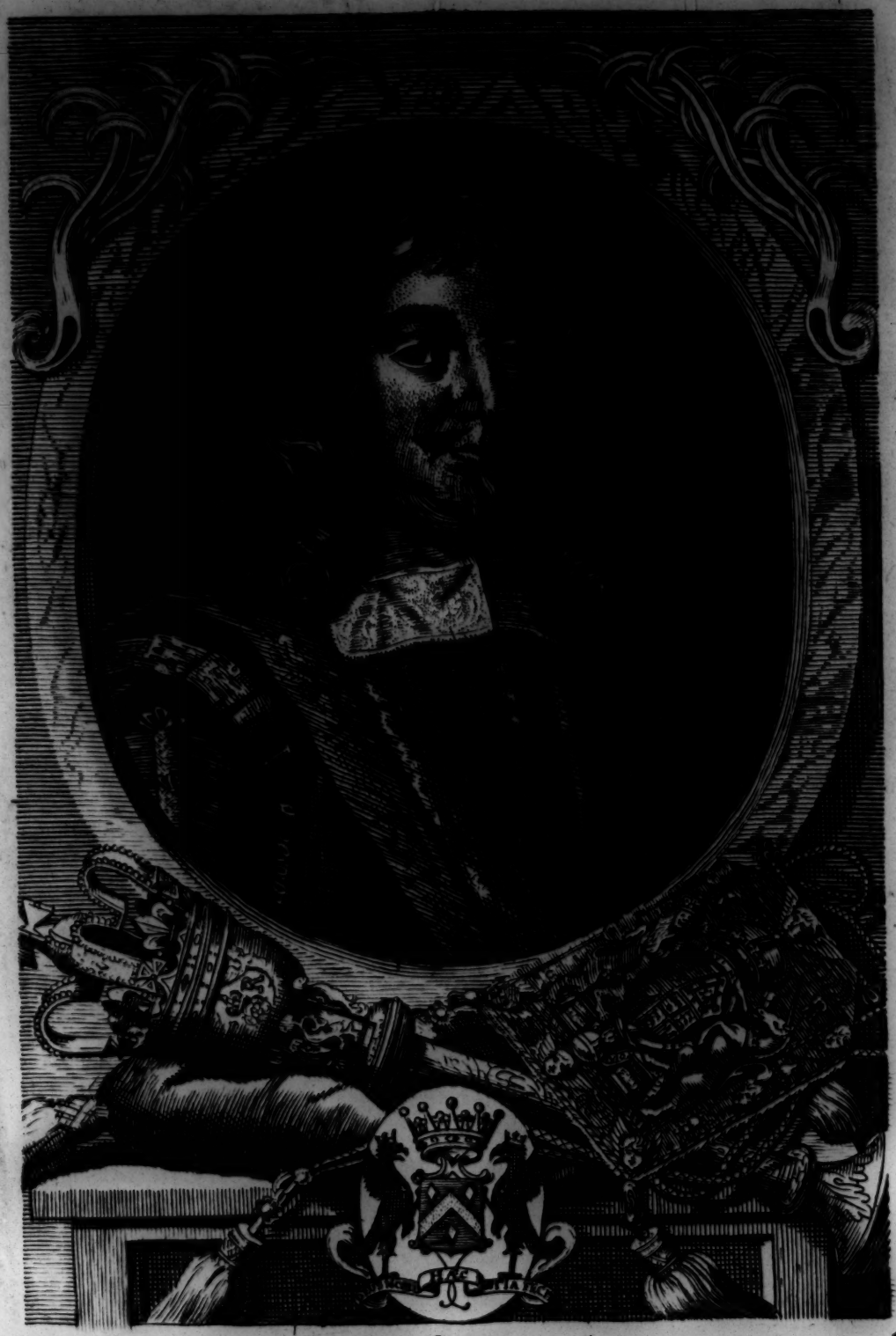
OF THE

HISTORY

THE



BRITISH NAVAL MUSEUM
30 APR 73



Edward Earle of CLARENDON Lord High CHANCELLOR of England and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Anº Dñi. 1667.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION and CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Paſſages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Concluſion thereof by the KING's bleſſed RESTORATION, and RETURN, upon the 29th of *May*, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honourable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High Chancellor of *England*, Privy Counſellor in the Reigns of King CHARLES the Firſt and the Second.

Κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. *Thucyd.*

Ne quid Falſi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

VOLUME III. PART I.

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TO THE QUEEN.

MADAM,

WITH all Duty and Submiſſion comes into the World the laſt part of this Hiſtory under Your Majeſty's Protection; a juſt Tribute to Your Majeſty, as well on the account of the Memory of the Author, ſo long engaged, and ſo uſefully, in the Service of the Crown, as of the work it ſelf, ſo worthily memorable for the great Subject He treats of; and ſo inſtructive, by his noble way of treating it.

This work, now it is compleatly publiſh'd, relates the Tranſactions of near Twenty Years, hardly to be paralell'd in any other time, or place, for the wonderful turns, and paſſages in it. In this ſpace of Time, Your Majeſty ſees Your own Country at the higheſt pitch of Happineſs and Proſperity, and the loweſt degree of Adverſity and Miſery. So that, when a Man carries his Thoughts and

his Memory over all the Occurrences of those Times, he seems to be under the power of some Enchantment, and to dream, rather than read the Relations of so many surprising Revolutions. The Peace and the Plenty of this Kingdom, and, in so short a space of time, the bloody desolation of it by a most wicked Rebellion, the ruin of so many noble and great Families, and the devestation of their Estates; and, after this, the Restitution of all things as at the Beginning, *is hardly credible at this time, even so soon after all these things came to pass.*

When Your Majesty sees one of Your Royal Ancestors, the first who liv'd to Reign as Heir to the two Crowns of Great Britain *united, and, on that account, higher in Reputation, Honour, and Power, than any of his Predecessors, brought, by unaccountable Administrations on the one hand, and by vile Contrivances on the other, into the greatest difficulties and distresses throughout all his Kingdoms; then left and abandon'd by most of his Servants, whom he had himself raised to the greatest Honours, and Preferments; thus reduced to have scarce one faithful able Councellor about him, to whom he could* breathe his Conscience and Complaints, *and from whom he might expect one honest, sound, disinteressed Advice: after this, how he was obliged to take up Arms, and to contend with his own Subjects in the Field for his Crown, the Laws, his Liberty, and Life; there meeting with unequal fortune, how he was driven from one part of the Kingdom, and from one Body of an Army to another, till at last he was brought under the power of cruel and mercileſs Men, Imprison'd, Arraign'd, Condemn'd, and Executed like a common Malefactor: And after this still, when Your Majesty sees his Enemies triumphing for a time in their own guilt, and ruling over their fellows, and first companions in wickedness, with successful Insolence, till these very Men by force, and fraud, and sundry artifices, still getting the better one of another, brought all Government into such Confusion and Anarchy, that no one of them could subsist; and how then, by God's Providence, the Heir of the Royal Martyr was invited and brought home by the Generality of*

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the People, and their Repreſentatives, to return, and take on him the Government, in as full an Exerciſe of it as any of his Predeceſſors had ever enjoy'd, not ſubject to any of thoſe Treaties, or Conditions, which had been ſo often offer'd by his Father to the Men then in credit, and power; and, in their pride and fury, had been as often rejected by them: When your Majeſty ſees before You all this begun, aud carried on in Violence and War, and concluded in a peaceful Reſtauration, within the ſpace of twenty years, by Engliſh-*Men alone amongſt themſelves, without the Intervention of any Foreign Power; many of the ſame hands joyning in the Recovery and Settlement, as they had done before in the Deſtruction of their Country; Your Majeſty will certainly ſay,* This was the Lord's doing, and it muſt ever be marvellous in our eyes.

An Account of this great work of God coming to be publiſh'd in Your Majeſty's time, it is humbly conceiv'd not improper to congratulate Your good fortune, that, in the beginning of Your Reign, ſuch a Hiſtory of the greateſt Matters paſs'd within Your own Dominions, comes to light; as well for the neceſſity there may be, after above forty years run out in a very unſettled and various management of the publick Affairs, to put Men in mind again of thoſe miſchiefs under which ſo many great Men fell on both ſides, as in hopes, that on Your Majeſty's account, and for the Glory of Your Name, whom Your People have univerſally receiv'd with joy, this Generation may be inclin'd to let theſe freſh examples of Good and Evil ſink into their Minds, and make the deeper impreſſion in them to follow the one, and avoid the other.

From the Year 1660 *to very near* 1685, *which was the time of King* Charles *the Second's Reign here in* England, *it muſt needs be own'd, that, with all the very good Underſtanding, and excellent good Nature of that King, there was a great mixture of Counſels, and great viciſſitudes of good and bad Events, almoſt throughout that ſpace of time attending his Government. They ſeem indeed to be ſomewhat like the four Seaſons of the Years;*

of which three Quarters are generally fair, hopeful, flouriſhing, and gay; but there come as conſtantly ſevere Winters, that freeze, wither, deſtroy, and cut off many hopeful plants, and expectations of things to come.

It muſt be own'd too, ſince it can never be concealed, that, from the beginning of the Reſtauration, there was, certainly, not ſuch a Return to God Almighty for the wonderful Bleſſings he had pour'd out with ſo liberal a hand, as no doubt was due to the great Author and Giver of all that Happineſs: Neither was there ſuch a prudence in the Adminiſtration, or ſuch a ſteadineſs in the conduct of Affairs, as the freſh Experience of the foregone Misfortunes might well have forewarn'd thoſe that were entruſted in it, to have purſued with Courage and Conſtancy. It is but too notorious there was great forgetfulneſs of God, as well as manifeſt Miſtakes towards the World; which quickly brought forth fruits meet for ſuch undutifulneſs, and ill conduct.

The next four Years after that Reign were attended with more fatal Miſcarriages; over which it may be more decent to draw a Veil, than to enter into a particular enumeration of them. Many great Princes have been led unawares into irrecoverable Errors; and the greater they are, ſo many more particular Perſons are uſually involv'd in the Calamity.

What follow'd after this time, till Your Majeſty's moſt happy coming to the Throne, is ſo freſh in the memory of all Men yet living, that every one will be beſt able to make his own obſervation upon it. Such Deliverances have their pangs in their Birth, that much weaken the Conſtitution, in endeavouring to preſerve, and amend it.

And now Your Majeſty, who ſucceeds to a Revolution, as well as a Reſtoration, has the advantage of a retroſpect on all theſe Accidents, and the benefit of reviewing all the failings in thoſe times; and whatſoever was wanting, at thoſe opportunities of amending paſt Errors, in the management of Affairs, for the better eſtabliſhment of the Crown, and the ſecurity of the true old Engliſh *Government, it will be Your Majeſty's happineſs to ſup-*

ply

ply in Your time: A time in some sort resembling the auspicious beginning of King Charles *the Second's Restoration; for in that time, as now in Your Majesty's, the People of this Kingdom ran chearfully into Obedience; the chiefest Offenders lay quiet under a sense of their own Crimes, and an apprehension of the reward justly due to them; and all Your Subjects went out to meet Your Majesty with Duty, and most with Love.*

Comparisons of Times may be as odious as that of Persons; and therefore no more shall be said here on that Subject, than that since the Restoration, and some few Years after it, given up to joy, and the forgetfulness of past Miseries, there hath been no time that brought so much hope of quiet, and so general a satisfaction to these Kingdoms, as that on which we saw Your Majesty so happily seated upon the Throne of Your Ancestors. Among all the signs of greatness and glory in a Prince's Reign, there is none more really advantageous, none more comfortable, than that which Virgil *remarks as a felicity in the time of* Augustus.

When Abroad the Soveraign is prosperous, and at
Home does Govern Subjects willing to obey:

When it is not fear that drives and compels them, but affection and loving kindness that draws them, to their Duty; and makes them rejoyce under the Laws by which they are Govern'd. Such was certainly the time of Your Majesty's first Entrance; and such God grant it may be Ever.

The two first Volumes of this History have laid before Your Majesty the original causes, and the foundations of the Rebellion, and Civil War; the contrivances, designs, and consultations in it; and the miserable events of it; and seem'd to have finish'd the whole War, when the Author, at the very end of the Ninth Book, says, that From that time there remain'd no possibility for the King to draw any more Troops together in the Field. *And when there's an end of Action in the Field, the inquiries into the consequences afterwards are usually less warm.*

But it happens in the Course of this History, that several new Scenes of new Wars, and the Events of them,

are open'd in this Volume; which, it is hoped, will prove exceeding useful, even in those parts, where, by reason of the sadness of the Subject, it cannot be delightful, and, in all other parts of it, both useful and delightful.

Your Majesty especially, who must have Your Heart perpetually intent to see what follow'd in the close of all those Wars, and by what means and methods the loss of all that Noble and Innocent Blood, and particularly that portion of the Royal Stream then spilt, was recompensed upon Their Heads who were the Wicked Contrivers of the Parricide, and how at last the Miseries of these Nations, and the Sufferings of Your Royal Family were all recover'd by God Almighty's own unerring Hand, will, no doubt, be more agreeably entertain'd in this Volume with the Relation of the secret steps of the return of God's Mercy, than when he still seem'd openly to have forsaken His own oppressed Cause; wherein so much of what was dearest to Your self was so highly concern'd.

Of the Transactions within these Kingdoms, soon after the War was ended, especially just before and after the barbarous Murther of the Blessed King, this Author could have but short and imperfect Informations abroad. It cannot therefore justly be expected that he should be so full, or minute in many circumstances relating to the Actions and Consultations of that Party here at home, as are to be found in some other Writers, whose business it was to intend only such matters.

One thing indeed were very much to be wish'd, that he had given the World a more distinct, and particular Narrative of that Pious King's last most magnanimous Sufferings in his Imprisonments, Trial, and Death. But it seems the remembrance of all those deplorable Passages was so grievous, and insupportable to the Writer's mind, that he abhorr'd the dwelling long upon them, and chose rather to contract the whole black Tragedy within too narrow a compass. But this is a loss that can only now be lamented, not repair'd.

But when the History brings Your Majesty to what the Noble Writer esteem'd one of his principal businesses in this Volume, to attend King Charles *the Second, and his*

Two

Two Royal Brothers, throughout all their wandrings, which take up a conſiderable ſhare of it, and are moſt accurately and knowingly deſcrib'd by him, as having been a conſtant Witneſs of moſt of them, it is preſum'd, This part may give Your Majeſty equal ſatisfaction to any that is gone before it. It will not be unpleaſant to Your Majeſty, ſince You have known ſo well the happy Concluſion of it, to ſee the Baniſh'd King under his long adverſe Fortune, and how many Years of Trouble and Diſtreſs he patiently waited God Almighty's appointed time, for his Redemption from that Captivity.

In that diſconſolate time of Diſtreſs and lowneſs of his Fortune, Your Majeſty will find cauſe to obſerve, that there were Factions even Then in his little Court beyond Sea; ſo inſeparable are ſuch undecent and unchriſtian Contentions from all Communities of Men: They are like Tares ſown by an Enemy amongſt the Wheat, whilſt good Men ſleep.

Upon the Subject of the Factions in thoſe days, there is a particular Paſſage in this Hiſtory, of two Parties in that Court abroad, who thought it worth their while, even Then to be very induſtrious in proſecuting this Author with unjuſt and falſe Accuſations. And the Author himſelf obſerves, that howſoever thoſe Parties ſeem'd, on moſt other accounts, incompatible the one with the other, they were very heartily united in endeavouring to compaſs His deſtruction; and for no other reaſon, that ever appear'd, but his being an unwearied Aſſertor of the Church of England's *Cauſe, and a conſtant Friend and Servant to the true Intereſt of it; to which either of Them was really more irreconcileable, than they were to each other, whatſoever they pretended.*

This paſſage ſeems to deſerve a particular reflection, becauſe, within few Years after that King's Reſtoration, ſome of both thoſe Parties joyn'd again in attacking this Noble Author, and accuſing him anew of the very ſame pretended Crimes they had objected to him abroad; where there had been ſo much Malice ſhew'd on one ſide, and ſo much natural and irreſiſtible Innocency appear'd on the other, that one would have thought, no Arrow out of the

ſame

ſame Quiver, could have been enough envenom'd to have hurt ſo faithful, ſo conſtant, and ſo tried a Servant to the Church and Crown.

This particular, and another, wherein Your Majeſty will find what Advice this Author gave his Royal Maſter, upon the occaſion of his being much preſſed to go to Church to Charenton, *and how ſome Intrigues, and Snares, cunningly laid on one ſide, were very plainly and boldly withſtood on the other by this Author, will let the World ſee, why this Man was by any means to be remov'd if his Adverſaries could effect it, as one that was perpetually croſſing their Miſchievous Deſigns, by an habitual courſe of adhering unmoveably to the Intereſt of this Church and Nation.*

In the progreſs of this Book, Your Majeſty will alſo find ſome very near that King whilſt he was obroad, endeavouring to take advantage of the forlorn and deſperate Circumſtances of his Fortune, to perſwade him, that the Party who had Fought for his Father, was an inſignificant, a deſpicable, and undone Number of Men; and, on this account, putting him on the thoughts of Marrying ſome Roman Catholick Lady, who might engage thoſe of that Religion, both at Home and Abroad, in his Majeſty's Intereſt; Others at the ſame time, with equal importunity, recommending the power of the Presbyterians, as moſt able to do him Service, and bring him Home.

This Noble Author all this while perſiſted, in the integrity of his Soul, to uſe that credit his Faithfulneſs and Truth had gain'd him, to convince the King, that Forreign Force was a ſtrength not deſireable for him to depend on, and, if it were ſuſpected to be on the Intereſt of Popery, of all things moſt likely to prevent, and diſappoint his Reſtoration; that for his own Subjects, none of them were to be neglected; his Arms ought to be ſtretch'd out to receive them all; but the old Royal Party was That his Majeſty ſhould chiefly rely on, both to aſſiſt him in his Return, and afterwards to eſtabliſh his Government.

This Noble Author had been a watchful obſerver of all that had paſſed in the time of the Troubles; and had the opportunity to have ſeen the Actions, and penetrated, in a good

good measure, into the Consultations of those days, and was no ill Judge of the Temper and Nature of Mankind; and He, it seems, could not be of opinion, but that They who had ventur'd all for the Father, would be the truest and firmest Friends to the Son.

Whether this grew up in him to be his judgement, from his observation of the Rules of Nature, and a general practice in all Wise Men to depend most on the Service, and Affection of those who had been steady to them in their distresses; or whether a Lukewarm Trimming indifferency, though sometimes dignified with the Character of Politicks, did not suit with His plain dealing, it is certain, he never could Advise a Prince to hold a Conduct that should grieve, and disoblige his old Friends, in hope of getting new ones, and make all his old Enemies rejoyce. But however his Malicious Prosecutors afterwards scandalized him, as being the Author of such Counsels, and objected to him what was their own advice and practice, He really thought this kind of Conduct weaken'd the hands, and tended to the Subversion of any Government. And the success has approv'd this judgement; for in the very inconstant, and variable Administration under that King, it was found by Experience, and to this day the Memorials of it are extant, that he had Quiet and Calm days, or more Rough and Boisterous Weather, as he favour'd, or discountenanced his own Party; *call'd indeed a* Party *by the Enemies of it, upon a Levelling Principle of allowing no distinctions; though all who have contended against it, were properly but* Parties; *whilst that was then, and is still, on the advantage-ground of being Establish'd by the Laws, and Incorporated into the Government.*

By degrees your Majesty is brought, in the course of this History, as it were to the Top of some exalted height, from whence You may behold all the Errors and Misfortunes of the Time past with advantage to Your self; may view Armies drawn up, and Battles Fought, without Your part of the Danger; and by the Experience of former Misfortunes, Establish Your own Security.

It seems to be a Situation not unlike that of the Temple of Wisdom in Lucretius; *from whence he advises his*

Readers

Readers to look down on all the Vanity and Hurry of the World. And as that Philoſophical Poet does very movingly deſcribe the purſuits of thoſe whom he juſtly ſtyles Miſerable Men, diſtracting themſelves in wearisome Contentions about the Buſineſs and Greatneſs of an empty World; ſo does this Noble Hiſtorian with true and evident deductions from one Cauſe and Event to another, and ſuch an agreeable thread of entertainment, that one is never content to give over reading, bring Your Majeſty to an eaſy aſcent over all the knowledge of thoſe Miſerable times; from whence not in ſpeculation only, but really and experimentally, You may look down on all the folly, and madneſs and wickedneſs of thoſe ſecret Contrivances, and open Violences, whereby the Nation, as well as the Crown, was brought to Deſolation; and ſee how falſly and weakly thoſe great and buſy diſturbers of Peace pretended Reformation, and Religion, and to be ſeeking God in every one of their Rebellious and Sinful Actions; whereas God was not to be found in their Thunder, nor their Earthquakes, that ſeem'd to ſhake the foundations of the World; but in the ſtill voice of Peace he came at laſt, to defeat and diſappoint all their Inventions: That God, to whom Vengeance belongs, aroſe, and ſhew'd himſelf in defence of that Righteous Cauſe of the Crown and Church; which Your Majeſty will obſerve to have been Combin'd againſt, Fought with, Overthrown, and in the end Rais'd and Reeſtabliſhed together. Now theſe things happen'd for enſamples, and they are written for our admonition.

It is now moſt humbly ſubmitted to Your Majeſty's Judgment, whether the conſideration of theſe matters, ſet forth in this Hiſtory, be not the moſt uſeful proſpect, not for Your ſelf only, but Your Nobleſt Train, Your great Council, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in Parliament aſſembled.

When Your Majeſty is ſo attended, by God's bleſſing, no Power on Earth will be able to diſappoint Your Wiſdom, or reſiſt Your Will. And there may be need of all this Power and Authority, to preſerve and defend Your Subjects, as well as your Crown, from the like Diſtractions and Invaſions. There may want the concurrence of a

Parlia-

Parliament, to prevent the return of the ſame miſchievous Practices, and to reſtrain the madneſs of Men of the ſame Principles in this Age, as deſtroy'd the laſt: ſuch as think themſelves even more capable than thoſe in the laſt, to carry on the like wicked deſigns; ſuch as take themſelves to be inform'd, even from this Hiſtory, how to mend the miſtakes then committed by the principal Directors on that ſide, and by a more refin'd skill in wickedneſs to be able once again to overthrow the Monarchy, and then to perpetuate the deſtruction of it.

There is no doubt, Madam, but every thing that is repreſented to Your Majeſty of this Nature, will find a Party ready to deny it; that will joyn hand in hand to aſſure the World there is no ſuch thing. It is a Common Cauſe, and it is their Intereſt, if they can, to perſwade Men, that it is only the heat and warmth of High-Church *Inventions, that ſuggeſt ſuch Fears and Jealouſies.*

But let any impartial Perſon judge, to whom all the Libertines of the Republican Party are like to unite themſelves; and whether it is imaginable, that the Eſtabliſh'd Government either in Church or State, can be ſtrengthened, or ſerv'd by them. They muſt go to the Enemies of Both, and pretend there is no ſuch thing as a Republican Party in England, *that they may be the leſs obſerv'd, and go on the more ſecure in their deſtructive Projects.*

They can have no better Game to play, than to declare, that none but Jacobites *alarm the Nation with theſe Apprehenſions; and that* Jacobites *are much greater Enemies than Themſelves to Your Majeſty. Let that be ſo: no Man, in his Wits, can ſay any thing to Your Majeſty in behalf of any, let them be who they will, that will not own Your Government, and wiſh the Proſperity and the Happineſs of it, and contribute all they can to maintain it.*

But whilſt theſe Men moſt falſly aſperſe the Sons of the Church of England *for being* Jacobites, *let them rather clear themſelves of what they were lately charged before Your Majeſty, that there are Societies of them which celebrate the horrid Thirtieth of* January, *with an execrable Solemnity of ſcandalous Mirth; and that they*

have

have Seminaries, and a ſort of Univerſities, in England, *maintain'd by great Contributions, where the fierceſt Doctrines againſt Monarchical, and Epiſcopal Government, are Taught and Propogated, and where they bear an implacable hatred to Your Majeſty's Title, Name, and Family.*

This ſeems to be a Torrent that cannot be reſiſted but by the whole Legiſlative Authority; neither can Your Throne, which they are thus perpetually aſſaulting, or undermining, be ſupported by a leſs Power.

In theſe difficulties Your great Council will, over and above their Perſonal duty to Your Majeſty, take themſelves to be more concern'd to be zealous in the defence of Your Royal Prerogative, as well as of their own juſt Rights and Privileges, in that it was under the Name and Style of a Parliament, though very unjuſtly ſo called, that all the Miſchiefs mention'd in this Hiſtory were brought upon the Kingdom.

They beſt can diſcover the Craft and Subtilty formerly uſed in thoſe Conſultations; which firſt inveigled, and drew Men in from one wickedneſs to another, before they were aware of what they were doing; and engaged them to think themſelves not ſafe, but by doing greater Evils than they began with.

They will, no doubt, be filled with a juſt indignation againſt all that Hypocriſy and Villany, by which the Engliſh *Name, and Nation, were expoſed to the Cenſure of the reſt of the World: They only can be able to preſent Your Majeſty with remedies proper, and adequate to all theſe Evils, by which God may be Glorified, and the ancient Conſtitution of this Government Retriev'd, and Supported.*

There is one Calamity more, that ſtands in need of a Cure from Your own Soveraign hand. It is in truth a peculiar Calamity fallen moſt heavily on this Age, which though it took its chief riſe from the diſorderly diſſolute times of thoſe Wars, and has monſtrouſly increaſed ever ſince, yet was never own'd ſo much as Now, and that is a barefaced contempt, and diſuſe of all Religion whatſoever. And indeed what could ſo much feign'd San-

Sanctity, and ſo much real Wickedneſs, during that Rebellion begun in 1641, *produce elſe in fooliſh Mens hearts, than to ſay,* There is no God?

This Irreligion was then pretended to be cover'd with a more ſignal Morality and preciſe ſtrictneſs in Life and Converſation, which was to be a recompence for the loſs of Chriſtianity. But now, even that Shadow of Godlineſs and Virtue is fled too. Atheiſm, and Profaneſs, diligently cultivated, have not failed to produce a proſtitution of all Manners in contempt of all Government.

This Profaneſs and Impiety ſeems, next to the horrible Confuſions of the late Rebellion, to have gain'd ground chiefly by this method, that, when many who have been in Authority have not, on ſeveral Accounts, been heartily affected to the ſupport of the Church Eſtabliſh'd by Law, there has crept in, by little and little, a liberty againſt all Religion. For where the chief Adviſers or Managers of Publick Affairs, have inclin'd to alterations, which the Eſtabliſh'd Rules have not countenanced, they durſt not cauſe the Laws to be put in Execution, for fear of turning the force of them on Themſelves; ſo their next refuge has been to ſuffer Men to obſerve no Diſcipline, or Government at all.

Thus the Church of England, *put to Nurſe, as it were, ſometimes to ſuch as have been inclined to Popery, and ſometimes to other Sects, and ſometimes to Men indifferent to all Religion, hath been in danger of being ſtarv'd, or overlaid, by all of them; and the ill conſequence has redounded not only to the Members of that Communion, but to all the Profeſſors of Chriſtianity it ſelf.*

Whoever have ventur'd to give warning of theſe wicked deſigns and practices, have been render'd as Perſons of ill temper and very bad affections. They that have been in Credit and Authority, have been frequently inclin'd to be favourable to the Men complain'd of; it has been offer'd on their behalf, that their intentions were good; and that it was even the Intereſt of the Government to cover their Principles, whatever might be the conſequences of them.

Thus theſe Miſchiefs have been ſtill growing, and no Laws have hitherto reach'd them; and, poſſibly, they are become

become incapable of a remedy; unless your Majesty's great Example of Piety and Virtue shall have sufficient influence to amend them: No honest Man can say it is not reasonable, and even necessary, to watch them; and that, in compassion to Your Subjects, as well as Justice to Your self. This History hath shewn Your Majesty their Fruits in the late Times, by which You shall know them still; for Your Majesty well remembers Who has said, that

Men do not gather Grapes of Thorns, or Figs of Thistles.

That God may give Your Majesty a discerning Spirit, a wise, and understanding Heart, to judge aright of all things that belong to Your Peace; *that He may enable You to subdue Your Enemies Abroad by successful Counsels, and Arms, and to reduce Your Ill willers at Home by prudent Laws, administer'd with the Meekness of Wisdom; that he would give You Length of Days in one hand, and Riches and Honour in the other; that You, in Your days, may have the Glory to restore good Nature (for which the* English *Nation was formerly so celebrated) and good Manners, as well as the sincere Profession, and Universal Practice of the True Religion, in Your Kingdoms; and that His Almighty Power may defend You with His favourable Kindness as with a Shield, against all Your Adversaries of every kind, are the Zealous, Constant, and Devout Prayers of so many Millions, that it were the highest presumption in any One Person, to subscribe a particular Name to so Universal a Concern.*

THE

THE
History of the Rebellion, &c.
BOOK X.

Jer. XXX. 6.

Wherefore do I ſee every Man with his hands on his loins, as a Woman in travail, and all faces are turn'd into paleneſs?

Jer. XLVII. 6.

O thou ſword of the Lord, how long will it be e're thou be quiet? put up thy ſelf into thy ſcabbard, reſt, and be ſtill.

Ezek. XXXIV. 2.

Woe be to the Shepherds of Iſrael, that do feed themſelves; ſhould not the Shepherds feed the Flocks?

THE Actions of the laſt Year were attended with ſo many diſmal Accidents and Events, that there were no ſeeds of hope left to ſpring up in this enſuing ill year; for it was enough diſcern'd how little ſucceſs the Treaty with the *Scots* would produce; which yet the King did not deſire to put a period to, otherwiſe than by poſitively declaring, "That he would never conſent to the alteration "of the Church Government, but was willing enough that they ſhould entertain any other hopes, and was not himſelf without hope, that by ſatisfying the Ambition, and Intereſt of particular Men, he might mitigate the rigour of the Presbyterian Faction; and to that purpoſe Monſieur *Montrevil* was gone from *London* to the *Scotiſh* Army, then before *Newark*, having taken *Oxford* in his way, and ſo given an Account to

the King of his observations, and receiv'd from him such Information and Instruction as was necessary for the work in hand.

In the mean time no ways were left untryed to draw such a Body of an Army together, as might enable his Majesty to make some attempt upon the Enemy; and if he could, by all possible endeavours, have drawn out of all his Garrisons left, a force of five thousand Horse and Foot (which at that time seem'd a thing not to be despaired of) he did more desire to have lost his life, in some signal attempt upon any part of the Enemies Army, than to have enjoyed any conditions which he foresaw he was ever like to obtain by Treaty; and he was not out of hope of a Body of five thousand Foot to be landed in *Cornwal*, which his Letters from *France* confidently promised, and which had been so much expected, and depended upon by the Prince, that it kept him from transporting himself into *Silly*, till *Fairfax* was march'd (as hath been said before) within little more than twenty Miles of *Pendennis*. For Sr *Dudley Wyat* had been sent expresly from the Lord *Jermyn*, to assure the Prince, that such a Body of five thousand Foot were actually raised under the Command of *Ruvignie*, and should be Embark'd for *Pendennis* within less than a month; and the Lord *Jermyn*, in a Postscript to that Letter which he writ to the Chancellor of the Exchequer by Sr *Dudley Wyat*, wished him not to be too strict in the computation of the Month from the date of the Letter, because there might be accidents of Winds at that Season; but he desired him to be confident, that they should be all landed within the expiration of six Weeks, and by that Measure to conduct the resolutions, and to decline fighting upon that Account: After all this, it is as true, that there was never a Man at this time levied, or design'd for that Expedition, only the Name of *Ruvignie* (because he was of the Religion, and known to be a good Officer) had been mention'd, in some loose discourse by the Cardinal, as one who would be very fit to Command any Troops which might be sent into *England* for the relief of the King; which the other, according to his natural credulity, thought to be Warrant enough to give both the King and the Prince that unreasonable Expectation; the which and many other of that great Lord's Negotiations and Transactions, the succeeding, and long continuing Misfortunes, kept from being ever after examin'd, or consider'd and reflected upon.

The Prince stayed in the Isle of *Silly* from *Wednesday* the 4th of *March*, till *Thursday* the 16th of *April*, the Wind having continued so contrary, that the Lords *Capel* and *Hopton* came not to him from *Cornwal* till the *Saturday* before; at which time likewise arriv'd a Trumpeter from Sr *Thomas Fairfax*, with such a Message from the Parliament to the Prince

Prince as might well be called a Summons, rather than an Invitation; yet it was well it came not to *Pendennis*, where it would have found a Party among the Prince's Servants. The next Morning, being *Sunday*, a Fleet of about twenty seven, or twenty eight Sail of Ships, incompassed the Island; but within three or four hours, by a very notable Tempest, which continued two days, they were dispersed. Upon this, and a clear determination of the weakness of the Place, if it should be attacked by any considerable strength (which both by the Message and the Attendants of it they had reason to apprehend) together with the extreme scarcity of Provisions in that Island, which had not been, in the six weeks the Prince staid there, supplied with Victual for two days out of *Cornwal*, neither had there been any returns from *France* upon the Lord *Colepepper*'s application to the Queen, which returns would every day grow more difficult by the Season of the Year, his Highness inclin'd to remove to *Jersey*; against which nothing could be objected of Weight, but the consideration of the King's being at *London* (which was strongly reported still) in a Treaty; and then, that his Highness's remove, especially if by distress of Weather, he should be forced into *France*, might be prejudicial to the King; and therefore it would be reasonable, first to expect some Advertisement from his Majesty in what condition he was. Hereupon his Highness produced in Council this ensuing Letter from the King, which was writ shortly after the Battle of *Naseby*, and which he had conceal'd till that Morning from all the Lords, and which truly, I think, was the only secret he had ever kept from the Four he had trusted.

Hereford the 23d *of June* 1645.

Charles,

"My late misfortunes remember me to command you that "which I hope you shall never have occasion to obey; it is "this; If I should at any time be taken Prisoner by the Re- "bels, I command you (upon my blessing) never to yield to "any conditions, that are dishonourable, unsafe for your Per- "son, or Derogatory to Regal Authority, upon any conside- "rations whatsoever, though it were for the saving of my "Life; which in such a Case, I am most confident, is in "greatest security by your constant resolution, and not a whit "the more in danger for their threatning, unless thereby you "should yield to their desires. But let their Resolutions be "never so Barbarous, the saving of my Life by complying "with them would make me end my days with torture, and "disquiet of mind, not giving you my Blessing, and Cursing

A Letter from the King to the Prince, written from Hereford; June 23. 1645.

"all the reſt who are conſenting to it. But your conſtancy "will make me die chearfully, praiſing God for giving me ſo "gallant a Son, and heaping my bleſſings on you; which "you may be confident (in ſuch a caſe) will light on you. "I charge you to keep this Letter ſtill ſafe by you, until you "ſhall have cauſe to uſe it; and then, and not till then, to "ſhew it to all your Council; it being my command to them, "as well as you; whom I pray God to make as proſperouſly "glorious as any of the Predeceſſors ever were of.

"Your loving Father, *Charles R.*

AFTER the reading this Letter, and a Conſideration of the probability that the Rebels would make ſome attempt upon his Highneſs there, and the impoſſibility of reſiſting ſuch an attempt in the condition the Iſland then ſtood, it was by his Highneſs with great earneſtneſs propoſed, and by the whole Council (except the Earl of *Berk-ſhire*) unanimouſly adviſed, that the opportunity ſhould be then laid hold on, whilſt the Rebels Ships were ſcatter'd; and that his Highneſs ſhould Embark for *Jerſey*; which he did accordingly on *Thurſday*; and on the next day, being the 17th of *April*, with a proſperous wind landed at *Jerſey*; from whence, the ſame Night, they ſent an Expreſs to the Queen, of the Prince's ſafe arrival in that Iſland; and likewiſe Letters to St *Maloes*, and *Havre de Grace*, to adverti ſe the Lord *Colepepper* of the ſame; who receiv'd the Information very ſeaſonably, lying then at *Havre* with two Frigats in expectation of a Wind for *Silly*, and with Command to the Prince from the Queen, immediately to remove from thence. After the Prince had taken an Account of this Iſland, both himſelf, and all their Lordſhips were of opinion, that it was a place of the greateſt ſecurity, benefit, and conveniency to repoſe in, that could have been deſired, and wiſh'd for; till upon a clear information, and obſervation of the King's condition, and the ſtate of *England*, he ſhould find a fit opportunity to Act; and the Prince himſelf ſeem'd to have the greateſt averſion, and reſolution againſt going into *France*, except in caſe of danger of ſurpriſal by the Rebels, that could be imagined. In few days Mr *Progers*, who had been diſpatched before (preſently upon the Lord *Colepepper's* coming) from *Paris* to *Silly*, being hinder'd by contrary Winds till he receiv'd the News of the Prince's being at *Jerſey*, came thither, and brought this following Letter from her Majeſty to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Cipher.

The Prince of Wales *Embarks from* Silly, *lands at* Jerſey, Apr. 17.

Paris

Paris the 5th *of April* 1646.

A Letter from the Queen to the Chancellor of the Exchequer concerning the Prince's removal into France.

"My Lord *Colepepper* must witness for me that I have patiently and at large, heard all that he could say concerning "the condition of *Silly*, and all that has been proposed for "rendering of the Prince of *Wales* his abode there safe; yet "I must confess to you, that I am so far from being satisfied "in that point, that I shall not sleep in quiet until I shall hear "that the Prince of *Wales* shall be remov'd from thence. It "is confessed, it is not sufficiently fortified, and is accessible "in divers places; and the Manning the Works will require "a thousand Men more than you have, or, for ought I see, "can procure; neither can you be confident, that the loss of "*Cornwal* may not suddainly have a dangerous influence upon "that Garrison; most of your Soldiers being of that Country. The power of the Parliament at Sea is so great, that "you cannot rely upon the seasonable and safe conveyance "of such proportions of Provisions, as so great a Garrison will "require: I need not remember you of what Importance to "the King, and all his Party, the safety of the Prince's Person is; If he should fall into the Rebels hands, the whole "would thereby become desperate; therefore I must importunately conjure you to intend this work, as the principal "service you can do to the King, Me, or the Prince. *Colepepper* will tell you how I have strain'd to assist you with "present Provisions, Shipping, and Money, necessary for the "Prince's remove to *Jersey*; where, be confident of it, he "shall want nothing. Besides, for satisfaction of others, I have "mov'd the Queen Regent to give assurance, that if the Prince, "in his way to *Jersey*, should be necessitated, by contrary "Winds, or the danger of the Parliament Shipping, to touch "in *France*, he should have all freedom and assistance from "hence, in his immediate passage thither; which is granted "with great Chearfulness, and Civility, and will be Subscribed "under the hands of the *French* King and Queen, my Brother, and Cardinal *Mazarin*: therefore I hope all scruples "are now satisfied. *Colepepper* is hastening to you with good "Frigats; but if you shall find any danger before their Arrival, I shall rely upon your care not to omit any opportunity to prevent that danger, according to the resolution in "Council, which *Colepepper* hath acquainted me with; for "which I thank you. I need not tell you how acceptable this "service will be to the King, who in every Letter presses me "to write to you concerning my Son's safety; nor that I am, "and always will be, most constantly,

"Your assured Friend, *Henriette Marie R.*

THE Prince and Council were very glad at the receipt of this Letter, conceiving that they had now done all that could be required at their hands; though they were advertised at their first Landing there, that there was still an expectation of the Prince in *France*; and that he would be speedily importun'd from thence; which they could not believe; but assoon as the Lord *Colepepper* came, they plainly discern'd that Letter had been written upon advice to *Silly*, and upon foreseeing that an immediate Journey into *France* would not have been submitted to; and that the Instrument mention'd for his Highness's quiet and uninterrupted Passage through *France* to *Jersey*, was only a colour, the sooner to have invited the Prince to have Landed there, if there had been any accidents in his Passage; but that the resolution was, that he should not then have come to *Jersey*, as it was now, that he should quickly come from thence; to which purpose, shortly after, came most importunate Letters from the Queen; and it seems, howsoever all the late Letters from the King to the Prince before his coming out of *England*, were for his repair into *Denmark*, his Majesty, upon what reasons I know not, conceiv'd his Highness to be in *France*; for after his coming to *Jersey*, this following Letter was sent to him, by the Lord *Fermyn*, in whose Cipher it was writ, and decipher'd by his Lordship.

Oxford the 22d *of March.*

A Letter from the King to the Prince.

Charles,

"HOPING that this will find you safe with your Mother, "I think fit to write this short but necessary Letter to you: "Then know, that your being where you are, safe from the "Power of the Rebels, is under God, either my greatest se- "curity, or my certain ruin. For your constancy to Reli- "gion, Obedience to me, and to the Rules of Honour, will "make these Insolent Men begin to hearken to reason, when "they shall see their Injustice not like to be crown'd with "quiet; but, if you depart from those grounds for which I "have all this time Fought, then your leaving this Kingdom "will be (with too much probability) call'd sufficient proof "for many of the slanders heretofore laid upon me: where- "fore, once again, I command you upon my blessing to be "constant to your Religion, neither hearkening to Roman "Superstitions, nor the Seditious and Schismatical Doctrines "of the Presbyterians and Independents; for, know that a "persecuted Church is not thereby less pure, though less for- "tunate. For all other things, I command you to be totally "directed by your Mother, and (as subordinate to her) by "the

"the remainder of that Council which I put to you, at your "parting from hence; and so God bless you.

Charles R.

THIS Letter, and the very passionate Commands from the Queen, together with what was privately said to his Highness by the Lord *Colepepper*, who from his being at *Paris* had changed his former opinions, and was (though he express'd it tenderly; finding a general aversion) positive for his going, wrought so far on the Prince, that he discover'd an Inclination to the Journey; whereupon the Council presented at large to him, the Inconveniencies and Dangers that naturally might be supposed would attend such a resolution: They remember'd, the Carriage of the *French* since the beginning of this Rebellion; how it had been originally fomented, and afterwards countenanced by them; and that they had never, in the least degree, assisted the King; that there was no Evidence that, at that time, they were more inclined to him than to the Rebels; that it would be necessary they should make some publick Declaration on his Majesty's behalf, before the Heir apparent of the Crown should put himself into their hands. There was nothing omitted that could be thought of, to render that resolution at least to be of that importance that it ought to be throughly weigh'd, and consider'd, before executed; and so, in the end they prevail'd with the Prince (since at that time it was not known where the King was) to send the Lords *Capel* and *Colepepper* again to the Queen, to present the weightiness of the matter to her Majesty. One of their Instructions was as follows.

The Lords Capel *and* Colepepper *sent to* Paris, *to dissuade the Queen from sending for the Prince into* France.

"YOU shall inform her Majesty, that We have, with all "duty and submission, consider'd her Letters to Us concern- "ing our speedy repair into the Kingdom of *France*; the "which direction, We conceive to be grounded upon her "Majesty's apprehension of danger to our Person by any re- "sidence here; the contrary whereof, We believe, her Ma- "jesty will be no sooner advertised of, than she will hold Us "excused for not giving that present obedience which We "desire always to yield to the least Intimation of her Majesty; "and therefore, you shall humbly acquaint her Majesty, that "We have great reason to believe this Island, to be defen- "sible against a greater Force, than We suppose probable to be "brought against it. That the Inhabitants of the Island ex- "press as much chearfulness, unanimity, and resolution for "the defence of our Person, by their whole carriage, and "particularly by a Protestation voluntarily undertaken by "them, as can be desir'd; and that, if, contrary to expecta- "tion, the Rebels should take the Island, We can from the

Their Instructions, and Arrival at Paris.

"Caſtle (a place in it ſelf of very great ſtrength) with the leaſt "hazard remove our ſelf to *France*; which in caſe of Immi- "nent danger We reſolve to do. That our ſecurity being thus "ſtated, We beſeech her Majeſty to conſider, whether it be "not abſolutely neceſſary, before any thought of our remove "from hence be entertain'd, that We have as clear an infor- "mation as may be got, of the condition of our Royal Fa- "ther, and the Affections of *England*; of the Reſolutions of "the *Scots* in *England*, and the Strength of the Lord *Mount- "roſe* in *Scotland*; of the Affairs in *Ireland*, and the conclu- "ſion of the Treaty there; that ſo, upon a full and mature "proſpect upon the Whole, We may ſo diſpoſe of our Perſon "as may be moſt for the benefit and advantage of our Royal "Father; or patiently attend ſuch an alteration and con- "juncture, as may adminiſter a greater advantage than is yet "offer'd; and whether our remove out of the Dominions of "our Royal Father (except upon ſuch a neceſſity, or appa- "rent viſible conveniency) may not have an Influence upon "the Affections of the three Kingdoms to the diſadvantage of "his Majeſty.

WITHIN two days after the two Lords were gone for *Paris*, Sr *Dudley Wyat* arriv'd with the News of the King's being gone out of *Oxford*, before the break of day, only with two Servants, and to what place uncertain; it was believ'd by the Queen, as ſhe ſaid in her Letter to the Prince, that he was gone for *Ireland*, or to the *Scots*; and therefore her Majeſty renew'd her Command for the Prince's immediate repair into *France*; whereas the chief reaſon before was, that he would put himſelf into the *Scots* hands; and therefore it was neceſſary that his Highneſs ſhould be in *France*, to go in the head of thoſe Forces which ſhould be immediately ſent out of that Kingdom to aſſiſt his Majeſty.

THE two Lords found the Queen much troubled, that the Prince himſelf came not; ſhe declar'd her ſelf "Not to "be moved with any reaſons that were, or could be, given "for his ſtay; and that her reſolution was poſitive and unal- "terable: yet they prevail'd with her, to reſpite any poſitive Declaration till ſhe might receive full advertiſement of the King's Condition; who was by this time known to be in the *Scotiſh* Army.

IT is remember'd before, that the Prince, upon his arrival at *Silly*, ſent a Gentleman to *Ireland* to the Marquis of *Ormond*, as well that he might be punctually inform'd of the State of that Kingdom (of which there were ſeveral reports) as that he might receive from thence a Company or two of Foot, for the better Guard of that Iſland; which he foreſaw would be neceſſary, whether he ſhould remain there or not.

The

The Gentleman had a very quick paſſage to *Dublin*, and came thither very quickly after the Peace was agreed upon with the *Iriſh* Roman Catholicks, and found the Lord *Digby* there; who after his Enterpriſe, and disbanding in *Scotland*, had firſt Tranſported himſelf into the Iſle of *Man*, and from thence into *Ireland*; where he had been receiv'd, with great kindneſs and generoſity, by the Marquis of *Ormond*, as a Man who had been in ſo eminent a Poſt in the King's Council and Affairs. He was a Perſon of ſo rare a compoſition by Nature and by Art (for nature alone could never have reach'd to it) that he was ſo far from being ever diſmay'd upon any Misfortune (and greater variety of Misfortunes never befel any Man) that he quickly recollected himſelf ſo vigorouſly, that he did really believe his condition to be improv'd by that ill accident; and that he had an opportunity thereby to gain a new ſtock of Reputation, and Honour, and ſo he no ſooner heard of the Prince's being in the Iſle of *Silly*, and of his Condition, and the Condition of that place, than he preſently concluded, that the Prince's preſence in *Ireland* would ſettle and compoſe all the Factions there; reduce the Kingdom to his Majeſty's Service; and oblige the Pope's Nuntio, who was an Enemy to the Peace, to quit his Ambitious deſigns. The Lord Lieutenant had ſo good an opinion of the Expedient, that he could have been very well contented, that when his Highneſs had been forced to leave *England* he had rather choſen to have made *Ireland* than *Silly* his retreat; but, being a Wiſe Man, and having many difficulties before him in view, and the apprehenſion of many contingencies which might increaſe thoſe difficulties, he would not take upon him to give advice in a point of ſo great Importance; but, forthwith, having a Couple of Frigats ready, he cauſed an hundred Men with their Officers to be preſently put on Board, according to his Highneſs's deſire; and the Lord *Digby* (who always concluded, that That was fit to be done which his firſt thoughts ſuggeſted to him, and never doubted the Execution of any thing which he once thought fit to be Attempted) put himſelf on Board thoſe Veſſels; reſolving, that upon the ſtrength of his own reaſon, he ſhould be able to perſwade the Prince, and the Council which attended him, forthwith to quit *Silly*, and to repair to *Dublin*; which, he did not doubt, if brought to paſs in that way, would have been grateful to the Lord Lieutenant. But by the ſuddain remove of the Prince from *Silly*, the two Frigats from *Dublin* miſs'd finding him there; and that Lord, whoſe Order they were obliged to obſerve, made all the haſte he could to *Jerſey*; where he found the Prince, with many other of his Friends who attended his Highneſs, the two Lords being gone but the day before to attend

The Lord Digby arrives at Jerſey from Ireland.

attend the Queen; he loſt no time in informing his Highneſs of the happy ſtate and condition of *Ireland*; that the Peace was concluded; and an Army of twelve thouſand Men ready to be Tranſported into *England*; of the great Zeal, and Affection the Lord Lieutenant had for his Service; and that if his Highneſs would repair thither, he ſhould find the whole Kingdom devoted to him; and thereupon poſitively adviſed him, without farther deliberation, to put himſelf aboard thoſe Frigats; which were excellent Sailers, and fit for his ſecure Tranſportation.

THE Prince told him, "That it was a matter of greater "Importance, than was fit to be executed upon ſo ſhort de- "liberation; that he was no ſooner arriv'd at *Jerſey* than he "receiv'd Letters from the Queen his Mother, requiring him "forthwith to come to *Paris*, where all things were pro- "vided for his reception; that he had ſent two of the Lords "of the Council to the Queen, to excuſe him for not giving "ready Obedience to her Commands; and to aſſure her that "he was in a place of unqueſtionable Security; in which "he might ſafely expect to hear from the King his Father "before he took any other reſolution: That it would be very "incongruous now to remove from thence, and to go into "*Ireland*, before his Meſſenger's return from *Paris*; in which "time he might reaſonably hope to hear from the King him- "ſelf; and ſo wiſh'd him to have patience till the matter was "more ripe for a determination. This reaſonable Anſwer gave him no ſatisfaction; he commended the Prince's averſneſs from going into *France*; "Which, he ſaid, was the moſt "pernicious Counſel that ever could be given; that it was a "thing the King his Father abhorr'd, and never would con- "ſent to; and that he would take upon himſelf to write to "the Queen, and to give her ſuch ſolid Advice and Reaſons, "that ſhould infallibly convert Her from that deſire, and that "ſhould abundantly ſatisfy Her that his going into *Ireland* "was abſolutely neceſſary; but that a little delay in the exe- "cution of it, might deprive Him of all the Fruit which was "to be expected from that Journey; and therefore, renew'd "his advice, and importunity, for loſing no more time, but "immediately to Embark; which when he ſaw was not like to prevail with his Highneſs, he repaired to one of thoſe of the Privy Council, who attended the Prince, with whom he had a particular Friendſhip, and lamented to him the loſs of ſuch an occaſion, which would inevitably reſtore the King; who would be equally ruin'd if the Prince went into *France*; of which he ſpoke with all the deteſtation imaginable; and ſaid, "He was ſo far ſatisfied in his Conſcience of the benefit "that would redound from the one, and the ruin which would "inevitably

"inevitably fall out by the other, that, he ſaid, if the Perſon "with whom he held this Conference, would concur with "him, he would carry the Prince into *Ireland*, even without, "and againſt his conſent. The other Perſon anſwer'd, "That "it was not to be attempted without his conſent; nor could "he imagine it poſſible to bring it to paſs if they ſhould both "endeavour it. He replied, "That he would invite the Prince "on Board the Frigats to a Collation; and that he knew well "he could ſo commend the Veſſels to him, that his own cu-"rioſity would eaſily invite him to a view of them; and that "aſſoon as he was on Board, he would cauſe the Sails to be "hoiſted up, and make no ſtay till he came into *Ireland*.

THE other was very angry with him for entertaining ſuch imaginations; and told him, "They neither agreed with his "Wiſdom nor his Duty; and left him in deſpair of his Con-junction, and, at the ſame time, of being able to compaſs it. He had no ſooner diſcharged himſelf of this imagination, but in the inſtant (as he had a moſt pregnant fancy) he enter-tain'd another with the ſame vigour; and reſolv'd, with all poſſible expedition, to find himſelf at *Paris*, not making the leaſt Queſtion but that he ſhould convert the Queen from any farther thought of ſending for the Prince into *France*, and as eaſily obtain Her conſent and approbation for his repair-ing into *Ireland*; and he made as little doubt, with the Queen's help, and by his own dexterity, to prevail with *France* to ſend a good ſupply of Money by him into *Ireland*; by which he ſhould acquire a moſt univerſal Reputation, and be the moſt welcome Man alive to the Lord Lieutenant: and Tranſported with this happy Auguration, he left *Jerſey*; leav-ing at the ſame time his two Ships, and his Soldiers, and half a dozen Gentlemen of Quality (who, upon his deſire, and many promiſes, had kept him Company from *Ireland*) with-out one penny of Money to ſubſiſt on during his abſence.

Thence he goes into France.

ASSOON as he came to *Paris*, and had ſeen the Queen (whom he found very well inclin'd to do all ſhe could for the relief of *Ireland*, but reſolute to have the Prince her Son im-mediately with Her, notwithſtanding all the Reaſons preſs'd againſt it by the Lords of the King's Council, who had been ſent from *Jerſey*) He attended the Cardinal; who under-ſtood him very well, and knew his Foible; and receiv'd him with all the Ceremony, and Demonſtration of Reſpect, he could poſſibly expreſs; enter'd upon the diſcourſe of *England*; cele-brated the part which he had Acted upon that Stage, in ſo many Actions of Courage, and Sagacity, of the higheſt Prudence and Circumſpection, with an indefatigable Induſtry and Fide-lity. He told him, "That *France* found too late their own Er-"ror; that they had been very well content to ſee the King's "great

His Tranſ-actions there with the Queen of England *and Cardinal* Mazarin.

"great Puiſſance weaken'd by his Domeſtick Troubles, which "they wiſh'd only ſhould keep him from being able to hurt "his Neighbours; but that they never had deſir'd to ſee him "at the Mercy of his own Rebels, which they ſaw now was "like to be the Caſe; and they were therefore reſolv'd to "Wed his Intereſt in ſuch a way and manner, as the Queen of "*England* ſhould deſire; in which he well knew how much "her Majeſty would depend upon his Lordſhip's Counſel.

THE Cardinal ſaid, "It was abſolutely neceſſary, ſince the "Crown of *France* reſolv'd to Wed the King's Intereſt, "that the Perſon of the Prince of *Wales* ſhould reſide in "*France*; that the method he had thought of proceeding in, "was that the Queen of *England* ſhould make choice of ſuch "a Perſon, whom ſhe thought beſt Affected, and beſt Quali- "fied for ſuch an Imployment, whom the King of *France* "would immediately ſend as his Extraordinary Embaſſadour "to the King and to the Parliament; that he ſhould govern "himſelf wholely by ſuch Inſtructions as the Queen ſhould "give him; which, he knew, would be his Lordſhip's work "to prepare; that all things ſhould be made ready aſſoon as "the Queen would nominate the Embaſſadour; and that, upon "the arrival of the Prince of *Wales* in any part of *France*, "aſſoon as notice ſhould be ſent to the Court of it (for which "due preparation ſhould be made) the Embaſſadour ſhould "be in the ſame manner diſpatch'd for *England*, with one "only Inſtruction from *France*; which ſhould be, That he "ſhould demand a ſpeedy Anſwer from the Parliament, whether "they would ſatisfy the demands the *French* Court had made? "which if they ſhould refuſe to do, he ſhould forthwith, in "the King his Maſter's name, declare War againſt them, and "immediately leave the Kingdom, and return Home; and "then there ſhould be quickly ſuch an Army ready, as was "worthy for the Prince of *Wales* to venture his own Perſon "in; and that he ſhould have the honour to Redeem and Re- "ſtore his Father.

THIS diſcourſe ended, the Lord *Digby* wanted not Language to extol the Generoſity and the Magnanimity of the reſolution, and to pay the Cardinal all his Compliments in his own Coin, and from thence, to enter upon the Condition of *Ireland*; in which the Cardinal preſently interrupted him, and told him, "He knew well he was come from thence, and "meant to return thither, and likewiſe the Carriage of the "Nuntio. That the Marquis of *Ormond* was too brave a Gen- "tleman, and had merited too much of his Maſter to be de- "ſerted, and *France* was reſolv'd not to do its buſineſs by halves, "but to give the King's Affairs an entire relief in all Places; "that he ſhould carry a good Supply of Money with him into

"*Ireland*,

"*Ireland*, and that Arms and Ammunition ſhould be ſpeedily "ſent after him, and ſuch direction to their Agent there, as "ſhould draw off all the *Iriſh* from the Nuntio, who had not "entirely given themſelves up to the *Spaniſh* Intereſt.

THE noble Perſon had that which he moſt deſired; he was preſently converted, and undertook to the Queen, that he would preſently convert all at *Jerſey*; and that the Prince ſhould obey all her Commands; and enter'd into conſultation with her upon the Election of an Embaſſadour, and what Inſtructions ſhould be given him; which he took upon himſelf to prepare. Monſieur *Bellievre* was nam'd by the Queen, whom the Cardinal had deſign'd for that Office. The Cardinal approv'd the Inſtructions, and cauſed ſix thouſand Piſtols to be paid to him, who was to go to *Ireland*; and though it was a much leſs Sum than he had promiſed himſelf, from the magnificent Expreſſions the Cardinal had uſed to him, yet it provided well for his own occaſions; ſo he left the Queen with his uſual profeſſions, and confidence, and accompanied thoſe Lords to *Jerſey*, who were to attend upon his Highneſs with her Majeſty's Orders for the Prince's repair into *France*, for the Advancement whereof the Cardinal was ſo ſollicitous, that he writ a Letter to the old Prince of *Conde* (which he knew he would forthwith ſend to the Queen; as he did) in which he ſaid, "That he had receiv'd very certain Adver- "tiſement out of *England*, that there were ſome Perſons about "the Prince of *Wales* in *Jerſey*, who had undertaken to deli- "ver his Highneſs up into the hands of the Parliament for "twenty thouſand Piſtols; and this Letter was forthwith ſent by the Queen to overtake the Lords, that it might be ſhewed to the Prince; and that they who attended upon him, might diſcern, what would be thought of them, if they diſſwaded his Highneſs from giving a preſent obedience to his Mothers Commands.

ASSOON as they came to *Jerſey*, the Lord *Digby* uſed all the means he could to perſwade his Friend to concur in his advice for the Prince's immediate repair into *France*. He told him all that had paſſed between the Cardinal and him, not leaving out any of the Expreſſions of the high value his Eminence had of his particular Perſon: "That an Embaſſadour "was choſen by his advice, and his Inſtructions drawn by "him, from no part of which the Embaſſadour durſt ſwerve (and, which is very wonderful, he did really believe for that time, that he himſelf had nominated the Embaſſadour, and that his Inſtructions would be exactly obſerv'd by him; ſo great a Power he had always over himſelf, that he could believe any thing which was grateful to him) "That a War "would be preſently proclaim'd upon their refuſal to do what "the

"the Embaſſadour requir'd, and that there wanted nothing "to the expediting this great Affair, but the Prince's repair- "ing into *France* without farther delay; there being no other "queſtion concerning that matter, than whether his Highneſs "ſhould ſtay in *Jerſey*? where there could be no queſtion of "his Security, until he could receive expreſs direction from "the King his Father: and therefore he conjured his Friend "to concur in that advice; which would be very grateful to "the Queen, and be attended with much benefit to himſelf; telling him "how kind her Majeſty was to him, and how "confident ſhe was of his Service, and that if he ſhould be of "another opinion, it would not hinder the Prince from go- "ing; who, he knew, was reſolv'd to obey his Mother; and ſo concluded his Diſcourſe, with thoſe Arguments which he thought were like to make moſt impreſſion on him; and gave him the Inſtructions by which the Embaſſadour was to be guided.

His Friend, who in truth lov'd him very heartily, though no man better knew his Infirmities, told him, "Whatever "the Prince would be diſpoſed to do, he could not change his "opinion in point of Counſel, until the King's pleaſure might "be known: he put him in mind, "How he had been before "deceiv'd at *Oxford* by the *Conte de Harcourt*, who was an "Embaſſadour likewiſe, as We then thought, named by our "ſelves, and whoſe Inſtructions he had likewiſe drawn; and "yet, he could not but well remember how foully that buſi- "neſs had been managed, and how diſobligingly He himſelf "had been treated by that Embaſſadour; and therefore he "could not but wonder, that the ſame Artifices ſhould again "prevail with him; and that he could imagine that the Inſtru- "ctions he had drawn, would be at all conſider'd, or purſued, "farther than they might contribute to what the Cardinal for "the preſent deſign'd; of the integrity whereof, they had no "Evidence, but had reaſon enough to ſuſpect it.

The Lord *Capel*, and the Lord *Colepepper*, ſtayed at *Paris* with the Queen full three Weeks; having only prevailed with her to ſuſpend her preſent Commands for the Prince's remove from *Jerſey*, until ſhe ſhould have clear Intelligence where the King was, and how he was treated, though ſhe declared a poſitive reſolution that his Highneſs ſhould come to *Paris*, let the Intelligence be what it could be; and, in the end, they were well aſſured that his Majeſty had put himſelf into the *Scotiſh* Army as it lay before *Newark*; and that aſſoon, as he came thither, he had cauſed that Garriſon to deliver the Town into the hands of the *Scots*; and that thereupon the *Scots* march'd preſently away to *New-Caſtle*: That they had preſs'd the King to do many things, which he had abſolutely

refuſed

refuſed to do; and that thereupon they had put very ſtrict Guards upon his Majeſty, and would not permit any Man to repair to him, or to ſpeak with him; ſo that his Majeſty look'd upon himſelf as a Priſoner, and reſolv'd to make another Eſcape from them aſſoon as he could. Mr *Aſhburnham*, who attended upon him in his Journey from *Oxford* as his ſole Servant, was forbid to come any more near him; and if he had not put himſelf on board a Veſſel then at *New-Caſtle*, and bound for *France*, the *Scots* would have deliver'd him up to the Parliament. Monſieur *Montrevil*, the *French* Envoy, pretended that they were ſo incenſed againſt him for briskly expoſtulating with them for their ill Treatment of the King, that it was no longer ſafe for him to remain in their Quarters, and more dangerous to return to *London*; and therefore, he had likewiſe procured a *Dutch* Ship to land him in *France*, and was come to *Paris* before the Lords return'd to *Jerſey*.

The Queen thought now ſhe had more reaſon to be confirm'd in her former reſolution for the ſpeedy remove of the Prince, and it was pretended that he had brought a Letter from the King, which was decipher'd by the Lord *Jermyn*; in which, he ſaid, "That he did believe that the Prince could "not be ſafe any where but with the Queen; and therefore "wiſhed, that if he were not there already, he ſhould be "ſpeedily ſent for; and *Montrevil* profeſſed to have a Meſſage by word of mouth to the ſame purpoſe; whereas Mr *Aſhburnham*, who left the King but the day before *Montrevil*, and was as entirely truſted by the King as any Man in *England*, brought no ſuch Meſſage; and confeſs'd to the Lord *Capel*, "That he "thought it very pernicious to the King that the Prince ſhould "come into *France* in that conjuncture, and before it was "known how the *Scots* would deal with him; and that the "King's opinion of the convenience of his coming into *France*, "could proceed from nothing but the thought of his inſecu-"rity in *Jerſey*. The Lord *Capel* offer'd to undertake a Journey himſelf to *New-Caſtle*, and to receive the King's poſitive Commands, which he was confident would be ſubmitted to, and obeyed by all the Council as well as by himſelf; but the Queen was poſitive, that, without any more delay, the Prince ſhould immediately repair to Her; and, to that purpoſe, She ſent the Lord *Jermyn* (who was Governour of *Jerſey*) together with the Lord *Digby*, the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Wilmot*, and other Lords and Gentlemen, who with the two Lords who had been ſent to her by the Prince, ſhould make haſte to *Jerſey* to ſee her Commands executed. Whilſt they are upon their Journey thither, it will be ſeaſonable to enquire how the King came to involve himſelf in that perplexity, out of which he was never able afterwards to recover his Liberty and Freedom.

Mon-

A farther Account of Monſieur Montrevil *his Negotiation with the* Scots.

MONSIEUR *Montrevil* was a Perſon utterly unknown to me, nor had I ever intercourſe or correſpondence with him; ſo that what I ſhall ſay of him cannot proceed from affection or prejudice, nor if I ſhall ſay any thing for his vindication from thoſe reproaches which he did, and does lie under, both with the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Nation, countenanced enough by the diſcountenance he receiv'd from the Cardinal after his return, when he was, after the firſt account he had given of his Negotiation, reſtrain'd from coming to the Court, and forbid to remain in *Paris*, and lay under a form'd declar'd diſlike till his death; which with grief of mind ſhortly enſued. But as it is no unuſual hard-heartedneſs in ſuch chief Miniſters, to ſacrifice ſuch Inſtruments, how innocent ſoever, to their own dark purpoſes, ſo it is probable, that temporary Cloud would ſoon have vaniſhed, and that it was only caſt over him, that he might be thereby ſecluded from the converſation of the *Engliſh* Court; which muſt have been reaſonably very inquiſitive, and might thereby have diſcover'd ſomewhat which the other Court was carefully to conceal: I ſay if what I here ſet down of that Tranſaction, ſhall appear ſome vindication of that Gentleman from thoſe imputations under which his memory remains blaſted, it can be imputed only to the love of truth, which ought, in common honeſty, to be preſerv'd in Hiſtory as the very Soul of it, towards all Perſons who come to be mention'd in it; and ſince I have in my hands all the original Letters which paſſed from him to the King, and the King's Anſwers and Directions thereupon, or ſuch Authentick Copies thereof, as have been by my ſelf examin'd with the Originals, I take it to be a duty incumbent on me to clear him from any guilt with which his memory lies unjuſtly charged, and to make a candid interpretation of thoſe Actions, which appear to have reſulted from Ingenuity, and upright Intentions, how unſucceſsful ſoever.

HE was then a young Gentlemen of parts very equal to the Truſt the Cardinal repoſed in him, and to the Imployment he gave him; and of a Nature not inclined to be made uſe of in ordinary diſſimulation and cozenage. Whilſt he took his Meaſures only from the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners at *London*, and from thoſe Presbyterians whom he had opportunity to converſe with there, he did not give the King the leaſt Encouragement to expect a conjunction, or any complyance from the one or the other, upon any Cheaper price of condition than the whole alteration of the Government of the Church by Biſhops, and an entire Conformity to the Covenant; and he uſed all the Arguments which occurr'd to him, to perſwade his Majeſty that all other hopes of Agreement with them were deſperate; and when he ſaw his Majeſty unmoveable

moveable in that particular, and resolute to undergo the utmost event of War, before he would wound his Peace of Mind, and Conscience, with such an odious concession, he undertook that Journey we mention'd in the end of the last Year, to discover whether the same rude and rigid Spirit, which Govern'd those Commissioners at *Westminster*, possessed also the Chief Officers of the *Scotish* Army, and that Committee of State that always remain'd with the Army.

THE *Scotish* Army was then before *Newark*; and in his passage thither, he waited upon the King at *Oxford*; and was confirm'd in what he had reason before to be confident of, that it was absolutely impossible ever to prevail with his Majesty to give up the Church to the most impetuous Demands they could make, or to the greatest necessity himself could be environ'd with; but as to any other concessions which might satisfy their Ambition or their Profit, which were always Powerful and Irresistible Spells upon that Party, he had ample Authority and Commission to comply with the most extravagant Demands from Persons like to make good what they undertook, except such Propositions as might be mischievous to the Marquis of *Mountrose*; whom the King resolv'd never to desert, nor any who had joyn'd with and assisted him; all which, he desir'd to unite to those who might now be perswaded to serve him. His Majesty, for his better information, recommended him to some Persons who had then Command in the *Scotish* Army; of whose Affections and Inclinations to his Service, he had as much confidence, at least, as he ought to have; and of their Credit, and Courage, and Interest, a greater than was due to them.

WHEN *Montrevil* came to the Army, and after he had endeavour'd to undeceive those who had been perswaded to believe, that a peremptory and obstinate insisting upon the alteration of the Church Government (the expectation, and assurance whereof, had indeed first enabled them to make that Expedition) would at last prevail over the King's Spirit, as it had done in *Scotland*, he found those in whom the Power, at least the Command of the Army was, much more moderate than he expected, and the Committee which presided in the Counsels, rather devising and projecting Expedients how they might recede from the rigour of their former Demands, than peremptory to adhere to them, and willing he should believe that they stay'd for the coming of the Lord Chancellor out of *Scotland*, who was daily expected, before they would declare their Resolution; not that they were, for the present, without one. They were very much pleased that the King offer'd, and desir'd to come to them, and remain in the Army with them, if he might be secured of a good reception

for Himself, and for his Servants who should attend him, and his Friends who should resort to him; and the principal Officers of the Army spoke of that, as a thing they so much wished, that it could be in no body's Power to hinder it, if there were any who would attempt it; and they who had the greatest Power in the Conduct of the most secret Counsels, took pains to be thought to have much franker Resolutions in that particular, than they thought yet seasonable to express in direct Undertakings; and imployed those who were known to be most entirely trusted by them, and some of those who had been recommended to him by the King, to assure him that he might confidently advise his Majesty to repair to the Army, upon the Terms himself had propos'd; and that they would send a good Body of their Horse, to meet his Majesty at any place he should appoint to Conduct him in safety to them. Upon which encouragement *Montrevil* prepared a Paper to be sign'd by himself, and sent to the King as his Engagement; and shew'd it to those who had been most clear to him in their Expressions of duty to the King; which, being approv'd by them, he sent by the other who had appear'd to him to be trusted by those who were in the highest Trust to be communicated to them, who had in a manner excused themselves for being so reserv'd towards him, as being necessary in that conjuncture of their Affairs, when there evidently appear'd to be the most Hostile jealousy between the Independent Army and them. When the Paper was likewise return'd to him with approbation after their perusal, he sent it to the King; which Paper is here faithfully Translated out of the Original.

The Paper Montrevil *sent to the King, being a promise for the* Scots *receiving the King* April. 1.

"I Do promise in the Name of the King and Queen Regent (my Master and Mistriss) and by virtue of the Powers "that I have from their Majesties, That if the King of Great "Britain shall put himself into the *Scotish* Army, he shall be "there receiv'd as their Natural Soveraign; and that he shall "be with them in all freedom of his Conscience and Honour; "and that all such of his Subjects and Servauts as shall be "there with him, shall be safely and honourably protected in "their Persons; and that the said *Scots*, shall really and effectually joyn with the said King of Great Britain, and also "receive all such Persons as shall come in unto him, and joyn "with them for his Majesty's Preservation: And that they "shall protect all his Majesty's Party to the utmost of their "Power, as his Majesty will Command all those under his "obedience to do the like to them; and that they shall employ their Armies and Forces, to assist his Majesty in the "procuring of a happy and well grounded Peace, for the good

"of

"of his Majesty and his said Kingdoms, and in recovery of his "Majesty's just Rights. In witness whereof I have hereunto "put my Hand and Seal this first of *April* 1646.

De Montrevil, Resident pour sa Majestie tres Chretienne en Ecosse.

MANY days had not passed after the sending that Express, when he found such Chagrin, and Tergiversation, in some of those he had treated with, one Man denying what he had said to himself, and another disclaiming the having given such a Man Authority to say that from him which the other still avow'd he had done; that *Montrevil* thought himself obliged, with all speed, to advertise his Majesty of the foul change, and to dissuade him from venturing his Person in the Power of such Men; but the Express who carried that Letter, was taken Prisoner; and though he made his Escape, and preserv'd his Letter, he could not proceed in his Journey; and was compell'd to return to him who sent him; and by that time, he having inform'd the Committee, what he had done to vindicate himself from being made a Property by them to betray the King, and expressed a deep resentment of the injury done to the King his Master, and to himself, in their receding from what they had promised, they appear'd again to be of another Temper, and very much to desire his Majesty's Presence in the Army; and to that purpose, they promised, as an unanimous Resolution, "That they would send a considerable party "of Horse to meet his Majesty at *Burton* upon *Trent*; for that "they could not advance farther with the whole party; but "that some Horse should be sent to wait upon his Majesty at "*Bosworth*, which is the middle way between *Burton* and "*Harborough*, whither they hoped his own Horse would be "able to convey him securely; they desired "The King to "appoint the day, and they would not fail to be there. They wished, "That when their Troops should meet his Majesty, "he would tell them that he was going into *Scotland*; upon "which, they would find themselves obliged to attend him "into their Army, without being able to discover any thing "of a Treaty; of which, the Parliament ought yet to receive "no advertisement; of all which *Montrevil* gave the King a very full and plain Narration, together with what he had written before, by his Letter of the 15th of the same *April*, to Secretary *Nicholas*; and, in the same Letter, he inform'd his Majesty, "That they did not desire that any of those Forces "which had followed the King's Party, should joyn with "them, no nor so much as those Horse that should have ac- "companied his Majesty, should remain in their Army with "him: That they had with much ado agreed, that the two "Princes (for his Majesty, upon Prince *Rupert*'s humble sub-

miſſion, was reconciled to both his Nephews) "might follow "the King, with ſuch other of his Servants as were not ex- "cepted from pardon; and that they might ſtay with his Ma- "jeſty until the Parliament of *England* ſhould demand them; "In which caſe they ſhould not refuſe to deliver them; but "that they would firſt furniſh them with ſome means of get- "ting beyond Seas.

THE King had propos'd, "That there might be a Union "between them and the Marquis of *Mountroſe*; and that his "Forces might be joyn'd with their Army; which they had ſaid, "They could not conſent to, with reference to the per- "ſon of *Montroſe*; who, after ſo much blood ſpilt by him of "many of the greateſt Families, they thought could not be "ſafe among them: whereupon the King had declared, "That "he would ſend him his Extraordinary Embaſſadour into "*France*; which they appear'd not to contradict, but had now changed their mind; of which *Montreuil* likewiſe gave an Account in the ſame Letter: "That they could not give their "conſent that the Marquis of *Mountroſe* ſhould go Embaſſa- "dour into *France*, but into any other place, he might; and "that they again, without limiting the time, inſiſted upon "ſettling the Presbyterian Government; and he concluded his Letter with theſe words, "I will ſay no more but this, "that his Majeſty and You know the *Scots* better than I do; "I repreſent theſe things nakedly to you, as I am obliged to "do; I have not taken upon me the boldneſs to give any "Council to his Majeſty; yet if he hath any other refuge, or "means to make better conditions, I think he ought not to "accept of theſe; but if he ſees all things deſperate every "where elſe, and that he and his Servants cannot be ſecure "with his Parliament of *England*, I dare yet aſſure him, that "though He and his Servants may not be here with all that "ſatisfaction perhaps which he might deſire, yet He eſpecially "ſhall be as ſecure as poſſible.

IN another Letter dated the next day after (the 16th of *April*) to the ſame Secretary, he hath theſe words; "I have "Orders from the Deputies of *Scotland* to aſſure you, that they "will not herein fail (which related to ſending the Horſe to meet his Majeſty) "aſſoon as they ſhall know his day; and "that the King ſhall be receiv'd into the Army as hath been "promiſed; and that his Conſcience ſhall not be forced. And in the laſt Letter, which his Majeſty or the Secretary receiv'd from him, and which was dated the 20th of *April* 1646, there are theſe words, "They tell me that they will do more than "can be expreſſed; but let not his Majeſty hope for any more "than I ſend him word of; that he may not be deceiv'd; and "let him take his meaſures aright; for certainly the Enter- "priſe

"prise is full of danger: yet, in the same Letter, he says "the disposition of the Chiefs of the *Scottish* Army is such as "the King can desire; they begin to draw off their Troops "towards *Burton*, and the hindring his Majesty from falling "into the hands of the *English* is of so great Importance to "them, that it cannot be believ'd but that they will do all "that lies in their Power to hinder it.

This was the proceeding of Monsieur *Montrevil* in that whole Transaction; and if he were too Sanguine upon his first Conversation with the Officers of the *Scottish* Army, and some of the Committee, and when he sign'd that Engagement upon the first of *April*, he made haste to retract that confidence, and was in all his Dispatches afterwards Phlegmatick enough; and, after his Majesty had put himself into their hands, he did honestly and stoutly charge all the particular Persons with the Promises and Engagements they had given to him, and did all he could to make the Cardinal sensible of the Indignity that was offer'd to that Crown in the violation of those Promises, and Engagements; which was the reason of his being Commanded to return Home, assoon as the King came to *New-Castle*; lest his too keen resentment might irritate the *Scots*, and make it appear to the Parliament how far *France* was engaged in that whole Negotiation; which the Cardinal had no mind should appear to the World; and there can be no doubt, but that the Cautions and Animadversions which the King receiv'd from *Montrevil* after his Engagement, would have diverted him from that Enterprise, if his Majesty had discern'd any other course to take, that had been preferable even to the hazard that he saw he must undergo with the *Scots*; but he was clearly destitute of any other Refuge. Every day brought the News of the loss of some Garrison; and as *Oxford* was already block'd up at a distance, by those Horse which *Fairfax* had sent out of the West to that purpose, or to wait upon the King, and follow him close, if he should remove out of *Oxford*; so he had soon reduced *Exeter*, and some other Garrisons in *Devon-shire*. The Governours then, when there was no visible and apparent hope of being Reliev'd, thought that they might deliver up their Garrisons before they were prest with the last Extremities, that they might obtain the better Conditions; and yet it was observ'd that better and more honourable Conditions were not given to any, than to those who kept the Places they were trusted with, till they had not one days Victual left; of which We shall observe more hereafter. By this means *Fairfax* was within three days of *Oxford* before the King left it, or fully resolv'd what to do.

His Majesty had before sent to Two Eminent Commanders

of Name, who had block'd up the Town at a diſtance, "That "if they would paſs their words (how ſlender a ſecurity ſo-ever, from ſuch Men who had broken ſo many Oaths, for the Safety of the King) "That they would immediately Con-"duct him to the Parliament, he would have put himſelf in-"to their hands; for he was yet perſwaded to think ſo well of the City of *London*, that he would not have been unwil-ling to have found himſelf there; but thoſe Officers would ſubmit to no ſuch Engagements; and great care was taken to have ſtrict Guards round about *London*, that he might not get thither. What ſhould the King do? There was one thing moſt formidable to him, which he was reſolv'd to avoid, that was, to be incloſed in *Oxford*, and ſo to be given up, or taken, when the Town ſhould be Surrender'd, as a Priſoner to the Independents Army; which he was advertiſed from all hands, would treat him very Barbarouſly.

The King leaves Oxford, April 27. 1646.

In this perplexity, he choſe rather to commit himſelf to the *Scotiſh* Army; which yet he did not truſt ſo far as to give them notice of his Journey, by ſending for a Party of their Horſe to meet him, as they had profer'd; but early in the Morning, upon the 27th day of *April*, he went out of *Oxford*, attended only by *John Aſhburnham*, and a Divine (one *Hud-ſon*) who underſtood the By-ways as well as the Common, and was indeed a very skilful Guide. In this Equipage he left *Ox-ford* on a *Monday*, leaving thoſe of his Council in *Oxford* who were privy to his going out, not inform'd whether he would go to the *Scotiſh* Army, or get privately into *London*, and lye there conceal'd, till he might chooſe that which was beſt; and it was generally believ'd, that he had not within himſelf at that time a fixt Reſolution what he would do; which was the more credited becauſe it was nine days after his leaving *Oxford*, before it was known where the King was; inſomuch as *Fairfax*, who came before it the fifth day after his Majeſty was gone, was ſat down, and had made his Circumvallation about *Oxford*, before he knew that the King was in the *Scotiſh* Army; but the King had waſted that time in ſeveral Places; whereof ſome were Gentlemens Houſes (where he was not unknown, though untaken notice of) purpoſely to be inform'd of the condition of the Marquis of *Mountroſe*, and to find ſome ſecure paſſage that he might get to him; which he did exceedingly deſire; but in the end, went into the *Scotiſh* Army before *Newark*, and ſent for *Montrevil* to come to him.

Puts himſelf into the Scotiſh Army before Newark.

It was very early in the Morning when the King went to the General's Lodging, and diſcover'd himſelf to him; who either was, or ſeem'd to be, exceedingly ſurpriſed, and con-founded at his Majeſty's preſence; and knew not what to ſay; but preſently gave notice of it to the Committee, who were

no

no leſs perplexed. An Expreſs was preſently ſent to the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, to inform them of the unexpected News, as a thing the *Scots* had not the leaſt imagination of. The Parliament were ſo diſorder'd with the Intelligence, that at firſt they reſolv'd to Command their General to raiſe the Siege before *Oxford*, and to march with all Expedition to *Newark*; but the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners at *London*, diverted them from that, by aſſuring them "That all their Orders would "meet with an abſolute Obedience in their Army: ſo they made a ſhort diſpatch to them, in which it was evident that they believ'd the King had gone to them by Invitation, and not out of his own free Choice; and implying, "That they "ſhould ſhortly receive farther direction from them; and in the mean time, "That they ſhould carefully watch that his "Majeſty did not diſpoſe himſelf to go ſome whither elſe. The great care in the Army, was, that there might be only reſpect and good manners ſhew'd towards the King, without any thing of affection or dependence; and therefore the General never ask'd the Word of him, or any Orders, nor, willingly, ſuffer'd the Officers of the Army to reſort to, or to have any diſcourſe with his Majeſty. *Montrevil* was ill look'd upon, as the Man who had brought this inconvenience upon them without their conſent; but he was not frighted from owning and declaring what had paſſed between them, what they had promiſed, and what they were engaged to do. However, though the King liked not the treatment he receiv'd, he was not without apprehenſion, that *Fairfax* might be forthwith appointed to decline all other Enterpriſes, and to bring himſelf near the *Scotiſh* Army, they being too near together already; and therefore he forthwith gave order to the Lord *Bellaſis* to Surrender *Newark*, that the *Scots* might march Northward; which they reſolv'd to do; and he giving up that place, which he could have defended for ſome Months longer from that Enemy, upon honourable Conditions, that Army with great Expedition march'd towards *New-Caſtle*; which the King was glad of, though their behaviour to him was ſtill the ſame; and great ſtrictneſs uſed that he might not confer with any Man who was not well known to them, much leſs receive Letters from any.

Their manner of treating his Majeſty.

The King orders Newark *to be ſurrender'd; whereupon the* Scotiſh *Army marches Northward with the King to* New-Caſtle

It was an obſervation in that time, that the firſt publiſhing of extraordinary News was from the Pulpit; and by the Preacher's Text, and his manner of diſcourſe upon it, the Auditors might judge, and commonly foreſaw, what was like to be next done in the Parliament or Council of State. The firſt Sermon that was Preach'd before the King, after the Army roſe from *Newark* to march Northwards, was upon the 19th *Chap.* of the II. Book of *Samuel* the 41, 42, and 43. *verſes.*

41. *And behold, all the Men of Iſrael came to the King, and ſaid unto the King, Why have our Brethren the Men of Judah ſtolen thee away, and have brought the King and his Houſehold, and all David's Men with him over Jordan?*
42. *And all the Men of Judah anſwered the Men of Iſrael, Becauſe the King is near of kin to us: wherefore then be ye angry for this matter? have we eaten at all of the King's coſt? or hath he given us any gift?*
43. *And the Men of Iſrael anſwered the Men of Judah, and ſaid, We have ten parts in the King, and we have alſo more right in David than ye: why then did ye deſpiſe us that our advice ſhould not be firſt had in bringing back our King? and the words of the Men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the Men of Iſrael.*

UPON which words the Preacher gave Men cauſe to believe, that now they had gotten their King, they reſolv'd to keep him, and to adhere to him. But his Majeſty came no ſooner to *New-Caſtle*, than both Monſieur *Montrevil* was reſtrain'd from having any conference with him, and Mr *Aſhburnham* was adviſed "To ſhift for himſelf, or elſe that he "ſhould be deliver'd up to the Parliament; and both the one, and the other, were come to *Paris* when the Queen ſent thoſe Lords to haſten the Prince's remove from *Jerſey*.

Where Montrevil *was reſtrain'd from him.*

WHEN thoſe Lords, with their great Train, came to *Jerſey*, which was towards the end of *June*, they brought with them a Letter from the Queen to the Prince; in which ſhe told him, "That ſhe was now fully ſatisfied, from the Intelligence "ſhe had from *New-Caſtle* and *London*, that he could not make "any longer reſidence in *Jerſey*, without apparent danger of "falling into the Enemies hands; and that if he ſhould con- "tinue there, all poſſible attempts would be ſuddainly made, "as well by Treachery as by Force to get his Perſon into their "Power; and therefore, her Majeſty did poſitively require "him, to give immediate Obedience to the King's Commands, "mention'd in the Letter which he had lately ſent by Sr *Dud- "ley Wyat* (which is ſet out before) "and reiterated in a Let- "ter which ſhe had ſince receiv'd from the King by Mon- "ſieur *Montrevil*. Her Majeſty ſaid, "That ſhe had the great- "eſt aſſurance from the Crown of *France*, that poſſibly could "be given, for his honourable reception, and full liberty to "continue there, and to depart from thence, at his pleaſure; "and ſhe engaged her own word, that whenever his Coun- "cil ſhould find it fit for him to go out of *France*, ſhe would "never oppoſe it; and that during his reſidence in that King- "dom, all matters of Importance which might concern him- "ſelf,

The Lord Jermyn *and other Lords arrive at* Jerſey, *about the end of* June, *from the Queen, to bring the Prince into* France,

"ſelf, or relate to his Majeſty's Affairs, ſhould be debated and "reſolv'd by himſelf and the Council, in ſuch manner as they "ought to have been, if he had continued in *England*, or in "*Jerſey*: and concluded, "That he ſhould make all poſſible "haſte to her.

THE Lords which arriv'd with this diſpatch from her Majeſty, had no imagination that there would have been any queſtion of his Highneſs's complyance with the Queen's Command; and therefore, aſſoon as they had kiſs'd the Prince's hand, which was in the Afternoon, they deſired that the Council might preſently be called; and when they came together, the Lords *Jermyn*, *Digby*, and *Wentworth*, being likewiſe preſent, and ſitting in the Council, they deſired the Prince "That his Mother's Letter might be read; and then, ſince "they conceiv'd there could be no debate upon his High- "neſs's yielding Obedience to the Command of the King and "Queen, that they might only conſider of the day when he "might begin his Journey, and of the order he would obſerve "in it. The Lords of the Council repreſented to the Prince, "that they were the only Perſons that were accountable to "the King, and to the Kingdom, for any reſolution his High- "neſs ſhould take, and for the Conſequence thereof; and that "the other Lords who were preſent, had no Title to deliver "their advice, or to be preſent at the debate, they being in "no degree reſponſible for what his Highneſs ſhould reſolve "to do; and therefore deſired that the whole matter might be "debated; the State of the King's preſent Condition under- "ſtood as far as it might be; and the Reaſons conſider'd "which made it Counſellable for his Highneſs to repair into "*France*, and what might be ſaid againſt it; and the rather, "becauſe it was very notorious that the King had given no po- "ſitive direction in the Point, but upon a Suppoſition that "the Prince could not remain ſecure in *Jerſey*; which was "likewiſe the ground of the Queen's laſt Command; and which "they believ'd had no Foundation of Reaſon; and that his "Reſidence there might be very unqueſtionably ſafe. This begot ſome warmth, and contradiction between Perſons; inſomuch as the Prince thought it very neceſſary to ſuſpend the debate till the next day, to the end that by ſeveral and private Conferences together between the Lords who came from *Paris*, and thoſe who were in *Jerſey*, they might convert, or confirm each other in the ſame opinions; at leaſt that the next debate might be free from Paſſion and Unkindneſs; and ſo the Council roſe, and the ſeveral Lords betook themſelves to uſe the ſame Arguments, or ſuch as they thought more agreeable to the ſeveral Perſons, as the Lord *Digby* had before done to his Friend, and with the ſame ſucceſs.

Debates in the Prince's Council concerning his going.

THE

The Lord Capel delivers his opinion against it.

THE next day when they were called together, the Lord *Capel* gave an account of all that had pass'd with the Queen from the time that the Lord *Colepepper* and he came thither; and "That the reasons they had carried from the Prince, had "so far prevailed with the Queen, that her Majesty resolv'd "to take no final resolution till she receiv'd farther Adver- "tisement of the King's pleasure; and he did not think that "the information she had receiv'd from Monsieur *Montrevil*, "had weight enough to produce the quick resolution it had "done: that he thought it still most absolutely necessary, to "receive the King's positive Command before the Prince "should remove out of his Majesty's own Dominions; there "being no shadow of cause to suspect his security there: That "he had then offer'd to the Queen, that he would himself "make a Journey to *New-Castle* to receive his Majesty's "Commands; and that he now made the same offer to the "Prince; and because it did appear that his Majesty was very "strictly guarded, and that Persons did not easily find access "to him, and that his own Person might be seised upon in "his Journey thither, or his stay there, or his return back, "and so his Highness might be disappointed of the informa- "tion he expected, and remain still in the same uncertainty "as to a resolution, he did propose, and consent to, as his "opinion, that if he did not return again to *Jersey* within the "space of one Month, the Prince should resolve to remove "into *France*, if in the mean time such preparatories were "made there, as he thought were necessary, and were yet "defective.

HE said, "He had been lately at *Paris* by the Prince's "Command; and had receiv'd many Graces from the Queen, "who had vouchsafed to impart all her own Reasons for the "Prince's remove, and the grounds for the confidence she "had of the Affections of *France*; but, that he did still won- "der, if the Court of *France* had so great a desire, as was "pretended, that the Prince of *Wales* should repair thither, "that in the two Months time his Highness had been in *Jer- "sey*, they had never sent a Gentleman to see him, and to in- "vite him to come thither; nor had these who came now "from the Queen, brought so much as a Pass for him to come "into *France*: That he could not but observe, that all We had "hitherto proposed to our selves from *France*, had proved in "no degree answerable to our expectations; as the five thou- "sand Foot, which We had expected in the West before the "Prince came from thence; and that We had more reason to "be jealous now than ever, since it had been by the advice "of *France*, that the King had now put himself into the hands "of the *Scots*; and therefore We ought to be the more watch-

"ful

"ful in the diſpoſing the Perſon of the Prince by their ad-
"vice likewiſe. He concluded, "That he could not give his
"advice, or conſent, that the Prince ſhoud repair into *France*,
"till the King's pleaſure might be known, or ſuch other cir-
"cumſtances might be provided in *France*, as had been hi-
"therto neglected.

THE Lord *Digby* and the Lord *Jermyn* wonder'd very much, "That there ſhould be any doubt of the Affections of "*France*, or that it ſhould be believ'd that the Queen could "be deceiv'd, or not well enough inform'd in that particular: They related many particulars which had paſſed between the Cardinal and them in private Conferences, and the great profeſſions of Affection he made to the King. They ſaid, "That "the Embaſſadour who was now appointed to go thither, was "choſen by the Queen her ſelf; and had no other Inſtructions "but what ſhe had given him; and that he was not to ſtay "there above a Month; at the end of which he was to de-"nounce War againſt the Parliament, if they did not comply "with ſuch Propoſitions as he made; and ſo to return; and "then, that there ſhould be an Army of thirty thouſand Men "immediately Tranſported into *England*, with the Prince of "*Wales* in the head of them; that the Embaſſadour was al-"ready gone from *Paris*, but was not to Embark till he ſhould "firſt receive Advertiſement that the Prince of *Wales* was "Landed in *France*; for that *France* had no reaſon to intereſt "themſelves ſo far in the King's Quarrel, if the Prince of "*Wales* ſhould refuſe to venture his Perſon with them; or, it "may be, engage againſt them upon another Intereſt.

The Arguments of the Lord Digby and Lord Jermyn for it.

THEY therefore beſought the Prince, and the Lords "That "they would conſider well, whether he would diſappoint his "Father and Himſelf of ſo great Fruit as they were even rea-"dy to Gather, and of which they could not be diſappointed "but by unſeaſonable Jealouſies or the Integrity of *France*, "and by delaying to give them ſatisfaction in the remove of "the Prince from *Jerſey*.

THESE Arguments preſs'd with all the aſſurance imaginable, by Perſons of that near Truſt and Confidence with the King, who were not like to be deceiv'd Themſelves, nor to have any purpoſe to deceive the Prince, wrought ſo far with his Highneſs, that he declared "He would comply with the "Commands of the Queen, and forthwith remove into *France*; which being reſolv'd, he wiſh'd "There might be no more "debate upon that point, but that they would all prepare to "go with him, and that there might be as great an Unity in "their Counſels, as had hitherto always been.

The Prince reſolves to go into France.

THIS ſo poſitive Declaration of the Prince of his own Reſolution, made all farther Arguments againſt it not only uſe-

leſs

All but one of his Council dissent and stay behind.

less but indecent; and therefore they replied not to that Point, yet every Man of the Council, the Lord *Colepepper* only excepted, besought his Highness "That he would give them his "Pardon, if they did not further wait upon him; for they "conceiv'd their Commission to be now at an end; and that "they could not assume any Authority by it to themselves, if "they waited upon him into *France*; nor expect that their "Counsels there, should be hearken'd unto, when they were "now rejected. And so, after some sharp replies between the Lords of different Judgments, which made the Council break up the sooner, they who resolv'd not to go into *France* took their leaves of the Prince, and kiss'd his hand; his Highness then declaring, "That he would be gone the next day by five "of the Clock in the Morning, though the cross Winds, and want of some Provisions which were necessary for the Journey detained him there four or five days longer; during which time, the Dissenting Lords every day waited upon him, and were receiv'd by him very graciously; his Highness well knowing and expressing to them a confidence in their Affections, and that they would be sure to wait upon him, whenever his occasions should be ready for their Service. But between them and the other Lords, there grew by degrees so great a strangeness, that, the last day, they did not so much as speak to each other; they who came from the Queen taking it very ill, that the others had presumed to dissent from what her Majesty had so positively commanded. And though they neither loved their Persons, nor cared for their Company, and without doubt, if they had gone into *France*, would have made them quickly weary of theirs; yet, in that Conjuncture, they believ'd that the Dissent and Separation of all those Persons who were trusted by the King with the Person of the Prince, would blast their Counsel, and weigh down the single positive Determination of the Queen her self.

On the other side, the others did not think they were treated in that manner as was due to Persons so entrusted; but that in truth many ill Consequences would result from that suddain departure of the Prince out of the King's Dominions, where his residence might have been secure in respect of the Affairs of *England*; where, besides the Garrisons of *Silly* and *Pendennis* (which might always be reliev'd by Sea) there remain'd still within his Majesty's Obedience, *Oxford*, *Worcester*, *Wallingford*, *Ludlow*, and some other places of less name, which, upon any divisions among themselves, that were naturally to be expected, might have turn'd the Scale: Nor did they know, of what ill Consequence it might be to the King, that in such a Conjuncture the Prince should be remov'd, when it might be more Counsellable that he should appear in *Scotland*.

More-

MOREOVER, Mr *Ashburnham*'s opinion, which he had deliver'd to the Lord *Capel*, wrought very much upon them; for that a Man so entirely trusted by the King, who had seen him as lately as any Body, should bring no directions from his Majesty to his Son, and that he should believe, that it was fitter for the Prince to stay in *Jersey* than to remove into *France*, till his Majesty's pleasure was better understood, confirm'd them in the judgment they had deliver'd.

BUT there was another reason that prevailed with those who had been made Privy to it, and which out of Duty to the Queen, they thought not fit to publish, or insist upon; it was the Instructions given to *Bellievre* (and which too much manifested the irresolution her Majesty had) not to insist upon what they well knew the King would never depart from; for, though that Embassadour was required to do all he could to perswade the Presbyterians to joyn with the King's Party, and not to insist upon the destruction of the Church, yet if he found that could not be compassed, He was to press, as the advice of the King his Master, his Majesty to part with the Church, and to satisfy the Presbyterians in that point, as the advice of the Queen his Wife, and of his own Party; which method was afterwards observ'd and pursued by *Bellievre*; which those Lords perfectly abhorr'd; and thought not fit ever to concur in, or to be privy to those Counsels that had begun, and were to carry on that Confusion.

WITHIN a day or two after the Prince's departure from *Jersey*, the Earl of *Berk-shire* left it likewise, and went for *England*; the Lords *Capel*, *Hopton*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, remain'd together in *Jersey* to expect the King's pleasure, and to attend a conjuncture to appear again in his Majesty's Service, of all which they found an opportunity to inform his Majesty, who very well interpreted all that they had done according to the sincerity of their hearts; yet did believe, that if they had likewise waited upon the Prince into *France*, they might have been able to have prevented or diverted those violent Pressures, which were afterwards made upon him from thence, and gave him more disquiet than he suffer'd from all the Insolence of his Enemies.

IN a word, if the King's Fortune had been farther to be conducted by any fixt Rules of policy and discretion, and if the current towards his destruction had not run with such a Torrent, as carried down all obstructions of Sobriety and Wisdom, and made the Confusion inevitable, it is very probable that this so suddain remove of the Prince from *Jersey* with all the Circumstances thereof, might have been look'd upon, and Censured with Severity, as an Action that swerv'd from that prudence which by the fundamental Rules of policy had been long

long eſtabliſh'd; but by the Fatal and prodigious Calamities which follow'd, all Counſels of wiſe and unwiſe Men proving equally unſucceſsful, the Memory of what had paſſed before, grew to be the leſs thought upon and conſider'd.

Tranſactions relating to the King in the Scotiſh *Army.*

WHILST theſe things were thus Tranſacted in other Parts, the King remain'd yet in the *Scotiſh* Army; that People behaving themſelves in ſuch a manner, that moſt Men believ'd they would never have parted with his Majeſty till a full Peace had been made. The Parliament made many ſharp Inſtances, "That the King might be deliver'd into their hands; "and that the *Scotiſh* Army would return into their own Coun- "try, having done what they were ſent for, and the War be- "ing at an end. To which the Council of *Scotland* ſeem'd to Anſwer with Courage enough, and inſiſted moſt on thoſe Arguments of the King's legal Rights, which had been, in all his Majeſty's Declarations, urged againſt the Parliament's proceedings; and which indeed could never be Anſwer'd; and as much condemn'd Them, as the Parliament.

IN the mean time, though the King receiv'd all outward Reſpect, he was in truth in the condition of a Priſoner; no Servant whom he could Truſt ſuffer'd to come to him; and though many Perſons of Quality who had ſerv'd the King in the War, when they ſaw the reſolute Anſwers made by the *Scots*, "That they neither would nor could compel their King "to return to the Parliament, if his Majeſty had no mind to "do ſo, repaired to *New-Caſtle*, where his Majeſty was, yet none of them were ſuffer'd to ſpeak to him; nor could he receive from, or ſend any Letter to the Queen or Prince; and yet the *Scots* obſerv'd all diſtances, and perform'd all the Ceremonies as could have been expected if they had indeed treated him as their King; and made as great profeſſion to him of their Duty and good purpoſes, "Which they ſaid they would "manifeſt aſſoon as it ſhould be ſeaſonable; and then his Ser- "vants, and Friends ſhould repair to him with all Liberty, "and be well receiv'd: and as they endeavour'd to perſwade the King to expect this from them, ſo they prevailed with many Officers of that Army, and ſome of the Nobility, to believe that they meant well, but that it was not yet time to diſcover their Intentions.

The King ſends to the Marquis of Mountroſe *to disband; which he did.*

THUS they prevailed with the King to ſend his poſitive Orders to the Marquis of *Mountroſe*, who had indeed done Wonders, to lay down his Arms, and to leave the Kingdom; till when, they pretended they could not declare for his Majeſty; and this was done with ſo much earneſtneſs, and by a particular Meſſenger known and truſted, that the Marquis obeyed, and tranſported himſelf into *France*.

THEN

THEN they imploy'd their *Alexander Henderſon*, and their other Clergy, to perſwade the King to conſent to the Extirpation of Epiſcopacy in *England*, as he had in *Scotland*; and it was, and is ſtill believ'd that if his Majeſty would have been induced to have ſatisfied them in that particular, they would either have had a Party in the Parliament at *Weſtminſter* to have been ſatisfied therewith, or that they would thereupon have declar'd for the King, and have preſently joyn'd with the Loyal Party in all places for his Majeſty's defence. But the King was too Conſcientious to buy his Peace at ſo Prophane and Sacrilegious a Price as was demanded; and he was ſo much too hard for Mr *Henderſon* in the Argumentation (as appears by the Papers that paſſed between them, which were ſhortly after Communicated to the world) that the old Man himſelf was ſo far Convinced, and Converted, that he had a very deep ſenſe of the miſchief he had himſelf been the Author of, or too much contributed to, and lamented it to his neareſt Friends, and Confidents; and dyed of grief, and heart-broken, within a very ſhort time after he departed from his Majeſty.

They imploy Henderſon to the King to diſpute with him concerning Church Government.

Mr Henderſon dyes ſhortly after.

WHILST the King ſtayed at *New-Caſtle*, *Bellievre* the *French* Embaſſadour, who was ſent from *Paris* after the Prince arriv'd there, and by whom the Cardinal had promiſed to preſs the Parliament ſo imperiouſly, and to denounce a War againſt them if they refus'd to yield to what was reaſonable towards an Agreement with the King, came to his Majeſty, after he had ſpent ſome time at *London* in all the low Application to the Parliament that can be imagin'd, without any mention of the King with any tenderneſs, as if his Intereſt were at all conſider'd by the King his Maſter, and without any conſultation with thoſe of his Majeſty's Party; who were then in *London*, and would have been very ready to have adviſed with him. But he choſe rather to converſe with the principal Leaders of the Presbyterian Party in the Parliament, and with the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners; from whoſe Information he took all his Meaſures; and they aſſured him, "That nothing "could be done for the King, except he would give up the "Church; extirpate Epiſcopacy; and grant all the Lands be-"longing to Cathedral Churches to ſuch Uſes as the Parlia-"ment ſhould adviſe; ſo that, when he came to the King, he preſs'd him very earneſtly to that Condeſcention.

Bellievre's negotiations at London, and with the King afterwards at New-Caſtle.

BUT, beſides the matter propoſed, in which his Majeſty was unmoveable, he had no eſteem of any thing the Embaſſadour ſaid to him, having too late diſcover'd the little affection the Cardinal had for him, and which he had too much relied upon. For, as hath been already ſaid, by his advice, and upon his undertaking and aſſurance that his Majeſty ſhould be well

receiv'd

receiv'd in the *Scotiſh* Army, and that they would be firm to his Intereſt, his Majeſty had ventur'd to put himſelf into their hands; and he was no ſooner there, than all they with whom *Montrevil* had Treated, diſavow'd their undertaking what the King had been inform'd of; and though the Envoy did avow, and juſtify, what he had inform'd the King, to the Faces of the Perſons, who had given their Engagements, the Cardinal choſe rather to Recall, and Diſcountenance the Miniſter of that Crown, than to enter into any Expoſtulation with the Parliament, or the *Scots*.

Sr William D'avenant *ſent from the Queen to the King to perſwade him to give up the Church.*

THE Embaſſadour, by an Expreſs, quickly inform'd the Cardinal that the King was too reſerv'd in giving the Parliament ſatisfaction; and therefore wiſhed, "That ſome Body might "be ſent over, who was like to have ſo much credit with his "Majeſty as to perſwade him to what was neceſſary for his "Service. Upon which, the Queen, who was never adviſed by thoſe who either underſtood, or valued his true Intereſt, conſulted with thoſe about her; and ſent Sr *William D'avenant*, an honeſt Man, and a Witty, but in all reſpects inferior to ſuch a Truſt, with a Letter of credit to the King (who knew the Perſon well enough under another Character than was like to give him much credit in the Argument in which he was intruſted) although her Majeſty had likewiſe other ways declared her opinion to his Majeſty, "That he ſhould part with "the Church for his Peace and Security.

SIR *William D'avenant* had, by the countenance of the *French* Embaſſadour, eaſy admiſſion to the King; who heard him patiently all he had to ſay, and anſwer'd him in that manner that made it evident he was not pleaſed with the advice. When he found his Majeſty unſatisfied, and that he was not like to conſent to what was ſo earneſtly deſired by them by whoſe advice he was ſent, who undervalued all thoſe ſcruples of Conſcience which his Majeſty himſelf was ſtrongly poſſeſs'd with, he took upon himſelf the confidence to offer ſome Reaſons to the King to induce him to yield to what was propos'd; and, among other things, ſaid, "It was the advice "and opinion of all his Friends; his Majeſty asking, "What "Friends? and he anſwering, that it was the opinion of the "Lord *Jermyn*, the King ſaid, "That the Lord *Jermyn* did "not underſtand any thing of the Church. The other ſaid, "the Lord *Colepepper* was of the ſame mind. The King ſaid, *Colepepper* had no Religion: and asked, "Whether the Chan-"cellor of the Exchequer was of that mind? to which he anſwer'd, "He did not know; for that he was not there, and "had deſerted the Prince: and thereupon, ſaid ſomewhat from the Queen of the diſpleaſure ſhe had conceiv'd againſt the Chancellor; to which the King ſaid, "The Chancellor

"was

"was an honeſt Man, and would never deſert Him, nor the "Prince, nor the Church; and that he was ſorry he was not "with his Son; but that his Wife was miſtaken: *D'avenant* then offering ſome reaſons of his own, in which he mention'd the Church ſlightingly, as if it were not of Importance enough to weigh down the benefit that would attend the conceſſion, his Majeſty was tranſported with ſo much indignation, that he gave him a ſharper reprehenſion than was uſual for him to give to any other Man; and forbid him to preſume to come again into his Preſence. Whereupon the poor Man, who had in truth very good Affections, was exceedingly dejected and afflicted; and return'd into *France*, to give an Account of his ill Succeſs to thoſe who ſent him.

As all Men's expectations from the Courage and Activity of the *French* Embaſſadour in *England*, were thus fruſtrated, by his mean and low Carriage both towards the Parliament and at *New-Caſtle*, ſo all the profeſſions which had been made of reſpect and tenderneſs towards the Prince of *Wales*, when his Perſon ſhould once appear in *France*, were as unworthily diſappointed. The Prince had been above two Months with the Queen his Mother, before any notice was taken of his being in *France*, by the leaſt Meſſage ſent from the Court to Congratulate his arrival there; but that time was ſpent in debating the Formalities of his Reception; how the King ſhould treat him? and how he ſhould behave himſelf towards the King? whether he ſhould take place of Mounſieur the King's Brother? and what kind of Ceremonies ſhould be obſerv'd between the Prince of *Wales* and his Uncle the Duke of *Orleans*? and many ſuch other particulars; in all which they were reſolv'd to give the Law themſelves; and which had been fitter to have been adjuſted in *Jerſey*, before he put himſelf into their Power, than diſputed afterwards in the Court of *France*; from which there could be then no Appeal. *The Prince's treatment when he came into* France.

THERE can be no doubt but that the Cardinal, who was the ſole Miniſter of State, and directed all that was to be done, and dictated all that was to be ſaid, did think the preſence of the Prince there of the higheſt importance to their affairs, and did all that was in his Power, to perſwade the Queen that it was as neceſſary for the affairs of the King her Husband, and of her Majeſty: but now that work was over, and the Perſon of the Prince brought into their power, without the leaſt publick Act or Ceremony to invite him thither, it was no leſs his care that the Parliament in *England*, and the Officers of the Army, whom he fear'd more than the Parliament, ſhould believe that the Prince came thither without their wiſh, and in truth againſt their will; that the Crown of *France* could not refuſe to interpoſe, and mediate, to make

up the difference between the Parliament and the *Scotish* Nation, and that the Kingdoms might be restored to Peace; but that when they had perform'd that Office of Mediation, they had perform'd their Function; and that they would no more presume to take upon them to judge between the Parliament and the *Scots*, than they had done between the King and the Parliament; and that since the Prince had come to the Queen his Mother, from which they could not reasonably restrain him, it should not be attended with any prejudice to the Peace of *England*; nor should he there find any means, or assistance, to disturb it. And it was believ'd by those who stood at no great distance from affairs, that the Cardinal then laid the Foundation for that Friendship which was shortly after built up between him and *Cromwell*, by promising "That they should "receive less inconvenience by the Prince's remaining in "*France*, than if he were in any other part of *Europe*. And it can hardly be believ'd, with how little respect they treated him during the whole time of his stay there. They were very careful that he might not be look'd upon as supported by them either according to his Dignity, or for the maintenance of his Family; but a mean addition to the Pension which the Queen had before, was made to her Majesty, without any mention of the Prince her Son; who was wholely to depend upon her Bounty, without power to gratify and oblige any of his own Servants; that they likewise might depend only upon the Queen's goodness and favour, and so behave themselves accordingly.

WHEN the *Scots* had secured the peace and quiet of their own Country, by Disbanding the Forces under the Marquis of *Montrose*, and by his Transporting himself beyond the Seas, and by putting to death several persons of Name who had follow'd the Marquis, and had been taken Prisoners, among whom Sr *Robert Spotswood* was one, a worthy honest Loyal Gentleman, and as wise a Man as that Nation had at that time (whom the King had made Secretary of State of that Kingdom, in the place of the Earl of *Lawrick*, who was then in Arms against him; which, it may be, was a principal cause that the other was put to death.) And when they had with such Solemnity and Resolution made it plain and evident, that they could not without the most barefaced violation of their Faith and Allegiance, and of the fundamental principle of Christian Religion, ever deliver up their Native King, who had put himself into their hands, into the hands of the Parliament, against his own Will and consent: And when the Earl of *Louden* had publickly declar'd to the two Houses of Parliament in a Conference, "That an Eternal Infamy would "lie upon them, and the whole Nation, if they should de-

"liver

"liver the Person of the King; the securing of which was "equally their Duty, as it was the Parliament's, and the dis- "posal of his Person in order to that security, did equally be- "long to Them as to the Parliament; however, they said, "they would use all the perswasion, and all the importunity "they could with the King that his Majesty might yield, and "consent to the propositions the Parliament had sent to him.

THE Parliament had, upon the first notice of the King's being arriv'd in the *Scotish* Army, sent a positive Command to the Committee of both Kingdoms residing in the *Scotish* Army, that the Person of the King should be forthwith sent to *Warwick* Castle; but the *Scots*, who apprehended they could not be long without such an Order, had, within two days after his Majesty's coming to them, and after he had caused *Newark* to be deliver'd up, with wonderful expedition marched towards *New-Castle*; and were arriv'd there before they receiv'd that Order for sending his Majesty to *Warwick*; which proceeding of theirs, pleased his Majesty very well, among many other things which displeased him; and perswaded him, that though they would observe their own method, they would, in the end, do somewhat for his Service.

UPON the receiving that Order, they renew'd their professions to the Parliament of observing punctually all that had been agreed between them; and besought them, "That since "they had promised the King before he left *Oxford*, to send "Propositions to him, they would now do it; and said, that "if he refused to comply with them, to which they should "perswade him, they knew what they were to do. Then they advised the King, and prevailed with him, to send Orders to the Governour of *Oxford* to make conditions, and to surrender that place (where his Son the Duke of *York* was, and all the Council) into the hands of *Fairfax*, who with his Army then besieged them; and likewise to publish a general Order (which they caused to be printed) "That all Gover- "nours of any Garrisons for his Majesty, should immedi- "ately deliver them up to the Parliament upon fair and ho- "nourable Conditions, since his Majesty resolv'd in all things "to be advised by his Parliament; and till this was done, "they said, they could not declare themselves in that manner "for his Majesty's Service, and Interest, as they resolv'd to "do; for that they were, by their Treaty and Confederacy, to "serve the Parliament in such manner as they should direct, "until the War should be ended; but, that done, they had no "more obligations to the Parliament; and that, when his Ma- "jesty had no more Forces on Foot, nor Garrisons which "held out for him, it could not be denied but that the War "was at an end; and then they could speak and expostulate

The King, upon the Scots desire, sends Orders for the Surrender of Oxford *and all his other Garrisons.*

"with freedom. By which arts, they prevaled with the King to ſend, and publiſh ſuch Orders as aforeſaid; and which indeed, as the Caſe then ſtood, he could have receiv'd little benefit by not publiſhing.

The Parliament, upon the Scots *requeſt, ſends Propoſitions of Peace to the King at* New-Caſtle; *about the end of* July.

THE Parliament was contented, as the more expedite way (though they were much offended at the preſumption of the *Scots* in neglecting to ſend the King to *Warwick*) to ſend their Propoſitions to the King (which they knew his Majeſty would never grant) by Commiſſioners of both Houſes, who had no other Authority, or Power, than "To demand a po-"ſitive Anſwer from the King in ten days, and then to return. Theſe Propoſitions were deliver'd about the end of *July*; and contain'd ſuch an eradication of the Government of the Church and State, that the King told them, "He knew not

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

"what Anſwer to make to them, till he ſhould be inform'd "what Power or Authority they had left to him, and his "Heirs, when he had given all that to them which they de-"ſired. He deſir'd, That he might be removed to ſome of "his own Houſes, and that he might reſide there, till, upon a "Perſonal Treaty with his Parliament, ſuch an agreement "might be eſtabliſhed as the Kingdom might enjoy peace and "happineſs under it; which, he was ſure, it could never do "by the conceſſions they propoſed.

THE *Scots* who were enough convinced that his Majeſty could never be wrought upon to ſacrifice the Church to their wild luſts and impiety, were as good as their word to the Parliament, and uſed all the rude Importunity and Threats to his Majeſty, to perſwade him freely to conſent to all: though they confeſſed "That the Propoſitions were higher in many "things than they approv'd of, yet they ſaw no other means "for him to cloſe with his Parliament, than by granting what "they required.

The Scots *inforce the Parliament Propoſitions by their Chancellor.*

THE Chancellor of *Scotland* told him, "That the conſe-"quence of his Anſwer to the Propoſitions, was as great, as the "ruin, or preſervation of his Crown or Kingdoms. That the "Parliament after many bloody Battles, had got the ſtrong-"holds and Forts of the Kingdom into their hands: that they "had his Revenue, Exciſe, Aſſeſments, Sequeſtrations, and "Power to raiſe all the Men and Money of the Kingdom: "that they had gain'd Victory over all, and that they had a "ſtrong Army to maintain it; ſo that they might do what "they would with Church or State: that they deſired neither "Him, nor any of his Race, longer to Reign over them; and "had ſent theſe Propoſitions to his Majeſty, without the "granting whereof, the Kingdom and his People could not "be in ſafety: that if he refuſed to Aſſent, he would loſe all "his Friends in Parliament, loſe the City, and loſe the Coun-

"try;

"try; and that all *England* would joyn againſt him as one "Man to proceſs, and depoſe him, and to ſet up another Go- "vernment; and ſo, that both Kingdoms, for either's Safety, "would agree to ſettle Religion and Peace without him, to "the ruin of his Majeſty, and his Poſterity: and concluded, "that if he left *England*, he would not be admitted to come "and Reign in *Scotland*.

AND it is very true that the General Aſſembly of the Kirk, which was then ſitting in *Scotland*, had Petition'd the Conſervators of the Peace of the Kingdom, "That if the King "ſhould refuſe to give ſatisfaction to his Parliament, he might "not be permitted to come into *Scotland*. This kind of Argumentation did more provoke than perſwade the King; he told them, with great Reſolution, and Magnanimity, "That "no Condition they could reduce him to, could be half ſo mi- "ſerable, and grievous to him, as that which they would "perſwade him to reduce himſelf to; and therefore, bid them "proceed their own way; and that though they had all for- "ſaken him, God had not.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to them.

THE Parliament had now receiv'd the Anſwer they expected; and, forthwith, requir'd "The *Scots* to quit the King- "dom, and to deliver the Perſon of the King to ſuch Perſons "as they ſhould appoint to receive him; who ſhould attend upon his Majeſty from *New-Caſtle* to *Holmby*, a Houſe of his at a ſmall diſtance from *Northampton*, a Town and Country of very eminent diſaffection to the King throughout the War; and declar'd "That his Majeſty ſhould be treated, with "reſpect to the ſafety and preſervation of his Perſon, accord- "ing to the Covenant: And that after his coming to *Holmby*, "he ſhould be attended by ſuch as they ſhould appoint; and "that when the *Scots* were remov'd out of *England*, the Par- "liament would joyn with their Brethren of *Scotland* again "to perſwade the King to paſs the Propoſitions; which if he "refuſed to do, the Houſe would do nothing that might break "the Union of the two Kingdoms, but would endeavour to "preſerve the ſame.

The Parliament require the Scots *to quit the Kingdom, and to deliver up the Perſon of the King.*

THE *Scots* now begun again to talk ſturdily, and deny'd "That the Parliament of *England* had power abſolutely to "diſpoſe of the Perſon of the King without their approba- "tion; and the Parliament as loudly reply'd, "That they had "nothing to do in *England*, but to obſerve their Orders; and added ſuch Threats to their Reaſons, as might let them ſee they had a great contempt of their power, and would exact Obedience from them, if they refuſed to yield it. But theſe diſcourſes were only kept up till they could adjuſt all Accounts between them, and agree what Price they ſhould pay for the delivery of his Perſon, whom one ſide was reſolv'd to

The Scots agree to deliver up the King.

have, and the other as resolv'd not to keep; and so they agreed; and, upon the payment of two hundred thousand pounds in hand, and security for as much more upon days agreed upon, the *Scots* deliver'd the King up into such hands as the Parliament appointed to receive Him.

IN this infamous manner that excellent Prince was, in the end of *January*, given up, by his *Scotish* Subjects, to those of his *English* who were intrusted by the Parliament to receive Him; which had appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons, to go to the place agreed upon with a Party of Horse and Foot of the Army, which were subject to the Orders of that Committee, and the Committee it self to go to *New-Castle* to receive that Town as well as the King; where, and to whom, his Majesty was deliver'd.

The Committee appointed by the Parliament receive the King at New-Castle *in the end of* January.

THEY receiv'd Him with the same formality of respect as he had been treated with by the *Scots*, and with the same strictness restrain'd all resort of those to his Majesty, who were of doubtful Affections to them, and their Cause. Servants were particularly appointed, and named by the Parliament, to attend upon his Person, and Service, in all relations; amongst which, in the first place, they preferr'd those who had faithfully adhered to them against their Master; and, where such were wanting, they found others who had manifested their Affection to them. And, in this distribution, the Presbyterian Party in the Houses did what they pleased, and were thought to govern all. The Independents craftily letting them enjoy that confidence of their power and interest, till they had dismiss'd their Friends, the *Scots*, out of the Kingdom; and permitting them to put Men of their principles about the Person of the King, and to choose such a Guard as they could confide in, to attend his Majesty.

Servants appointed by the Parliament to attend his Majesty.

OF the Committee imploy'd to govern and direct all, Major General *Brown* was one, who had a great Name and Interest in the City, and with all the Presbyterian Party, and had done great Service to the Parliament in the War under the Earl of *Essex*, and was a diligent and stout Commander. In this manner, and with this attendance, his Majesty was brought to his own House at *Holmby* in *Northampton-shire*; a place he had taken much delight in: And there he was to stay till the Parliament and the Army (for the Army now took upon them to have a share, and to give their opinion in the Settlement that should be made) should determine what should be farther done.

The King is brought to Holmby.

In the mean time, the Committee paid all respects to his Majesty; and he enjoy'd those Exercises he most delighted in; and seem'd to have all liberty, but to confer with Persons he most desir'd, and to have such Servants about him as he could trust.

truſt. That which moſt diſpleaſed him, was, that they would not permit him to have his own Chaplains; but order'd Preſbyterian Miniſters to attend for Divine Service; and his Majeſty, utterly refuſing to be preſent at their Devotions, was compell'd at thoſe hours to be his own Chaplain in his Bed-Chamber; where he conſtantly uſed the Common-Prayer by himſelf. His Majeſty bore this conſtraint ſo heavily that he writ a Letter to the Houſe of Peers, in which he incloſed a Liſt of the Names of thirteen of his Chaplains; any two of which he deſir'd might have liberty to attend him for his Devotion. To which, after many days conſideration, they return'd this Anſwer; "That all thoſe Chaplains were diſaffected "to the Eſtabliſh'd Government of the Church, and had not "taken the Covenant; but that there were others who had, "who, if his Majeſty pleas'd, ſhould be ſent to him. After this Anſwer, his Majeſty thought it to no purpoſe to importune them farther in that particular; but, next to the having his own Chaplains, he would have been beſt pleas'd to have been without any; they who were ſent by them, being Men of mean Parts, and of moſt impertinent and troubleſome Confidence and Importunity.

The King deſires certain of his Chaplains; is refuſed.

WHILST thoſe diſputes continued between the Parliament and the *Scots* concerning the King's Perſon, the Army proceeded with great Succeſs in reducing thoſe Garriſons which ſtill continued, in his Majeſty's Obedience; whereof though ſome Surrender'd more eaſily and with leſs reſiſtance than they might have made, ſatisfying themſelves with the King's general Order, that there was no reaſonable expectation of Relief, and therefore that it would not be amiſs, by an early Submiſſion, to obtain better Conditions for themſelves; yet others defended themſelves with notable Obſtinacy to the laſt, to the great damage of the Enemy, and to the detaining the Army from Uniting together; without which they could not purſue the great deſigns they had. And this was one of the reaſons that made the Treaty with the *Scots* depend ſo long, and that the Presbyterians continued their Authority and Credit ſo long; and We may obſerve again, that thoſe Garriſons which were maintain'd and defended with the greateſt Courage and Virtue, in the end, obtain'd as good and as honourable Conditions, as any of thoſe who Surrender'd upon the firſt Summons.

Divers Garriſons Surrender'd to the Parliament.

THIS was the Caſe of *Ragland* and *Pendennis* Caſtles; which endured the longeſt Sieges, and held out the laſt of any Forts or Caſtles in *England*; being bravely defended by two Perſons of very great Age; but were at length deliver'd up within a day or two of each other. *Ragland* was maintain'd with extraordinary Reſolution and Courage, by the old

Marquis of *Worceſter* againſt *Fairfax* himſelf, till it was reduced to the utmoſt Neceſſity. *Pendennis* refuſed all Summons; admitting no Treaty, till all their Proviſions were ſo far conſumed, that they had not Victual left for four and twenty hours; and then they treated and carried themſelves in the Treaty with ſuch Reſolution, and Unconcernedneſs, that the Enemy concluded they were in no ſtreights; and ſo gave them the Conditions they propos'd; which were as good as any Garriſon in *England* had accepted. This Caſtle was defended by the Governour thereof, *John Arundel* of *Trerice* in *Cornwal*, an old Gentleman of near fourſcore years of Age, and of one of the beſt Eſtates and Intereſt in that County; who, with the Aſſiſtance of his Son *Richard Arundel* (who was then a Colonel in the Army; a ſtout and diligent Officer; and was by the King after his Return made a Baron, Lord *Arundel* of *Trerice*, in memory of his Father's Service, and his own eminent behaviour throughout the War) maintain'd, and defended the ſame to the laſt Extremity.

THERE remain'd with him in that Service many Gentlemen of the Country of great Loyalty, amongſt whom Sr *Harry Killigrew* was one; who, being an intimate Friend of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, reſolv'd to go to *Jerſey*; and, aſſoon as the Caſtle was Surrender'd, took the firſt opportunity of a Veſſel then in the Harbour of *Falmouth*, to Tranſport himſelf with ſome Officers and Soldiers to St *Maloes* in *Britany*; from whence he writ to the Chancellor in *Jerſey*, that he would procure a Bark of that Iſland to go to St *Maloes* to fetch him thither; which, by the kindneſs of Sr *George Carteret*, was preſently ſent, with a longing deſire to receive him into that Iſland; the two Lords *Capel* and *Hopton*, and the Governour, having an extraordinary affection for him, as well as the Chancellor. Within two days after, upon view of the Veſſel at Sea (which they well knew) they all made haſte to the Harbour to receive their Friend; but, when they came thither, to their infinite regret, they found his Body there in a Coffin, he having dy'd at St *Maloes* within a day after he had written his Letter.

AFTER the Treaty was ſign'd for delivering the Caſtle, he had walked out to diſcharge ſome Arms which were in his Chamber; among which, a Carabine that had been long charged, in the ſhooting off, broke; and a ſplinter of it ſtruck him in the forehead; which, though it drew much Blood, was not apprehended by him to be of any danger; ſo that his Friends could not perſwade him to ſtay there till the wound was cured; but the Blood being ſtopp'd and the Chirurgeon having bound it up, he proſecuted his intended Voyage; and at his Landing at St *Maloes*, he writ that Letter; believing his wound

wound would give him little trouble. But his Letter was no ſooner gone than he ſent for a Chirurgeon; who, opening the wound, found it was very deep and dangerous; and the next day he dy'd, having deſir'd that his dead Body might be ſent to *Jerſey*; where he was decently buried. He was a very Gallant Gentleman, of a Noble Extraction, and a fair Revenue in Land; of excellent Parts and Courage; he had one only Son, who was killed before him in a Party that fell upon the Enemies Quarters near *Bridgewater*; where he behaved himſelf with remarkable Courage, and was generally lamented.

Sir *Harry* was of the Houſe of Commons; and though he had no other relation to the Court than the having many Friends there, as wherever he was known he was exceedingly belov'd, he was moſt zealous and paſſionate in oppoſing all the extravagant proceedings of the Parliament. And when the Earl of *Eſſex* was choſen General, and the ſeveral Members of the Houſe ſtood up, and declar'd, what Horſe they would raiſe, and maintain, and that they would live and dye with the Earl their General, one ſaying he would raiſe ten Horſes, and another twenty, He ſtood up and ſaid, "He "would provide a good Horſe, and a good Buff Coat, and a "good pair of Piſtols, and then he doubted not but he ſhould "find a good Cauſe; and ſo went out of the Houſe, and rode Poſt into *Cornwal*, where his Eſtate and Intereſt lay; and there joyn'd with thoſe Gallant Gentlemen his Friends, who firſt receiv'd the Lord *Hopton*, and raiſed thoſe Forces which did ſo many famous Actions in the Weſt.

He would never take any Command in the Army; but they who had, conſulted with no Man more. He was in all Actions, and in thoſe places where was moſt danger, having great Courage and a pleaſantneſs of humour in Danger that was very exemplary; and they who did not do their duty, took care not to be within his view; for he was a very ſharp Speaker, and cared not for angering thoſe who deſerv'd to be reprehended. The *Arundels*, *Trelawnies*, *Slannings*, *Trevanions*, and all the ſignal Men of that County, infinitely loved his Spirit, and Sincerity; and his Credit and Intereſt had a great influence upon all but thoſe who did not love the King; and to thoſe, he was very terrible; and exceedingly hated by them; and not loved by Men of moderate Tempers; for he thought all ſuch prepared to Rebel, when a little Succeſs ſhould encourage them; and was many times too much offended with Men who wiſh'd well, and whoſe Conſtitutions and Complexions would not permit them to expreſs the ſame frankneſs, which his Nature and keenneſs of Spirit could not ſuppreſs. His loſs was much lamented by all good Men.

From

FROM the time that the King was brought to *Holmby*, and whilſt he ſtay'd there, he was afflicted with the ſame preſſures concerning the Church; which had diſquieted him at *New-Caſtle*; the Parliament not remitting any of their Inſolencies in their Demands: all which was imputed to the Preſbyterians, who were thought to exerciſe the whole Power, and begun to give Orders for the leſſening their great Charge by disbanding ſome Troops of their Army, and ſending others for *Ireland*; which they made no doubt ſpeedily to Reduce; and declar'd, "That they would then disband all Armies, that "the Kingdom might be govern'd by the known Laws.

Differences ariſe between the Parliament and the Army.

THIS Temper in the Houſes raiſed another Spirit in the Army; which did neither like the Presbyterian Government that they ſaw ready to be ſettled in the Church, nor that the Parliament ſhould ſo abſolutely diſpoſe of them, by whom they had gotten power to do all they had done; and *Cromwell*, who had the ſole influence upon the Army, under-hand, made them Petition the Houſes againſt any thing that was done contrary to his opinion. He himſelf, and his Officers, took upon them to Preach and Pray publickly to their Troops, and admitted few or no Chaplains in the Army, but ſuch as bitterly inveighed againſt the Presbyterian Government, as more Tyrannical than Epiſcopacy; and the Common Soldiers, as well as the Officers, did not only Pray, and Preach among themſelves, but went up into the Pulpits in all Churches, and Preached to the People; who quickly became inſpired with the ſame Spirit; Women as well as Men taking upon them to Pray and Preach; which made as great a noiſe and confuſion in all opinions concerning Religion, as there was in the Civil Government of the State; ſcarce any Man being ſuffer'd to be called in queſtion for delivering any opinion in Religion, by ſpeaking or writing, how Prophane, Heretical, or Blaſphemous ſoever it was; "Which they ſaid, was to re-"ſtrain the Spirit.

Divers Sects increaſe in the Army.

LIBERTY of Conſcience was now the Common Argument and Quarrel, whilſt the Presbyterian Party proceeded with equal bitterneſs againſt the ſeveral Sects as Enemies to all Godlineſs, as they had done, and ſtill continued to do, againſt the Prelatical Party; and finding themſelves ſuperior in the two Houſes, little doubted, by their Authority and Power there, to be able to reform the Army, and to new model it again; which they would, no doubt, have attempted, if it had not pleaſed God to have taken away the Earl of *Eſſex* ſome Months before this; who dy'd without being ſenſible of ſickneſs, in a time when he might have been able to have undone much of the miſchief he had formerly wrought; to which he had great inclinations; and had indignation enough for the indignities

The Earl of Eſſex dyed in Sept. this year.

dignities himself had receiv'd from the ungrateful Parliament, and wonderful apprehension, and detestation of the ruin he saw like to befall the King, and the Kingdom. And it is very probable, considering the present temper of the City at that time, and of the two Houses, he might, if he had liv'd, have given some check to the rage and fury that then prevailed. But God would not suffer a Man, who, out of the Pride and Vanity of his Nature, rather than the wickedness of his Heart, had been made an Instrument of so much mischief, to have any share in so glorious a work: Though his Constitution, and Temper, might very well incline him to the Lethargick indisposition of which he dy'd, yet it was loudly said by many of his Friends, "That he was poyson'd.

SURE it is that *Cromwell*, and his Party (for he was now declar'd head of the Army, though *Fairfax* continued General in Name) were wonderfully exalted with his death; he being the only Person whose Credit and Interest they fear'd, without any esteem of his Person.

AND now, that they might more substantially enter into dispute, and competition with the Parliament, and go a share with them in settling the Kingdom (as they call'd it) the Army erected a kind of Parliament among themselves. They had, from the time of the defeat of the King's Army, and when they had no more Enemy to contend with in the Field, and after they had purged their Army of all those inconvenient Officers, of whose entire Submission, and Obedience to all their Dictates, they had not confidence, set aside, in effect, their Self-denying Ordinance, and got their principal Officers of the Army, and others of their Friends, whose Principles they well knew, to be elected Members of the House of Commons into their places who were dead, or who had been expell'd by them for adhering to the King. By this means, *Fairfax* himself, *Ireton*, *Harrison*, and many others of the Independents, Officers, and Gentlemen, of the several Counties, who were transported with new fancies in Religion, and were called by a new name *Fanaticks*, sate in the House of Commons; notwithstanding all which, the Presbyterians still carried it.

BUT about this time, that they might be upon a nearer Level with the Parliament, the Army made choice of a number of such Officers as they liked; which they called the General's Council of Officers; who were to resemble the House of Peers; and the Common Soldiers made choice of three or four of each Regiment, most Corporals or Serjeants, few or none above the degree of an Ensign, who were call'd Agitators, and were to be as a House of Commons to the Council of Officers. These two Representatives met severally, and consider'd

Agitators, as well as a Council of Officers, appointed by the Army.

consider'd of all the Acts and Orders made by the Parliament towards settling the Kingdom, and towards reforming, dividing, or disbanding of the Army: and, upon mutual Messages and Conferences between each other, they resolv'd in the first place, and declar'd, "That they would not be divided, "or disbanded, before their full Arrears were paid, and before "full Provision was made for Liberty of Conscience; which, "they said, was the ground of the Quarrel, and for which "so many of their Friends Lives had been lost, so much "of their own Blood had been spilt; and that hitherto there "was so little security provided in that point, that there was a "greater Persecution now against Religious and Godly Men, "than ever had been in the King's Government, when the "Bishops were their Judges.

Their first Resolutions:

THEY said, "They did not look upon themselves as a Band "of *Janizaries*, hired and entertain'd only to Fight their Battles; but that they had voluntarily taken up Arms for the "Liberty and Defence of the Nation of which they were a "part; and before they laid down those Arms, they would "see all those ends well provided for, that the People might "not hereafter undergo those grievances which they had formerly suffer'd. They complain'd "That some Members of the "Army had been sent for by the Parliament, and committed "to Prison, which was against their Privilege; since all Soldiers ought to be tryed by a Council of War, and not by "any other Judicatory: and therefore they desired redress in "these, and many other particulars of as ingrateful a Nature; "and that such as were Imprison'd, and in Custody, might be "forthwith set at liberty; without which they could not think "themselves justly dealt with: And with this Declaration and Address, they sent three or four of their own Members to the House of Commons; who deliver'd it at the Bar with wonderful Confidence.

Which they deliver'd to the Parliament.

THE Soldiers publish'd a vindication, as they call'd it, of their Proceedings and Resolutions, and directed it to their General; in which they complain'd of a design to disband, and new model the Army; "Which, they said, was a Plot "contriv'd by some Men who had lately tasted of Soveraignty; and, being lifted up above the ordinary Sphere of Servants, endeavour'd to become Masters, and were degenerated into Tyrants. They therefore declared, "That they "would neither be imploy'd for the Service of *Ireland*, nor "suffer themselves to be disbanded, till their desires were "granted, and the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects should "be vindicated, and maintain'd. This Apology, or Vindication, being sign'd by many inferior Officers, the Parliament declar'd them to be Enemies to the State; and caused some

of

of them, who talked loudeſt, to be impriſon'd. Upon which a new Addreſs was made to their General; wherein they complain'd "How diſdainfully they were uſed by the Parliament, "for whom they had ventured their lives, and loſt their "Blood: that the Priviledges which were due to them as Sol-"diers, and as Subjects, were taken from them; and when "they complain'd of the Injuries they receiv'd, they were "abus'd, beaten, and dragg'd into Goals. *And to their General.*

HEREUPON, the General was prevailed with to write a Letter to a Member of Parliament, who ſhew'd it the Houſe; in which he took notice of ſeveral Petitions, which were prepared in the City of *London*, and ſome other Counties of the Kingdom, againſt the Army; and "That it was look'd "upon as very ſtrange, that the Officers of the Army might "not be permitted to petition, when ſo many Petitions were "receiv'd againſt them; and that he much doubted that the "Army might draw to a Rendezvous, and think of ſome other "way for their own vindication.

THIS manner of proceeding by the Soldiers, but eſpecially the General ſeeming to be of their mind, troubled the Parliament; yet they reſolv'd not to ſuffer their Counſels to be cenſured, or their Actions controuled, by thoſe who were retained by them, and who liv'd upon their pay. And therefore, after many high Expreſſions againſt the preſumption of ſeveral Officers and Soldiers, they declar'd "That whoſoever ſhould "refuſe, being commanded, to engage himſelf in the Service "of *Ireland*, ſhould be disbanded. The Army was reſolv'd not to be ſubdued in their firſt ſo declared Reſolution, and fell into a direct and high Mutiny, and call'd for the Arrears of pay due to them; which they knew where and how to Levy for themſelves; nor could they be in any degree appeas'd, till the Declaration that the Parliament had made againſt them, was raſed out of the Journal Book of both Houſes, and a Months pay ſent to them; nor were they ſatisfied with all this, but talked very loud, "That they knew "how to make themſelves as conſiderable as the Parliament, "and where to have their Service better valued, and reward-"ed; which ſo frighted thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, that they appointed a Committee of Lords and Commons, whereof ſome were very acceptable to the Army, to go to them, and to treat with a Committee choſen of the Officers of the Army, upon the beſt expedients that might be applied to the compoſing theſe diſtempers. Now the Army thought it ſelf upon a Level with the Parliament, when they had a Committee of the one authoriſed to treat with a Committee of the other; which likewiſe raiſed the Spirits of *Fairfax*, who had never thought of oppoſing or diſobeying the Parliament; and diſpoſed him to

The Parliament's Declaration thereupon.

Afterward raſed out of their Books.

A Committee appointed by the two Houſes to treat with a Committee of the Army.

to more concurrence with the impetuous humour of the Army, when he saw it was so much complied with and submitted to by all Men.

Cromwells *behaviour at first in these Mutinies.*

CROMWELL, hitherto, carried himself with that rare dissimulation (in which sure he was a very great Master) that he seem'd exceedingly incensed against this Insolence of the Soldiers; was still in the House of Commons when any such Addresses were made; and inveighed bitterly against the presumption, and had been the cause of the Commitment, of some of the Officers. He proposed, "That the General might "be sent down to the Army; who, he said, "Would conjure "down this mutinous Spirit quickly; and he was so easily believ'd, that he himself was sent once or twice to compose the Army; where after he had stayed two or three days, he would again return to the House, and complain heavily "Of "the great License that was got into the Army; that, for "his own part, by the Artifice of his Enemies, and of those "who desired that the Nation should be again imbrew'd in "Blood, he was render'd so odious unto them, that they had "a purpose to kill him, if, upon some discovery made to him, "he had not escaped out of their hands. And in these, and the like Discourses, when he spake of the Nation's being to be involv'd in new troubles, he would weep bitterly, and appear the most afflicted Man in the world with the sense of the Calamities which were like to ensue. But, as many of the wiser sort had long discover'd his wicked intentions, so his hypocrisie could not longer be concealed. The most active Officers and Agitators were known to be his own Creatures, and such who neither did, nor would do, any thing but by his direction. So that it was privately resolv'd by the principal Persons of the House of Commons, that when he came the next day into the House, which he seldom omitted to do, they would send him to the Tower; presuming, that if they had once sever'd his Person from the Army, they should easily reduce it to its former temper and obedience. For they had not the least jealousy of the General *Fairfax*, whom they knew to be a perfect Presbyterian in his Judgment; and that *Cromwell* had the Ascendent over him purely by his Dissimulation, and pretence of Conscience and Sincerity. There is no doubt *Fairfax*, did not then, nor long after, believe, that the other had those wicked designs in his heart against the King, or the least imagination of disobeying the Parliament.

THIS purpose of seising upon the Person of *Cromwell* could not be carried so secretly, but that he had notice of it; and the very next morning after he had so much lamented his desperate misfortune in having lost all reputation, and credit, and authority in the Army, and that his life would be in danger

if

if he were with it, when the House expected every minute his presence, they were inform'd that he was met out of the Town by break of day, with one Servant only, on the way to the Army; where he had appointed a Rendezvous of some Regiments of the Horse, and from whence he writ a Letter to the House of Commons, "That having the night before "receiv'd a Letter from some Officers of his own Regiment, "that the jealousy the Troops had conceiv'd of him, and of his "want of kindness towards them, was much abated, so that "they believ'd, if he would be quickly present with them, "they would all in a short time by his advice be reclaim'd, "upon this he had made all the haste he could; and did find "that the Soldiers had been abused by misinformation; and "that he hoped to discover the Fountain from whence it "Sprung; and in the mean time desired that the General, and "the other Officers in the House, and such as remain'd about "the Town, might be presently sent to their Quarters; and "that he believ'd it would be very necessary in order to the "suppression of the late distempers, and for the prevention of "the like for the time to come, that there might be a gene-"ral Rendezvous of the Army; of which the General would "best consider, when he came down; which he wished might "be hasten'd. It was now to no purpose to discover what they had formerly intended, or that they had any jealousy of a Person who was out of their reach; and so they expected a better conjuncture; and in few days after, the General and the other Officers left the Town, and went to their Quarters.

Cornet Joyce *seised upon the King at* Holmby, June 3. 1647.

The same Morning that *Cromwell* left *London*, Cornet *Joyce*, who was one of the Agitators in the Army, a Taylor, a fellow who had two or three years before serv'd in a very Inferior imployment in Mr *Hollis's* House, came with a Squadron of fifty Horse to *Holmby*, where the King was, about the break of day; and without any interruption by the Guard of Horse or Foot which waited there, came with two or three more, and knock'd at the King's Chamber door, and said "He must presently speak with the King. His Majesty, surprised with the manner of it, rose out of his bed; and, half dress'd, caused the door to be open'd, which he knew otherwise would be quickly broken open; they who waited in the Chamber being Persons of whom he had little knowledge, and less confidence. Assoon as the door was open'd, *Joyce*, and two or three more, came into the Chamber, with their Hats off, and Pistols in their hands. *Joyce* told the King, "That he must go with him. His Majesty asked, "Whither? he answer'd, "To the Army. The King asked him, "Where "the Army was? he said, "They would carry him to the "Place where it was. His Majesty asked, "By what Au-

"thority

"thority they came? *Joyce* anſwer'd, "By this; and ſhew'd him his Piſtol; and deſir'd his Majeſty, "That he would cauſe "himſelf to be dreſs'd, becauſe it was neceſſary they ſhould "make haſte. None of the other Soldiers ſpoke a word; and *Joyce*, ſaving the bluntneſs, and poſitiveneſs of the few words he ſpoke, behaved himſelf not rudely. The King ſaid, "He "could not ſtir before he ſpoke with the Committee to "whom he had been deliver'd, and who were truſted by the "Parliament; and ſo appointed one of thoſe who waited upon him to call them. The Committee had been as much ſurpriſed with the noiſe as the King had been, and quickly came to his Chamber, and asked *Joyce*, "Whether he had any "Orders from the Parliament? he ſaid, *No*. "From the General? *No*. What Authority he came by? to which he made no other Anſwer, than he had made to the King, and held up his Piſtol. They ſaid, "They would write to the "Parliament to know their pleaſure; *Joyce* ſaid, "They might "do ſo, but the King muſt preſently go with him. Colonel *Brown* had ſent for ſome of the Troops who were appointed for the King's Guard, but they came not; he ſpoke then with the Officer who Commanded thoſe who were at that time upon the Guard, and found that they would make no reſiſtance: ſo that after the King had made all the delays he conveniently could, without giving them cauſe to believe that he was reſolv'd not to have gone, which had been to no purpoſe, and after he had broken his Faſt, he went into his Coach, attended by the few Servants who were put about him, and went whither Cornet *Joyce* would Conduct him; there being no part of the Army known to be within twenty Miles of *Holmby* at that time; and that which adminiſter'd moſt cauſe of apprehenſion, was, that thoſe Officers who were of the Guard, declar'd "That the Squadron which was Com-"manded by *Joyce*, conſiſted not of Soldiers of any one Re-"giment, but were Men of ſeveral Troops, and ſeveral Regi-"ments, drawn together under him, who was not the pro-"per Officer; ſo that the King did in truth believe, that their purpoſe was to carry him to ſome place where they might more conveniently murder him. The Committee quickly gave notice to the Parliament of what had paſſed, with all the circumſtances; and it was receiv'd with all imaginable conſternation; nor could any Body imagine what the purpoſe and reſolution was.

The Committee give notice of it.

The General's Account of it to the Parliament.

NOR were they at the more eaſe, or in any degree pleaſed with the Account they receiv'd from the General himſelf; who by his Letter, inform'd them; "That the Soldiers at "*Holmby* had brought the King from thence; and that his "Majeſty lay the next Night at Colonel *Montague*'s Houſe,

"and

"and would be the next day at *New-Market*: that the Ground "thereof was from an Apprehenſion of ſome ſtrength ga- "ther'd to force the King from thence; whereupon he had "ſent Colonel *Whaley*'s Regiment to meet the King. He pro- teſted, "That his remove was without his conſent, or of the "Officers about him, or of the Body of the Army, and with- "out their deſire, or privity: that he would take care for the "ſecurity of his Majeſty's Perſon from danger; and aſſured the Parliament, "That the whole Army endeavour'd Peace, "and were far from oppoſing Presbytery, or affecting In- "dependency, or from any purpoſe to maintain a Licentious "freedom in Religion, or the Intereſt of any particular Party, "but were reſolv'd to leave the abſolute determination of all "to the Parliament.

IT was upon the Third of *June* that the King was taken from *Holmby* by Cornet *Joyce*, well nigh a full year after he had deliver'd himſelf to the *Scots* at *Newark*; in all which time, the Army had been at leiſure to contrive all ways to free it ſelf from the Servitude of the Parliament, whilſt the Presbyterians believ'd, that in ſpight of a few factious Inde- pendent Officers, it was entirely at their Devotion, and could never prove diſobedient to their Commands; and thoſe few wiſe Men, who diſcern'd the foul deſigns of thoſe Officers, and by what degrees they ſtole the Hearts and Affections of the Soldiers, had not credit enough to be believ'd by their own Party. The joynt confidence of the unanimous Affection of the City of *London* to all their purpoſes, made them deſpiſe all oppoſition; but now, when they ſaw the King taken out of their hands in this manner, and with theſe circumſtances; they found all their Meaſures broke by which they had form'd all their Counſels. And as this Letter from the General admi- niſter'd too much cauſe of Jealouſy of what was to ſucceed, ſo a poſitive information about the ſame time by many Of- ficers, confirm'd by a Letter which the Lord Mayor of *Lon- don* had receiv'd, that the whole Army was upon it's march, and would be in *London* the next day by noon, ſo diſtracted them that they appear'd beſides themſelves: however, they Voted, "That the Houſes ſhould ſit all the next day, being "*Sunday*; and that Mr *Marſhall* ſhould be there to pray for "them: That the Committee of Safety ſhould ſit up all that "Night to conſider what was to be done: That the Lines of "Communication ſhould be ſtrongly Guarded, and all the "Train'd-bands of *London* ſhould be drawn together upon "pain of death. All Shops were ſhut up, and ſuch a general Confuſion over all the Town, and in the faces of all Men, as if the Army had already enter'd the Town. The Parliament writ a Letter to the General, deſiring him, "That no part of

Diſtractions at Weſt- minſter *upon notice of the Army's coming to- wards* Lon- don.

"the Army might come within five and twenty Miles of "*London*; and that the King's Perſon might be deliver'd to "the former Commiſſioners, who had attended upon his Ma- "jeſty at *Holmby*; and that Colonel *Roſſiter*, and his Re- "giment, might be appointed for the Guard of his Perſon. The General return'd for Anſwer, "That the Army was come "to St *Albans* before the deſire of the Parliament came to his "hands; but that, in Obedience to their Commands, he would "advance no farther; and deſir'd that a Month's pay might "preſently be ſent for the Army. In which they deferr'd not to gratify them; though as to the redelivery of the King to the former Commiſſioners, no other Anſwer was return'd, than "That they might reſt aſſured, that all care ſhould be "taken for his Majeſty's ſecurity.

The King brought to Newmarket; *where He was allow'd his Chaplains by the Army.*

FROM that time both *Cromwell* and *Ireton* appear'd in the Council of Officers, which they had never before done; and their expoſtulations with the Parliament, begun to be more brisk, and contumacious than they had been. The King found himſelf at *Newmarket* attended by greater Troops and ſuperior Officers; ſo that he was preſently freed from any Subjection to Mr *Joyce*; which was no ſmall ſatisfaction to him; and they who were about him appear'd Men of better Breeding than the former, and paid his Majeſty all the reſpect imaginable, and ſeem'd to deſire to pleaſe him in all things. All reſtraint was taken off from Perſons reſorting to him, and he ſaw every day the Faces of many who were grateful to him; and he no ſooner deſired that ſome of his Chaplains might have leave to attend upon him for his Devotion, but it was yielded to, and they who were named by him (who were Dr *Sheldon*, Dr *Morley*, Dr *Sanderſon*, and Dr *Hammond*) were preſently ſent, and gave their attendance, and perform'd their Function at the ordinary hours, in their accuſtom'd Formalities; all perſons who had a mind to it, being ſuffer'd to be preſent, to his Majeſty's infinite ſatisfaction; who begun to believe that the Army was not ſo much his Enemy as it was reported to be: and the Army had ſent an Addreſs to him full of proteſtation of Duty, and beſought him "That he would be content, for ſome time, to "reſide among them, until the Affairs of the Kingdom were "put into ſuch a Poſture as he might find all things to his "own content, and ſecurity; which they infinitely deſir'd to "ſee aſſoon as might be; and to that purpoſe made daily in- "ſtances to the Parliament. In the mean time his Majeſty ſate ſtill, or remov'd to ſuch places as were moſt convenient for the march of the Army; being in all places as well provided for, and accommodated, as he had uſed to be in any Progreſs; the beſt Gentlemen of the ſeveral Counties through which

His Majeſty removes according to the marches of the Army.

which he passed, daily resorted to him, without distinction; he was attended by some of his old Trusty Servants in the places neareſt his Person; and that which gave him most encouragement to believe that they meant well, was, that in the Army's Address to the Parliament, they desir'd "That care "might be taken for settling the King's Rights, according to "the several Professions they had made in their Declarations; "and that the Royal Party might be treated with more Can- "dour, and less Rigour; and many good Officers who had serv'd his Majesty faithfully, were Civilly receiv'd by the Officers of the Army, and liv'd quietly in their Quarters; which they could not do any where else; which raised a great Reputation to the Army, throughout the Kingdom, and as much Reproach upon the Parliament.

THE Parliament at this time had recover'd its Spirit, when they saw the Army did not march nearer towards them, and not only stopp'd at St *Albans*, but was drawn back to a farther distance; which perswaded them, that their General was displeased with the former advance: and so they proceeded with all passion, and vigour, against those principal Officers, who, they knew, contrived all these Proceedings. They published Declarations to the Kingdom, "That they desired to bring the "King in honour to his Parliament; which was their busi- "ness from their beginning, and that he was detain'd Prisoner "against his Will in the Army; and that they had great rea- "son to apprehend the safety of his Person. The Army, on the other hand, declared "That his Majesty was neither "Prisoner, nor detain'd against his Will; and appeal'd to "his Majesty himself, and to all his Friends, who had liberty "to repair to him, whether he had not more liberty, and was "not treated with more respect, since he came into the Army "than he had been at *Holmby*, or during the time he remain'd "in those places, and with that retinue that the Parliament "had appointed? The City seem'd very unanimously devoted to the Parliament, and incensed against the Army; and seem'd resolute, not only with their train'd-bands and Auxiliary Regiments to assist, and defend the Parliament, but appointed some of the old Officers who had serv'd under the Earl of *Essex*, and had been disbanded under the new Model, as *Waller*, *Massey*, and others, to list new Forces; towards which there was not like to be want of Men out of their old Forces, and such of the King's as would be glad of the employment. There was nothing they did really fear so much, as that the Army would make a firm conjunction with the King, and unite with his Party, of which there was so much shew; and many unskilful Men, who wished it, bragg'd too much; and therefore the Parliament sent a Committee to his Majesty, with an

Transactions in the City upon those occasions.

Addreſs of another Style than they had lately uſed, with many profeſſions of Duty; and declaring, "That if he was not, in "all reſpects, treated as he ought to be, and as he deſired, it "was not Their fault, who deſired he might be at full Liberty, "and do what he would; hoping that the King would have been induced to deſire to come to *London*, and to make complaint of the Army's having taken him from *Holmby*; by which they believ'd the King's Party would be diſabuſed, and withdraw their hopes of any good from the Army; and then, they thought, they ſhould be hard enough for them.

THE King was in great doubt how to carry himſelf; he thought himſelf ſo barbarouſly uſed by the Presbyterians, and had ſo ill an opinion of all the principal Perſons who govern'd them, that he had no mind to put himſelf into their hands. On the other ſide, he was far from being ſatisfied with the Army's good intentions towards him; and though many of his Friends were ſuffer'd to reſort to him, they found that their being long about him, would not be acceptable; and though the Officers and Soldiers appear'd, for the moſt part, civil to him, they were all at leaſt as vigilant, as the former Guards had been; ſo that he could not, without great difficulty, have got from them if he had deſir'd it. *Fairfax* had been with him, and kiſs'd his hand, and made ſuch Profeſſions as he could well utter; which was with no advantage in the delivery; his Authority was of no uſe, becauſe he reſign'd himſelf entirely to *Cromwell*; who had been, and *Ireton* likewiſe, with the King, without either of them offering to kiſs his hand; otherwiſe, they behaved themſelves with good manners towards him. His Majeſty uſed all the Addreſs he could towards them to draw ſome promiſe from them, but they were ſo reſerv'd, and ſtood ſo much upon their Guard, and uſed ſo few words, that nothing could be concluded from what they ſaid: they excuſed themſelves "For not ſeeing his Majeſty often, upon "the great jealouſies the Parliament had of them, towards "whom they profeſs'd all fidelity. The Perſons who reſorted to his Majeſty, and brought Advices from others who durſt not yet offer to come themſelves, brought ſeveral opinions to him; ſome thinking the Army would deal ſincerely with his Majeſty, others expecting no better from them than they afterwards perform'd: ſo that the King well concluded that he would neither reject the Parliament Addreſſes by any neglect, nor diſoblige the Army by appearing to have jealouſy of them, or deſire to be out of their hands; which he could hardly have effected, if he had known a better place to have reſorted to. So he deſired both Parties "To haſten their Conſulta-"tions, that the Kingdom might enjoy Peace and Happineſs; "in which he ſhould not be without a ſhare; and he would

"pray

"pray to God to bring this to pass assoon as was possible.

THE News of the King's being in the Army, of his freedom in the exercise of his Religion, which he had been so long without, and that some of his Servants, with whom he was well pleased, had liberty to attend upon him, made every Body abroad, as well as those at home, hope well; and the King himself writ to the Queen, as if he thought his condition much better than it had been among the *Scots*. Sr *John Berkley* after his Surrender of *Exeter*, and the spending his six Months allow'd by the Articles to sollicite his Affairs where he would, had Transported himself into *France*, and waited upon the Queen at *Paris*, being still a Menial Servant to her Majesty, and having a Friend in that Court that govern'd, and lov'd him better than any body else did. Assoon as the reports came thither of the King's being with the Army, he repeated many Discourses he had held with the Officers of the Army, whilst they treated with him of the delivery of *Exeter*; how he had told them, "Upon how slippery ground "they stood; that the Parliament, when they had serv'd their "turn, would dismiss them with reproach, and give them "very small rewards for the great Service they had done for "them; that they should do well, seasonably to think of a "safe retreat which could be no where but under the Protec"tion of the King; who by their Courage was brought very "low; and if they raised him again, he must owe it all to "them; and his Posterity, as well as himself, and all his Par"ty, must for ever acknowledge it; by which they would "raise their Fortunes, as well as their Fame, to the greatest "degree Men could aim at; which, he said, made such an impression upon this and that Officer, whom he named, that they told him at parting, that they "Should never forget what "he had said to them; and that they already observ'd that "every day produced somewhat that would put them in mind "of it. In a word, "He had foretold all that was since come "to pass, and he was most confident, that, if he were now "with them he should be welcome, and have Credit enough "to bring them to reason, and to do the King great Service; and offer'd without any delay, to make the Journey. The Queen believ'd all he said; and they who did not, were very willing he should make the experiment; for he that lov'd him best, was very willing to be without him; and so receiving the Queen's Letter of Recommendation of him to the King, who knew him very little, and that little not without some prejudice, he left *Paris*, and made all possible haste into *England*. *John Ashburnham*, who was driven from the King by the *Scots* after he had Conducted his Majesty to them, had Transported himself into *France*, and was at this time residing

Sir John Berkley *sent from the Queen to the King.*

in *Roan*; having found, upon his Addreſs to the Queen at *Paris* upon his firſt Arrival, that his abode in ſome other place would not be ungrateful to her Majeſty, and ſo he removed to *Roan*; where he had the ſociety of many who had ſerv'd the King in the moſt eminent Qualifications. When he heard where the King was, and that there was not the ſame reſtraint that had been formerly, he reſolv'd to make an adventure to wait on him; having no reaſon to doubt but that his Preſence would be very acceptable to the King; and though the other Envoy from *Paris*, and He, did not make their Journey into *England* together, nor had the leaſt Communication with each other, being in truth of ſeveral Parties and Purpoſes, yet they Arriv'd there, and at the Army, near the ſame time.

Mr Aſhburnham comes from France to the King.

Sir John Berkley *and* Mr Aſhburnham's *Tranſactions with ſome Officers of the Army.*

BERKLEY firſt applied himſelf to thoſe ſubordinate Officers with whom he had ſome acquaintance at *Exeter*, and they informing their Superiors of his Arrival, and Application, they were well pleaſed that he was come. They were well acquainted with his Talent, and knew his Foible, that, by flattering and commending, they might govern him; and that there was no danger of any deep deſign from his contrivance; and ſo they permitted him freely to attend the King, about whoſe Perſon he had no title or Relation, which requir'd any conſtant waiting upon him.

ASHBURNHAM had, by ſome Friends, a recommendation both to *Cromwell*, and *Ireton*, who knew the Credit he had with the King, and that his Majeſty would be very well pleaſed to have his attendance, and look upon it as a Teſtimony of their reſpect to him. They knew likewiſe that he was an implacable Enemy to the *Scots*, and no Friend to the other Presbyterians, and though he had ſome ordinary craft in inſinuating, he was of no deep and piercing Judgment to diſcover what was not unwarily expoſed, and a free Speaker of what he imagin'd: So they likewiſe left him at liberty to repair to the King; and theſe two Gentlemen came near about the ſame time to his Majeſty, when the Army was drawing together, with a purpoſe, which was not yet publiſh'd, of marching to *London*; his Majeſty being ſtill Quarter'd in thoſe places which were more proper for that purpoſe.

THEY were both welcome to his Majeſty, the one bringing a ſpecial recommendation from the Queen, and to make himſelf the more valuable, aſſuring his Majeſty "That he was "ſent for by the Officers of the Army, as one they would "truſt, and that they had receiv'd him with open Armes; "and, without any ſcruple, gave him leave to wait upon him: The other, needed no recommendation, the King's own inclinations diſpoſing him to be very gracious to him; and ſo his Majeſty wiſh'd them "To correſpond with each other, and

"to

"to converſe with his ſeveral Friends, who did not yet think "fit to reſort to him; and to receive their advice; to diſcover "as much as they could of the Intentions of both Parties, and "impart what was fit to the King, till, upon a farther diſco-"very, his Majeſty might better judge what to do. Theſe two were the principal Agents (they conferring with all his Majeſty's Friends, and, as often as they deſir'd, with the Officers of the Army) upon whoſe Information, and Advice, his Majeſty principally depended, though they rarely conferr'd together with the ſame Perſons, and never with any of the Officers, who pretended not to truſt one another enough to ſpeak with that freedom before each other, as they would to one of them; and their acquaintance among the Officers not being principally with the ſame Men, their Informations and Advices were often very different, and more perplexed than inform'd his Majeſty.

The different deſigns of the Parliament and Army at this time relating to the King.

THE very high Conteſts between the Parliament and the Army, in which neither ſide could be perſwaded to yield to the other, or abate any of their aſperity, made many Prudent Men believe that both ſides would, in the end, be willing to make the King the Umpire; which neither of them ever intended to do. The Parliament thought that their Name and Authority, which had carried them through ſo great undertakings, and reduced the whole Kingdom to their Obedience, could not be overpower'd by their own Army, raiſed and paid by themſelves, and to whoſe Dictates the People would never ſubmit. They thought the King's Preſence amongſt them, gave them all their preſent Reputation; and were not without apprehenſion that the Ambition of ſome of the Officers, and their Malice to the Parliament, when they ſaw that they could obtain their ends no other way, might diſpoſe them to an entire Conjunction with the King's Party and Intereſt; and then, all the Penalties of Treaſon, Rebellion, and Treſpaſſes, muſt be diſcharged at their coſts; and therefore they labour'd by all the publick and private means they could, to perſwade the King to own his being detain'd Priſoner by the Army againſt his Will, or to withdraw himſelf by ſome way from them, and repair to *White-Hall*; and, in either of thoſe Caſes, they did not doubt, firſt, to divide the Army (for they ſtill believ'd the General faſt to them) and by degrees to bring them to reaſon, and to be disbanded, as many as were not neceſſary for the Service of *Ireland*; and then, having the King to themſelves, and all his Party being obnoxious to thoſe penalties for their Delinquency, they ſhould be well able, by gratifying ſome of the greateſt Perſons of the Nobility with Immunity and Indemnity, to ſettle the Government in ſuch a manner, as to be well recom-

penſed for all the Adventures they had made, and hazards they had run.

On the other hand, the Army had no dread of the Authority and Power of the Parliament; which they knew had been ſo far proſtituted, that it had loſt moſt of its Reverence with the People. But it had great apprehenſion, that, by its conjunction with the City, it might indeed recover Credit with the Kingdom, and withhold the pay of the Army, and thereby make ſome diviſion amongſt them; and if the Perſon of the King ſhould be likewiſe with them, and thereby his Party ſhould likewiſe joyn with them, they ſhould be to begin their work again, or to make their Peace with thoſe who were as much provoked by them as the King himſelf had been. And therefore they were ſenſible that they enjoy'd a preſent benefit by the King's being with them, and by their treating him with the outward reſpect that was due to his Majeſty, and the civilities they made profeſſion of towards all his Party, and the permiſſion of his Chaplains, and other Servants, to reſort to him; and cultivated all theſe Artifices with great Addreſs, ſuppreſſing, or diſcountenancing the Tyranny of the Presbyterians in the Country Committees, and all other places, where they exerciſed notable rigour againſt all who had been of the King's Party, or not enough of theirs (for Neuters found no excuſe for being of no Party) when they found it fit to make any luſty Declaration againſt the Parliament, and exclaim againſt their Tyrannical proceedings againſt the Army, they always inſerted ſomewhat that might look like Candour and Tenderneſs towards the King's Party, complain'd of "The "Affront, and Indignity done to the Army by the Parlia-"ment's not obſerving the Articles which had been made "upon Surrender of Garriſons, but proceeding againſt thoſe "on whoſe behalf thoſe Articles were made, with more ſeve-"rity than was agreeable to juſtice, and to the intention of "the Articles; whereby the Honour and Faith of the Army "ſuffer'd, and was complain'd of; all which, they ſaid, they "would have remedied. Whereupon many hoped that they ſhould be excuſed from making any Compoſitions, and entertain'd ſuch other imaginations as pleaſed themſelves, and the other Party well liked; knowing they could demoliſh all thoſe Structures aſſoon as they receiv'd no benefit by themſelves.

The King had, during the time he ſtay'd at *Holmby*, writ to the Houſe of Peers, that his Children might have leave to come to him, and to reſide for ſome time with him. From the time that *Oxford* had been Surrender'd, upon which the Duke of *York* had fallen into their hands, for they would by no means admit that he ſhould have liberty to go to ſuch

place

place as the King ſhould direct, which was very earneſtly preſſed, and inſiſted on by the Lords of the Council there, as long as they could; but appointed their Committee to receive him with all reſpect, and to bring him to *London*; from that time, I ſay, the Duke of *York* was committed to the care of the Earl of *Northumberland*, together with the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Princeſs, who had been by the King left under the Tuition of the Counteſs of *Dorſet*, but from the death of that Counteſs the Parliament had preſumed, that they might be ſure to keep them in their power, to put them into the cuſtody of the Lady *Vere*, an old Lady much in their favour, but not at all Ambitious of that Charge, though there was a competent Allowance aſſign'd for their ſupport. They were now remov'd from her, and placed all together with the Earl of *Northumberland*, who receiv'd, and treated them, in all reſpects, as was ſuitable to their Birth, and his own Duty; but could give them no more liberty to go abroad, than he was, in his Inſtructions from the Parliament, permitted to do; and they had abſolutely refuſed to gratify the King in that particular; of which his Majeſty no ſooner took notice to *Fairfax*, than he writ a Letter to the Parliament, "That the "King much deſir'd to have the ſight and company of his "Children; and that if they might not be allow'd to be longer "with him, that at leaſt they might dine with him; and he ſent them word that, on ſuch a day, "The King, who attend-"ed the motion of the Army, and was Quarter'd only where "they pleaſed, would dine at *Maidenhead*. There his Children met him, to his infinite content and joy; and he being to Quarter and ſtay ſome time at *Caverſham*, a Houſe of the Lord *Craven*'s, near *Reading*, his Children were likewiſe ſuffer'd to go thither, and remain'd with him two days; which was the greateſt ſatisfaction the King could receive; and the receiving whereof, he imputed to the Civility of the General, and the good diſpoſition of the Army; which made ſo much the more impreſſion upon him, in that he had never made any one Propoſition in which he had been gratified, where the Presbyterian Spirit had power to deny it.

The King allow'd to ſee his Children at Maidenhead *and* Caverſham.

In the Houſe of Commons, which was now the Scene of all the Action that diſpleaſed and incenſed the Army (for the Houſe of Peers was ſhrunk into ſo inconſiderable a Number, and their Perſons not conſiderable after the Death of the Earl of *Eſſex*, except thoſe who were affected to, or might be diſpoſed by the Army) they were wholely guided by *Hollis*, and *Stapleton*, *Lewis*, and *Glyn*, who had been very Popular and Notorious from the beginning, and by *Waller*, and *Maſſey*, and *Brown*, who had Serv'd in Commands in the Army, and perform'd at ſome times very ſignal Service, and were exceedingly

ingly belov'd in the City, and two or three others who follow'd their Dictates, and were ſubſervient to their Directions. Theſe were all Men of Parts, Intereſt, and ſignal Courage, and did not only heartily abhor the intentions which they diſcern'd the Army to have, and that it was wholely to be diſpoſed according to the deſigns of *Cromwell*, but had likewiſe declared Animoſities againſt the Perſons of the moſt active and powerful Officers; as *Hollis* had one day, upon a very hot debate in the Houſe, and ſome rude expreſſions which fell from *Ireton*, perſwaded him to walk out of the Houſe with him, and then told him, "That he ſhould pre-"ſently go over the Water and Fight with him. *Ireton* replying, "His Conſcience would not ſuffer him to fight a Duel: *Hollis*, in choler, pulled him by the Noſe; telling him, "If "his Conſcience would keep him from giving Men ſatiſ-"faction, it ſhould keep him from provoking them. This affront to the third Perſon of the Army, and to a Man of the moſt Virulent, Malicious, and Revengeful Nature of all the Pack, ſo incenſed the whole Party, that they were reſolv'd one way or other to be rid of him, who had that power in the Houſe, and that Reputation abroad, that when he could not abſolutely controle their deſigns, he did ſo obſtruct them, that they could not advance to any concluſion.

THEY reſorted therefore to an expedient, which, they had obſerv'd, by the Conduct of thoſe very Men againſt whom they meant to apply it, had brought to paſs all that they deſired; and in the Council of Officers, prepared an impeachment of High Treaſon in general Terms againſt Mr *Hollis*, and the Perſons mention'd before, and others, to the number of eleven Members of the Houſe of Commons. This impeachment twelve Officers of the Army, Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Majors, and Captains, preſented to the Houſe; and within few days after, when they ſaw the ſame Members ſtill inveigh againſt and arraign their proceedings, the General and Officers writ a Letter to the Houſe, "That they would "appoint fit Perſons on their and the Kingdom's behalf, to "make good the charge againſt thoſe Members whom they "had accuſed; and that they deſir'd, that thoſe Members im-"peach'd might be forthwith ſuſpended from ſitting in the "Houſe, ſince it could not be thought fit that the ſame Per-"ſons who had ſo much injured and provoked the Army, "ſhould ſit Judges of their own Actions. This was an Arrow that the Houſe of Commons did not expect would have been ſhot out of that Quiver; and though they were unſpeakably diſmay'd, and diſtracted with this preſumption, they anſwer'd poſitively, "That they neither would, nor could, ſequeſter "thoſe Members from the Houſe, who had never ſaid, or "done

The Army impeach eleven Members of the Houſe of Commons.

"done any thing in the Houſe worthy of Cenſure, till proof "were made of ſuch particulars as might render them guilty. But the Officers of the Army reply'd, "That they could prove "them guilty of ſuch practices in the Houſe, that it would "be juſt in the Houſe to ſuſpend them: that by the Laws of "the Land, and the Precedents of Parliament, the Lords had "upon the very preſentation of a general Accuſation without "being reduced in form, ſequeſter'd from their Houſe and "committed the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Arch-Biſhop of "*Canterbury*; and therefore they muſt preſs, and inſiſt upon "the ſuſpending at leaſt of thoſe accuſed Members from be-"ing preſent in the Houſe, where they ſtood impeach'd; and "without this, they ſaid, the Army would not be ſatisfied. However the Houſe of Commons ſeem'd ſtill reſolute, the accuſed Members themſelves, who beſt knew their temper, thought it ſafer for them to retire, and by forbearing to appear in the Houſe, to allay the heat of the preſent Conteſt.

UPON this ſo palpable Declenſion of Spirit in the Houſe, the Army ſeem'd much quieter, and reſolv'd to ſet other Agents on their work, that they might not appear too buſy and active in their own concernment. It is very true that the City, upon whoſe influence the Parliament much depended, appear'd now entirely Presbyterian; the Court of Aldermen, and Common Council, conſiſted chiefly of Men of that Spirit; the Militia of the City was committed to Commiſſioners carefully and factiouſly choſen of that Party; all thoſe of another temper having been put out of thoſe Truſts, at or about the time that the King was deliver'd up by the *Scots*, when the Officers of the Army were content that the Presbyterians ſhould believe, that the whole power of the Kingdom was in them; and that they might ſettle what Government they pleas'd: if there remain'd any Perſons in any of thoſe imployments in the City, it was by their diſſimulation, and pretending to have other Affections; moſt of thoſe who were notorious to be of any other Faction in Religion, had been put out; and liv'd as neglected and diſcountenanced Men; who ſeem'd rather to depend upon the Clemency, and Indulgence of the State, for their particular liberty in the exerciſe of that Religion they adhered to, than to have any hope or ambition to be again admitted into any ſhare, or part in the Government: yet, after all this diſſimulation, *Cromwell* and *Ireton* well knew, that the multitude of inferior People were at their diſpoſal, and would appear in any conjuncture they ſhould think convenient; and that many Aldermen and ſubſtantial Citizens were quiet, and appear'd not to contradict or oppoſe the Presbyterians, only by their directions; and would be ready upon their call. And now, when they ſaw thoſe leading

The temper of the City and the Changes of their Militia at this time.

leading Men, who had govern'd the Parliament, profecuted by the Army, and that they forbore to come to the Houſe, there flock'd together great Numbers of the loweſt, and moſt inferior People, to the Parliament, with Petitions of ſeveral Natures, both with reference to Religion, and to the Civil Government; with the noiſe and clamour whereof, the Parliament was ſo offended and diſturbed, that they made an Ordinance, "That it ſhould be Criminal to gather, and ſol-"licite the Subſcriptions of hands to Petitions. But this Order ſo offended all parties, that they were compell'd, within two days, to revoke it, and to leave all Men to their natural Liberty. Whilſt this Confuſion was in the City and Parliament, the Commiſſioners, which had been ſent to the Army to treat with the Officers, had no better ſucceſs; but return'd with the poſitive and declared Reſolution of the Army, "That "a Declaration ſhould be publiſh'd by the Parliament againſt "the coming in of Forreign Force: for they apprehended, or rather were willing that the People ſhould apprehend, a new Combination by the *Scots*: "That the pay of the Army ſhould "be put into a conſtant Courſe, and all Perſons who had re-"ceiv'd Money, ſhould be called to an account: That the Militia of *London* ſhould be put into the hands of Perſons well "affected, and thoſe who had been formerly truſted: that all "Perſons impriſon'd for pretended Miſdemeanours, by Order "of Parliament, or their Committees, might be ſet at Li-"berty; and, if upon tryal they ſhould be found Innocent, "that they might have good Reparation. And they particularly mention'd *John Lilburn*, *Overton*, and other Anabaptiſts and Fanaticks, who had been committed by the Parliament for many Seditious Meetings, under pretence of Exerciſe of their Religion, and many inſolent Actions againſt the Government. Upon the report of theſe demands, the Parliament grew more enraged; and Voted, "That the yielding to "the Army in theſe particulars, would be againſt their Ho-"nour, and their Intereſt, and deſtructive to their Privileges; with many expreſſions againſt their preſumption, and inſolence: yet, when a new Rabble of Petitioners demanded, with loud Cries, moſt of the ſame things, they were willing to compound with them; and conſented, that the Militia of the City of *London* ſhould be put into ſuch hands as the Army ſhould deſire.

THE Militia of the City had been in the beginning of *May*, ſhortly after the King's being brought to *Holmby*, ſettled with the conſent, and upon the deſire, of the Common Council, by Ordinance of Parliament, in the hands of Commiſſioners, who were generally of the Presbyterian Party, they who were of other inclinations being remov'd; and, as

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is ſaid before, ſeem'd not diſpleaſed at their diſgrace; and now, when upon the Declaration and Demands of the Army, ſeconded by clamorous Petitions, they ſaw this Ordinance reverſed, in *July*, without ſo much as conſulting with the Common Council according to cuſtom, the City was exceedingly ſtartled; and ſaid, "That if the Imperious Com-"mand of the Army, could prevail with the Parliament to "reverſe ſuch an Ordinance as that of the Militia, they had "reaſon to apprehend they might as well repeal the other Or-"dinances for the ſecurity of Money, or for the purchaſe of "Biſhops and Church Lands, or whatſoever elſe that was the "proper ſecurity of the Subject. And therefore they cauſed a Petition to be prepared in the name of the City, to be preſented by the two Sheriffs, and others deputed by the Common Council to that purpoſe. But, before they were ready, many thouſands, Apprentices and young Citizens, brought Petitions to the Parliament; in which they ſaid, "That the "Command of the Militia of the City was the Birth-right of "the City, and belonged to them by ſeveral Charters which "had been confirm'd in Parliament; for defence whereof, they "ſaid they had ventur'd their Lives as far and as frankly as "the Army had done; and therefore, they deſir'd that the "Ordinance of Parliament of the fourth of *May*, which had "paſſed with their conſent, might ſtand inviolable. They firſt preſented their Petition to the Houſe of Peers, who immediately revoked their late Ordinance of *July*, and confirm'd their former of *May*; and ſent it down to the Commons for their conſent; who durſt not deny their concurrence, the Apprentices behaving themſelves ſo inſolently, that they would ſcarce ſuffer the door of the Houſe of Commons to be ſhut; and ſome of them went into the Houſe.

A tumultuous Petition of Apprentices, and others, to both Houſes concerning their Militia.

AND in this manner the Ordinance was reverſed that had been made at the deſire of the Army, and the other of *May* ratified and confirm'd; which was no ſooner done than the Parliament adjourn'd till *Friday*, that they might have two or three days to conſider how they ſhould behave themſelves, and prevent the like violences hereafter. The Army had quickly notice of theſe extraordinary proceedings, and the General writ a very ſharp Letter to the Parliament from *Bedford*; in which he put them in mind, "How civilly the Army had "complied with their deſire, by removing to a greater di-"ſtance, upon preſumption that their own Authority would "have been able to have ſecured them from any rudeneſs, "and violence of the People; which it was now evident it "could not do, by the unparallell'd violation of all their Privi-"leges, on the *Monday* before, by a Multitude from the City, "which had been encouraged by ſeveral Common Council "Men

Upon this the General writ a very ſharp Letter to the Parliament.

"Men, and other Citizens in Authority; which was an Act "ſo prodigious and horrid as muſt diſſolve all Government, "if not ſeverely and exemplarily chaſtiſed: that the Army "looked upon themſelves as accountable to the Kingdom, if "this unheard of outrage, by which the Peace and Settlement "of the Nation, and the relief of *Ireland*, had been ſo noto-"riouſly interrupted, ſhould not be ſtrictly examined, and "juſtice ſpeedily done upon the Offenders. Upon *Friday*, to which both Houſes had adjourn'd, the Members came together, in as full Numbers as they had uſed to meet, there being above one hundred and forty of the Houſe of Commons; but, after they had ſate ſome time in expectation of their Speaker, they were inform'd that he was gone out of the Town early that Morning; and they obſerv'd that Sr *Henry Vane*, and ſome few other Members who uſed to concur with him, were likewiſe abſent. The Houſe of Peers found likewiſe that the Earl of *Mancheſter*, their Speaker, had withdrawn himſelf, together with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and ſome other Lords; but the Major part ſtill remain'd there, full of Indignation againſt thoſe who were abſent, and who they all concluded were gone to the Army. Hereupon both Houſes choſe new Speakers; who accepted the Office; and the Commons preſently voted, "That the eleven Members who ſtood "impeach'd by the Army, and had diſcontinued coming to "the Houſe, ſhould preſently appear, and take their places. They made an Ordinance of Parliament, by which a Committee of ſafety was appointed to joyn with the City Militia, and had Authority to raiſe Men for the defence of the Parliament; which they appear'd ſo vigorouſly reſolv'd on, that no Man in the Houſes, or in the City, ſeem'd to intend any thing elſe. The News of this rouſed up the Army, and the General preſently ſent a good Party of Horſe into *Windſor*, and marched himſelf to *Uxbridge*, and appointed a general Rendezvous for the whole Army upon *Hounſlow* Heath, within two days; when and where there appear'd twenty thouſand Foot and Horſe, with a Train of Artillery, and all other proviſions proportionable to ſuch an Army.

The two Speakers, with other Members of the two Houſes, withdrew to the Army.

Both Houſes choſe new Speakers; and their Votes.

Rendezvous of the Army appointed on Hounſlow *Heath, and the King removed to* Hampton *Court.*

ASSOON as the Rendezvous was appointed at *Hounſlow* Heath, at the ſame time the King removed to *Hampton* Court; which was prepared, and put into as good order for his reception, as could have been done in the beſt time. The Houſe ſeem'd for ſome time to retain their Spirit and Vigour, and the City talked of liſting Men, and defending themſelves, and not ſuffering the Army to approach nearer to them; but, when they knew the day of the Rendezvous, thoſe in both Houſes who had been too weak to carry any thing, and ſo had look'd on whilſt ſuch Votes were paſſed as they liked not and could

could not oppoſe, now when their Friend the Army was ſo near, recover'd their Spirits, and talk'd very loud; and perſwaded the reſt, "To think in time of making their peace "with the Army, that could not be withſtood. And the City grew every day more appalled, irreſolute, and confounded, one Man propoſing this, and another ſomewhat contrary to that, like Men amazed and diſtracted. When the Army met upon *Hounſlow* Heath at their Rendezvous, the Speakers of both Houſes, who had privately before met with the Chief Officers of the Army, appear'd there with their Maces, and ſuch other Members as accompanied them; complaining to the General, "That they had not freedom at *Weſtminſter*, but "were in danger of their lives by the Tumults; and appealed to the Army for their protection.

Both Speakers, and the other Members, appear in the Army on Hounſlow *Heath.*

THIS looked like a new Act of Providence to vindicate the Army from all reproaches, and to juſtify them in all they had done, as abſolutely done for the preſervation of the Parliament and Kingdom. If this had been a retreat of Sr *Harry Vane* and ſome other diſcontented Men, who were known to be Independents, and Fanaticks in their opinions in Religion, and of the Army-faction, who being no longer able to oppoſe the wiſdom of the Parliament, had fled to their Friends for protection from Juſtice, they would have got no reputation, nor the Army been thought the better of for their Company; but neither of the Speakers were ever look'd upon as inclined to the Army; *Lenthall* was generally believ'd to have no malice towards the King, and not to be without good inclinations to the Church; and the Earl of *Mancheſter*, who was Speaker of the Houſe of Peers, was known to have all the prejudice imaginable againſt *Cromwell*; and had formerly accuſed him of want of Duty to the Parliament; and the other hated him above all Men, and deſired to have taken away his Life. The Earl of *Mancheſter*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, were the two Pillars of the Presbyterian Party; and that they two, with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and ſome other of the Lords, and ſome of the Commons, who had appear'd to diſapprove all the proceedings of the Army, ſhould now joyn with Sr *Harry Vane*, and Appeal to the Army for protection, with that formality as if they had brought the whole Parliament with them, and had been entirely driven and forced away by the City, appear'd to every ſtander by ſo ſtupendious a thing, that it is not to this day underſtood otherwiſe, than that they were reſolv'd to have their particular ſhares in the Treaty, which they believ'd the Chief Officers of the Army to have near concluded with the King. For that they never intended to put the whole power into the hands of the Army, nor had any kindneſs to, or confidence

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in the Officers thereof, was very apparent by their carriage and behaviour after, as well as before; and if they had continued together, conſidering how much the City was devoted to them, it is probable that the Army would not have uſed any force; which might have receiv'd a fatal repulſe; but that ſome good Compromiſe might have been made by the Interpoſition of the King. But this Schiſm carried all the Reputation and Authority to the Army, and left none in the Parliament; for though it preſently appear'd, that the Number of thoſe who left the Houſes was ſmall in compariſon of thoſe who remain'd behind, and who proceeded with the ſame Vigour in declaring againſt the Army, and the City ſeem'd as reſolute in putting themſelves into a poſture, and preparing for their defence, all their Works and Fortifications being ſtill entire, ſo that they might have put the Army to great trouble if they had ſteadily purſued their Reſolutions (which they did not yet ſeem in any degree to decline) yet this rent made all the accuſed Members, who were the Men of parts, and reputation to conduct their Counſels, to withdraw themſelves upon the aſtoniſhment; ſome concealing themſelves, till they had opportunity to make their Peace, and others withdrawing and tranſporting themſelves beyond the Seas, whereof *Stapleton* died at *Calais* aſſoon as he Landed; and was denied Burial, upon imagination that he had died of the Plague: others remain'd a long time beyond the Seas; and, though they long after return'd, never were receiv'd into any truſt in thoſe times, nor in truth concurr'd, or acted in the publick Affairs, but retired to their own Eſtates, and liv'd very privately.

THE Chief Officers of the Army receiv'd the two Speakers, and the Members who accompanied them, as ſo many Angels ſent from Heaven for their good; paid them all the reſpect imaginable, and profeſſed all ſubmiſſion to them, as to the Parliament of *England*; and declar'd "That they would "re-eſtabliſh them in their full power, or periſh in the attempt; took very particular care for their accomodations, before the General; and aſſign'd a Guard to wait upon them for their ſecurity; acquainted them with all their conſultations; and would not preſume to reſolve any thing without their approbation, and they had too much modeſty to think they could do amiſs, who had proſper'd ſo much in all their undertakings. No time was loſt in purſuing their Reſolution to eſtabliſh the Parliament again at *Weſtminſter*; and finding that the reſt of the Members continued ſtill to ſit there with the ſame Formality, and that the City did not abate any of their Spirit, they ſeem'd to make a halt, and to remain quiet, in expectation of a better underſtanding between them, upon the

Meſſages

Meſſages they every day ſent to the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, and Common Council (for of thoſe at *Weſtminſter* they took no notice) and Quarter'd their Army about *Brentford*, and *Hounſlow*, *Twittenham*, and the adjacent Villages, without reſtraining any Proviſions, which every day according to cuſtom were carried to *London*, or doing the leaſt Action that might diſoblige, or diſpleaſe the City; the Army being in truth under ſo excellent diſcipline, that no body could complain of any damage ſuſtain'd by them, or any provocation by word or deed. However, in this calm, they ſent over Colonel *Rainsborough* with a Brigade of Horſe and Foot, and Cannon, at *Hampton* Court, to poſſeſs *Southwark*, and thoſe works which ſecured that end of *London* Bridge; which he did with ſo little Noiſe, that in one Night's March, he found himſelf Maſter without any oppoſition, not only of the Burrough of *Southwark*, but of all the Works and Forts which were to defend it; the Soldiers within, ſhaking hands with thoſe without, and refuſing to obey their Officers which were to Command them: So that the City, without knowing that any ſuch thing was in agitation, found in the Morning that all that Avenue to the Town was poſſeſſed by the Enemy; whom they were providing to reſiſt on the other ſide, being as confident of this that they had loſt, as of any Gate of the City.

THIS ſtruck them dead; and put an end to all their Conſultation for defence; and put other thoughts into their heads, how they might pacify thoſe whom they had ſo much offended, and provoked; and how they might preſerve their City from Plunder, and the fury of an enraged Army. They who had ever been of the Army party, and of late had ſhut themſelves up, and not dared to walk the Streets for fear of the People, came now confidently amongſt them, and mingled in their Councils; declared, "That the King and the Army were "now agreed in all particulars, and that both Houſes were "now with the Army, and had preſented themſelves to the "King; ſo that to oppoſe the Army would be to oppoſe the "King and Parliament, and to incenſe them as much as the "Army. Upon ſuch confident diſcourſes and inſinuations from thoſe with whom they would not have converſed, or given the leaſt credit to, three days before, or rather upon the confuſion and general diſtraction they were in, they ſent ſix Aldermen and ſix Commoners to the General; who lamented and complain'd, "That the City ſhould be ſuſpected, that had "never acted any thing againſt the Parliament; and there- "fore, they deſired him to forbear doing any thing that might "be the occaſion of a new War. But the general little conſider'd this Meſſage, and gave leſs countenance to the Meſſengers; but continued his ſlow marches towards the City:

The City ſends ſix Aldermen to the General, and ſubmits.

whereupon they ſent an humble Meſſage to him, "That ſince "they underſtood that the reaſon of his march ſo near *London* "was to reſtore, and ſettle the Members (the Lords and Com- "mons) of Parliament to the Liberty and Privilege of ſitting "ſecurely in their ſeveral Houſes (to which the City would "contribute all their power, and ſervice) they prayed him, "with all ſubmiſſion, that he would be pleaſed to ſend ſuch a "Guard of Horſe and Foot as he thought to be ſufficient for "that purpoſe; and that the Ports and all Paſſages ſhould be "open to them; and they ſhould do any thing elſe that his "excellency would Command. To which, he made no other Anſwer but "That he would have all the Forts of the Weſt "ſide of the City to be deliver'd immediately to him; thoſe of the other ſide being already, as is ſaid, in the hands of *Rainsborough* and his other Officers. The Common Council, that ſate Day and Night, upon the receipt of this Meſſage, without any pauſe return'd "That they would humbly ſub- "mit to his Command; and that now, under Almighty God, "they did rely only upon his Excellency's honourable Word "for their protection, and ſecurity. And ſo they cauſed their Militia to be forthwith drawn off from the Line, as well as out of the Forts, with all their Cannon and Ordinance; and the General appointed a better Guard to both. At *Hyde*-Park the Mayor and Aldermen met him, and humbly congratulated his arrival; and beſought him "To excuſe what they had, "out of their good meaning and deſire of Peace, done amiſs; and as a Teſtimony of their Affection and Duty, the Mayor, on the behalf of the City, preſented a great gold Cup to the General; which he ſullenly refus'd to receive, and, with very little Ceremony, diſmiſſed them.

The General conducts the two Speakers and other Members to their ſeveral Houſes of Parliament.

HE himſelf waited upon the two Speakers, and conducted them, and their Members to the ſeveral Houſes, where the other Members were then ſitting: even in the Inſtant when the Revolters, as they had called them, enter'd into the Houſes, the old Speakers, aſſumed their places again, and enter'd upon their buſineſs as if there had been no ſeparation. The firſt thing they did, was calling in the General into both Houſes, and making him a large acknowledgment in the name of each Houſe, of the great favours he had done to them; they thanked him "For the Protection he had given to their Per- "ſons, and his Vindication of the Priviledges of Parliament. Then they voted "All that had been done by themſelves in "going to the Army, and in reſiding there, and all that had "been done by the Army, to be well and lawfully done; as, ſome time after, they alſo voted, That all that had been done "in the Houſes ſince their departure, was againſt Law, and "Priviledge of Parliament, invalid and void: Then they ad-

"journ'd

journ'd to the next day, without queſtioning or puniſhing any Member who had acted there.

The Army marches through the City, and Quarters about it.

THE Army of Horſe, Foot, and Cannon, marched the next day through the City (which, upon the deſire of the Parliament, undertook forthwith to ſupply an hundred thouſand Pounds for the payment of the Army) without the leaſt diſorder, or doing the leaſt damage to any Perſon, or giving any diſreſpective word to any Man: by which they attained the reputation of being in excellent Diſcipline, and that both Officers and Soldiers were Men of extroardinary temper and ſobriety. So they marched over *London* Bridge into *Southwark*, and to thoſe Quarters to which they were aſſign'd; ſome Regiments were Quarter'd in *Weſtminſter*, the *Strand*, and *Holborn*, under pretence of being a Guard to the Parliament, but intended as a Guard upon the City. The General's head Quarters were at *Chelſey*, and the reſt of the Army Quarter'd between *Hampton* Court and *London*, that the King might be well look'd to; and the Council of Officers, and Agitators, ſate conſtantly, and formally, at *Fulham*, and *Putney*, to provide that no other ſettlement ſhould be made for the Government of the Kingdom than what they ſhould well approve.

The King at Hampton Court.

WHILST theſe things were thus agitated between the Army and the Parliament and the City, the King enjoyed himſelf at *Hampton* Court, much more to his content than he had of late; the reſpects of the Chief Officers of the Army ſeeming much greater than they had been; *Cromwell* himſelf came oftner to him, and had longer conferences with him; talked with more openneſs to Mr *Aſhburnham* than he had done, and appear'd more chearful. Perſons of all conditions repaired to his Majeſty of thoſe who had ſerv'd him; with whom he conferr'd without reſervation; and the Citizens flocked thither as they had uſed to do at the end of a Progreſs, when the King had been ſome Months abſent from *London*: but that which pleaſed his Majeſty moſt, was, that his Children were permitted to come to him, in whom he took great delight. They were all at the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Houſe, at *Sion*, from the time the King came to *Hampton* Court, and had liberty to attend his Majeſty when he pleaſed; ſo that ſometimes he ſent for them to come to *Hampton Court*, and ſometimes he went to them to *Sion*; which gave him great ſatisfaction.

The King's diſcourſe and converſation with his Children that were in the Parliament's power.

IN this converſation, as if his Majeſty had foreſeen all that befel him afterwards, and which at that time ſure he did not ſuſpect, he took great care to inſtruct his Children how to behave themſelves if the worſt ſhould befall him that the worſt of his Enemies did contrive, or wiſh; and "That they ſhould

"preſerve unſhaken their Affection and Duty to the Prince "their Brother. The Duke of *York* was then about fourteen years of Age; and ſo capable of any information or inſtruction the King thought fit to give him. His Majeſty told him, "That he looked upon himſelf as in the hands and diſ- "poſal of the Army, and that the Parliament had no more "power to do him good or harm, than as the Army ſhould "direct or permit; and that he knew not, in all this time he "had been with them, what he might promiſe himſelf from "thoſe Officers of the Army at whoſe devotion it was: that "he hoped well, yet with much doubt and fear; and there- "fore he gave him this general direction, and command, "that if there appear'd any ſuch alteration in the affection of "the Army, that they reſtrain'd him from the liberty he then "enjoy'd of ſeeing his Children, or ſuffer'd not his Friends to "reſort to him with that freedom that they enjoyed at pre- "ſent, he might conclude they would ſhortly uſe him worſe, "and that he ſhould not be long out of a Priſon; and there- "fore that from the time he diſcover'd ſuch an alteration, he "ſhould bethink himſelf how he might make an eſcape out "of their Power, and Tranſport himſelf beyond the Seas. The place he recommended to him, was *Holland*; where he preſum'd his Siſter would receive him very kindly, and that the Prince of *Orange* her Husband would be well pleaſed with it, though, poſſibly, the States might reſtrain him from making thoſe Expreſſions of his Affection, his own inclination prompted him to. He wiſhed him to think always of this, as a thing poſſible to fall out, and ſo ſpake frequently to him of it, and of the circumſtances and cautions which were neceſſary to attend it.

THE Princeſs *Elizabeth* was not above a year or two younger than the Duke, a Lady of excellent Parts, great Obſervation, and an early Underſtanding; which the King diſcern'd, by the Account ſhe gave him both of Things and Perſons, upon the experience ſhe had had of both. His Majeſty enjoyn'd her, "Upon the worſt that could befal him, never "to be diſpoſed of in Marriage without the conſent and ap- "probation of the Queen her Mother, and the Prince her "Brother; and always to perform all Duty and Obedience to "both thoſe; and to Obey the Queen in all things, except in "matter of Religion; in which he commanded her, upon his "Bleſſing, never to hearken or conſent to her; but to conti- "nue firm in the Religion ſhe had been Inſtructed and Edu- "cated in, what diſcountenance and ruin ſoever might be- "fall the poor Church, at that time under ſo ſevere Proſe- "cution.

THE Duke of *Gloceſter* was very young, being at that time

time not above ſeven years old, and ſo might well be thought incapable of retaining that advice and injunction, which in truth ever after made ſo deep impreſſion in him. After he had given him all the advice he thought convenient in the matter of Religion, and commanded him poſitively, "Never "to be perſwaded or threaten'd out of the Religion of the "Church, in which he hoped he would be well Inſtructed, "and for the Purity and Integrity whereof he bid him re- "member that he had his Father's Teſtimony, and Authority; his Majeſty told him, "That his Infancy, and the Tenderneſs "of his years, might perſwade ſome Men to hope and believe, "that he might be made an Inſtrument, and Property, to ad- "vance their wicked deſigns; and if they ſhould take away "his Life, they might, poſſibly, the better to attain their own "ends make him King; that under him, whilſt his Age "would not permit him to Judge, and Act for himſelf, they "might remove many obſtructions which lay in their way; "and form and unite their Councils; and then they would "deſtroy Him too. But he commanded him, upon his Bleſs- "ing, never to forget what he ſaid to him upon this occa- "ſion, nor to accept, or ſuffer himſelf to be made King, "whilſt either of his Elder Brothers liv'd, in what part of the "World ſoever they ſhould be: that he ſhould remember "that the Prince his Brother was to ſucceed him by the Laws "of God and Man; and, if he ſhould miſcarry, that the Duke "of *York* was to ſucceed in the ſame Right; and therefore that "he ſhould be ſure never to be made uſe of to interrupt, or "diſturb either of their Rights; which would in the end turn "to his own deſtruction. And this diſcourſe the King reite- rated to him, as often as he had liberty to ſee him, with all the earneſtneſs, and paſſion he could expreſs; which was ſo fixed in his Memory that he never forgot it. And many years after, when he was ſent out of *England*, he made the full relation of all the particulars to Me, with that commo- tion of Spirit, that it appear'd to be deeply rooted in him; and made uſe of one part of it very ſeaſonably afterwards, where there was more than an ordinary attempt made to have per- verted him in his Religion, and to perſwade him to become Roman Catholick for the advancement of his Fortune.

In this manner, and with theſe kind of reflections, the King made uſe of the Liberty he enjoy'd; and conſider'd as well, what remedies to apply to the worſt that could fall out, as to Careſs the Officers of the Army in order to the im- provement of his Condition; of which he was not yet in de- ſpair; the Chief Officers, and all the Heads of that Party, looking upon it as their wiſeſt Policy to cheriſh the King's hopes by the Liberty they gave him, and by a very flowing

Courteſy towards all who had been of his Party; whoſe expectation, and good word, and teſtimony, they found did them much good both in the City and the Country.

AT this time the Lord *Capel*, whom We left in *Jerſey*, hearing of the difference between the Parliament and the Army, left his two Friends there; and made a Journey to *Paris* to the Prince, that he might receive his Highneſs's approbation of his going for *England*; which he very willingly gave; well knowing that he would improve all opportunities, with great diligence, for the King his Father's Service: and then that Lord Tranſported himſelf into *Zealand*, his Friends having adviſed him to be in thoſe parts before they endeavour'd to procure a Paſs for him; which they eaſily did, aſſoon as he came thither; and ſo he had liberty to remain at his own Houſe in the Country, where he was exceedingly belov'd, and hated no where. And in this general and illimited indulgence, he took the opportunity to wait upon the King at *Hampton* Court; and gave him a particular Account of all that paſſed at *Jerſey*, before the Prince's remove from thence, and of the reaſons which induced thoſe of the Council to remain ſtill there, and of many other particulars, of which his Majeſty had never before been throughly inform'd, and which put it out of any bodies power to do the Chancellor of the Exchequer any ill Offices: and from thence the King writ, with his own hand, a very gracious and kind Letter to the Chancellor at *Jerſey*; full of hope "That he ſhould conclude "ſuch a Treaty with the Army and Parliament that he ſhould "ſhortly draw him, and ſome other of his Friends, to him. He thanked him "For undertaking the work he was upon; "and told him, he ſhould expect ſpeedily to receive ſome "contribution from him towards it; and, within a very ſhort time afterwards, he ſent to him his own Memorials (or thoſe which by his Command had been kept, and were peruſed, and corrected by himſelf) of all that had paſſed from the time he had left his Majeſty at *Oxford*, when he waited upon the Prince into the Weſt, to the very day that the King left *Oxford* to go to the *Scots*; out of which Memorials, as hath been ſaid before, the moſt important paſſages in the Years 1644, and 1645, are faithfully collected. To the Lord *Capel*, his Majeſty imparted all his Hopes and all his Fears; and what great Overtures the *Scots* had again made to him; and "That "he did really believe that it could not be long before there "would be a War between the two Nations; in which the "*Scots* promiſed themſelves an univerſal concurrence from all "the Presbyterians in *England*; and that, in ſuch a conjun-"cture, he wiſhed that his own Party would put themſelves in "Arms, without which he could not expect great benefit by "the

The Lord Capel waits on the King at Hampton *Court from* Jerſey.

The Subſtance of the King's Letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"the ſucceſs of the other: And therefore deſir'd *Capel* "to "watch ſuch a conjuncture, and draw his Friends together; which he promiſed to do effectually; and did, very punctually, afterwards, to the loſs of his own Life. Then the King enjoyn'd him "To write to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "that whenever the Queen, or Prince, ſhould require him to "come to them, he ſhould not fail to yield Obedience to "their Command; and himſelf writ to the Queen, "that "when ever the Seaſon ſhould be ripe for the Prince to en-"gage himſelf in any Action, ſhe ſhould not fail to ſend for "the Chancellor of the Exchequer to wait upon him in it. And many things were then adjuſted, upon the foreſight of future contingencies, which were afterwards thought fit to be executed.

THE Marquis of *Ormond* had, by ſpecial Command and Order from the King whilſt he was with the *Scots* at *New-Caſtle*, deliver'd up the City of *Dublin* to the Parliament, after the *Iriſh* had ſo infamouſly broken the Peace they had made with the King, and brought their whole Army before *Dublin* to beſiege it; by which he was reduced to thoſe ſtreights, that he had no other election than to deliver it to the *Iriſh*, or to the Parliament; of which his Majeſty being inform'd, determin'd, he ſhould give it to the Parliament; which he did, with full Conditions for all thoſe who had ſerv'd his Majeſty; and ſo Tranſported himſelf into *England*, and, from *London*, preſented himſelf to the King at *Hampton* Court; who receiv'd him with extraordinary Grace, as a Perſon who had ſerv'd him with great Zeal and Fidelity, and with the moſt univerſal Teſtimony of all good Men that any Man could receive. He uſed leſs Application to the Parliament and Army than other Men, relying upon the Articles the Parliament had ſign'd to him; by which he had liberty to ſtay ſo many Months in *England*, and at the end thereof to Tranſport himſelf into the parts beyond the Seas, if in the mean time he made no compoſition with the Parliament: which he never intended to do; and though he knew well that there were many jealous Eyes upon him, he repair'd frequently to preſent his Duty to the King; who was exceedingly pleaſed to confer with him, and to find that he was reſolv'd to undertake any Enterpriſe that might Advance his Service; which the King himſelf, and moſt other men who wiſh'd well to it, did at that time believe to be in no deſperate Condition. And no Men were fuller of profeſſions of Duty, and a Reſolution to run all hazards, than the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners; who, from the time they had deliver'd up the King, reſided at *London* with their uſual Confidence, and loudly complain'd of the preſumption of the Army in ſeiſing upon the Perſon of

The Marquis of Ormond *likewiſe waits on the King at* Hampton *Court*:

And Scotiſh *Commiſſioners.*

the King, insinuated themselves to all those who were thought to be most constant, and inseparable from the Interest of the Crown, with passionate undertaking that their whole Nation would be united, to a Man, in any Enterprise for his Service. And now, from the time his Majesty came to *Hampton* Court, they came to him with as much presumption as if they had carried him to *Edenborough*; which was the more notorious, and was thought to signify the more, because their Persons were known to be most odious to all the great Officers in the Army, and to those who now govern'd in the Parliament. Here the foundation of that engagement was laid, which was endeavour'd to be perform'd the next year ensuing, and which the *Scots* themselves then communicated to the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Capel*, and other trusty Persons; as if there was nothing else intended in it than a full vindication of all his Majesty's Rights and Interest.

The Army begins to be less regardful of the King.

When the Army had thus subdued all oppositions, and the Parliament and they seem'd all of a piece, and the refractory humours of the City seem'd to be suppress'd, and totally tamed, the Army seem'd less regardful of the King than they had been; the Chief Officers came rarely to *Hampton* Court, nor had they the same countenances towards *Ashburnham*, and *Berkley*, as they used to have; they were not at leisure to speak with them, and when they did, ask'd captious Questions, and gave Answers themselves of no signification. The Agitators, and Council of Officers, sent some Propositions to the King, as ruinous to the Church, and destructive to the Regal Power, as had been yet made by the Parliament; and, in some respects, much worse, and more dishonourable; and said, "If his Majesty would consent thereunto, they would "apply themselves to the Parliament, and do the best they "could to perswade them to be of the same opinion. But his Majesty rejected them with more than usual indignation, not without some reproaches upon the Officers, for having deluded him, and having prevail'd in all their own designs, by making the World believe that they intended his Majesty's Restoration and Settlement, upon better Conditions than the Parliament was willing to admit. By this manner of resentment, the Army took it self to be disobliged, and used another Language in their discourse of the King than they had, for some Months, done; and such Officers who had formerly serv'd the King, and had been civilly treated and shelter'd in the Quarters of the Army, were now driven from thence. They who had been kind to them, withdrew themselves from their Acquaintance; and the Sequestrations of all the Estates of the Cavaliers, which had been intermitted, were revived with as much rigour as ever had been before practiced,

and

and the declared Delinquents rack'd to as high compoſitions; which if they refuſed to make, their whole Eſtates were taken from them, and their Perſons expoſed to affronts, and inſecurity; but this was imputed to the prevalence of the Presbyterian humour in the Parliament againſt the judgment of the Army: and it is very true, that though the Parliament was ſo far ſubdued, that it no more found fault with what the Army did, nor complain'd that it meddled in determining what Settlement ſhould be made in the Government, yet, in all their own Acts and Proceedings, they proſecuted a Preſbyterian Settlement as earneſtly as they could. The Covenant was preſſed in all places, and the Anabaptiſts and other Sects, which begun to abound, were puniſh'd, reſtrained, and diſcountenanced; which the Army liked not, as a violation of the Liberty of tender Conſciences; which, they pretended, was as much the Original of the Quarrel, as any other Grievance whatſoever.

The University of Oxford *viſited by the Parliament.*

In this year, 1647, they had begun a Viſitation of the Univerſity of *Oxford*; which they finiſh'd not till the next year; in which the Earl of *Pembroke* had been contented to be imploy'd as Chancellor of the Univerſity, who had taken an Oath to defend the Rights and Privileges of the Univerſity; notwithſtanding which, out of the extreme weakneſs of his Underſtanding, and the miſerable complyance of his Nature, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be made a Property in joyning with *Brent*, *Pryn*, and ſome Committee Men, and Presbyterian Miniſters, as Commiſſioners for the Parliament to reform the Diſcipline, and Erroneous Doctrine of that Famous Univerſity, by the Rule of the Covenant; which was the Standard of all Mens Learning, and ability to govern; all Perſons of what Quality ſoever being required to ſubſcribe that Teſt; which the whole Body of the Univerſity was ſo far from ſubmitting to, that they met in their Convocation, and, to their eternal Renoun (being at the ſame time under a ſtrict and ſtrong Garriſon, put over them by the Parliament; the King in Priſon; and all their hopes deſperate) paſſed a publick Act, and Declaration againſt the Covenant, with ſuch invincible Arguments of the Illegality, Wickedneſs, and Perjury contain'd in it, that no Man of the contrary Opinion, nor the Aſſembly of the Divines (which then ſate at *Weſtminſter*, forming a new Catechiſm, and Scheme of Religion) ever ventur'd to make any Anſwer to it; nor is it indeed to be anſwer'd, but muſt remain to the World's end, as a Monument of the Learning, Courage, and Loyalty, of that excellent place, againſt the higheſt Malice and Tyranny that was ever exerciſed in, or over any Nation; and which thoſe Famous Commiſſioners only anſwer'd by Expelling all thoſe who refuſed

The Oxford *Reaſons againſt the Covenant paſſed in Convocation at this time.*

fuſed to ſubmit to their Juriſdiction, or to take the Covenant; which was, upon the matter, the whole Univerſity; ſcarce one Governour and Maſter of College or Hall, and an incredible ſmall Number of the Fellows, or Scholars, ſubmitting to either; whereupon that deſolation being made, they placed in their rooms, the moſt notorious Factious Presbyterians, in the Government of the ſeveral Colleges or Halls; and ſuch other of the ſame Leven in the Fellowſhips, and Scholars places, of thoſe whom they had Expelled, without any regard to the Statutes of the ſeveral Founders, and the Incapacities of the Perſons that were put in. The Omnipotence of an Ordinance of Parliament, confirm'd all that was this way done; and there was no farther contending againſt it.

It might reaſonably be concluded that this wild and barbarous depopulation, would even extirpate all that Learning, Religion and Loyalty, which had ſo eminently flouriſhed there; and that the ſucceeding ill Husbandry, and unskilful Cultivation, would have made it fruitful only in Ignorance, Prophanation, Atheiſm, and Rebellion; but, by God's wonderful Bleſſing, the goodneſs and richneſs of that Soil could not be made barren by all that ſtupidity and negligence. It choaked the Weeds, and would not ſuffer the poyſonous Seeds, which were ſown with induſtry enough, to ſpring up; but after ſeveral Tyrannical Governments, mutually ſucceeding each other, and with the ſame malice and perverſneſs endeavouring to extinguiſh all good Literature and Allegiance, it yielded a Harveſt of extraordinary good and ſound Knowledge in all parts of Learning; and many who were wickedly introduced, applied themſelves to the Study of good Learning, and the practice of Virtue; and had inclination to that Duty and Obedience they had never been taught; ſo that when it pleaſed God to bring King *Charles* the Second back to his Throne, he found that Univerſity (not to undervalue the other, which had nobly likewiſe rejected the ill infuſions which had been induſtriouſly pour'd into it) abounding in excellent Learning, and devoted to Duty and Obedience, little inferior to what it was before its deſolation; which was a lively inſtance of God's Mercy, and purpoſe, for ever ſo to provide for his Church, that the Gates of Hell ſhall never prevail againſt it; which were never open'd wider, nor with more Malice, than in that time.

These violent Proceedings in all places, blaſted all the King's hopes, and put an end to all the reſt and quiet he had for ſome time enjoyed; nor could he deviſe any remedy. He was weary of depending upon the Army, but neither knew how to get from them, nor whither elſe to reſort for help. The Officers of thoſe Guards which were aſſign'd to attend his

his Perſon, and who had behaved themſelves with good Manners, and Duty towards him, and very civilly towards thoſe of his Party who had uſed to wait upon his Majeſty, begun now to murmur at ſo great reſort to him, and to uſe many, who came, rudely; and not to ſuffer them to go into the Room where the King was; or, which was worſe, put them out when they were there; and when his Majeſty ſeem'd to take notice and be troubled at it, they appear'd not to be concern'd, nor anſwer'd him with that Duty they had uſed to do. They affronted the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners very notably, and would not ſuffer them to ſpeak with the King; which cauſed an expoſtulation from the Parliament; which removed the obſtruction for the future, but procured no ſatisfaction for the injury they had receiv'd, nor made the ſame Officers more civil towards their Perſons. *Aſhburnham*, and *Berkley*, receiv'd many Advertiſements from ſome Officers with whom they had moſt converſed, and who would have been glad that the King might have been reſtored by the Army for the Preferments which they expected might fall to their ſhare, "That "*Cromwell*, and *Ireton* reſolv'd never to truſt the King, or to "do any thing towards his Reſtoration; and they two ſteer'd the whole Body; and therefore it was adviſed, "That ſome "way might be found to remove his Majeſty out of their "hand. Major *Huntington*, one of the beſt Officers they had, and Major to *Cromwell's* own Regiment of Horſe, upon whom he rely'd in an Enterpriſe of Importance more than upon any Man, had been imploy'd by him to the King, to ſay thoſe things from him which had given the King the moſt confidence, and was much more than he had ever ſaid to *Aſhburnham*; and the Major did really believe that he had meant all he ſaid, and the King had a good opinion of the Integrity of the Major, upon the Teſtimony he had receiv'd from ſome he knew had no mind to deceive his Majeſty; and the Man merited the Teſtimony they gave him. He, when he obſerv'd *Cromwell* to grow colder in his Expreſſions for the King than he had formerly been, expoſtulated with him in very ſharp terms, for "Abuſing him, and making him the "Inſtrument to couzen the King; and, though the other endeavour'd to perſwade him that all ſhould be well, he inform'd his Majeſty of all he had obſerv'd; and told him, "That "*Cromwell* was a Villain, and would deſtroy him if he were "not prevented; and, in a ſhort time after, he gave up his Commiſſion, and would ſerve no longer in the Army. *Cromwell* himſelf expoſtulated with M^r^ *Aſhburnham*, and complain'd "That the King could not be truſted; and that he had no af-"fection or confidence in the Army, but was jealous of them, "and of all the Officers; that he had Intrigues in the Par-

"liament,

"liament, and Treaties with the Presbyterians of the City, "to raiſe new Troubles; that he had a Treaty concluded with "the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners to engage the Nation again in "blood; and therefore he would not be anſwerable if any thing "fell out amiſs, and contrary to expectation; and that was the reaſon, beſides the old Animoſity, that had drawn on the Affront, which the Commiſſioners had complain'd of. What that Treaty was, and what it produced, will be mention'd in a more proper place.

The Levellers grew up in the Army.

THERE was at this time a new Faction grown up in the Army, which were either by their own denomination, or with their own conſent, called *Levellers*; who ſpoke inſolently and confidently againſt the King and Parliament, and the great Officers of the Army; and profeſſed as great Malice againſt all the Lords, as againſt the King; and declared "That all "degrees of Men ſhould be levelled, and an equality ſhould "be eſtabliſh'd, both in Titles and Eſtates, throughout the "Kingdoms. Whether the raiſing this Spirit was a piece of *Cromwell*'s ordinary Witchcraft, in order to ſome of his deſigns, or whether it grew amongſt thoſe Tares which had been ſowed in that confuſion, certain it is, it gave him real trouble at laſt (which muſt be ſet down hereafter) but the preſent uſe he made of it was, that, upon the licentious diſcourſe of that kind, which ſome Soldiers upon the Guard uſually made, the Guard upon the King's Perſon was doubled; a reſtraint put upon the great reſort of People who came to ſee the King; and all pretended to be for his ſecurity, and to prevent any Violence that might be attempted upon his Life; which they ſeem'd to apprehend, and deteſt. In the mean time, they neither hinder'd his Majeſty from riding abroad to take the Air, nor from doing any thing he had a mind to, nor reſtrain'd thoſe who waited upon him in his Bed-Chamber, nor his Chaplains from performing their Functions; though towards all theſe there was leſs civility exerciſed than had been; and the Guards which waited neareſt, were more rude, and made more noiſe at unſeaſonable hours than they had been accuſtom'd to do; the Captain who Commanded them, Colonel *Whaley*, being a Man of a rough and brutal Temper, who had offer'd great violence to his Nature, when he appear'd to exerciſe any civility and good Manners. The King, every day, receiv'd little Billets or Letters, ſecretly convey'd to him without any Name, which advertiſed him of wicked deſigns upon his Life, and ſome of them adviſed him to make an Eſcape, and repair ſecretly into the City, where he ſhould be ſafe; ſome Letters directing him to ſuch an Alderman's Houſe; all which his Majeſty look'd upon as artifice to lead him into ſome ſtreights, from whence he ſhould not eaſily explicate himſelf; and yet many

many who repaired to him, brought the ſame advice from Men of unqueſtionable ſincerity, by what reaſon ſoever they were ſwayed.

THE King found himſelf in great perplexity, from what he diſcern'd, and obſerv'd himſelf, as well as what he heard from others; but what uſe to make of the one or the other, was very hard to reſolve: he did really believe that their Malice was at the height, and that they did deſign his Murder, but knew not which was a probable way to prevent it. The making an eſcape, if it were not contrived with wonderful ſagacity, would expoſe him to be aſſaſſinated, by pretended Ignorance, and would be charged upon himſelf; and if he could avoid their Guards, and get beyond them undiſcover'd, whither ſhould he go? and what place would receive and defend him? The hope of the City ſeem'd not to him to have a foundation of reaſon; they had been too late ſubdued to recover Courage for ſuch an adventure; and the Army now was much more Maſter of it than when they deſponded. There is reaſon to believe that he did reſolve to tranſport himſelf beyond the Seas, which had been no hard matter to have brought to paſs, but with whom he conſulted for the way of doing it, is not to this day diſcover'd; they who were inſtrumental in his remove, pretending to know nothing of the Reſolution, or Counſel. But, one morning, being the eleventh of *November*, the King having, the night before, pretended ſome indiſpoſition, and that he would go to his reſt, they who went into his Camber, found that he was not there, nor had been in his Bed that Night. There were two or three Letters found upon his Table, writ all with his own hand, one to the Parliament, another to the General; in which he declared "The "reaſon of his remove to be, an apprehenſion that ſome de- "ſperate Perſons had a deſign to Aſſaſſinate him; and there- "fore he had withdrawn himſelf with a purpoſe of remaining "concealed, until the Parliament had agreed upon ſuch Pro- "poſitions as ſhould be fit for him to conſent to; and he "would then appear, and willingly conſent to any thing that "ſhould be for the Peace and Happineſs of the Kingdom. There were diſcover'd the treading of Horſes at a Back door of the Garden into which his Majeſty had a paſſage out of his Chamber; and it is true that way he went, having appointed his Horſe to be there ready at an hour, and Sr *John Berkley*, *Aſhburnham*, and *Legg*, to wait upon him, the two laſt being of his Bed-Chamber. *Aſhburnham* alone ſeem'd to know what they were to do, the other two having receiv'd only Orders to attend. When they were free from the Apprehenſion of the Guards, and the Horſe Quarters, they rode towards the South Weſt, and towards that part of *Hamp-ſhire* which

The King eſcapes from Hampton *Court*, Nov. 11.

which led to the New Foreſt. The King asked *Aſhburnham*, where the Ship lay? which made the other two conclude that the King reſolv'd to Tranſport himſelf. After they had made ſome ſtay in that part next the Sea, and *Aſhburnham* had been ſome time abſent, he return'd without any news of the Ship; with which the King ſeem'd troubled. Upon this diſappointment, the King thought it beſt, for avoiding all High-ways, to go to *Tichfield*, a noble Seat of the Earl of *Southampton*'s (who was not there) but inhabited by the old Lady his Mother with a ſmall Family, which made the retreat the more convenient; there his Majeſty alighted, and would ſpeak with the Lady; to whom he made no ſcruple of Communicating himſelf, well knowing her to be a Lady of that Honour, and Spirit, that ſhe was ſuperior to all kind of temptation. There he refreſhed himſelf, and conſulted with his three Servants, what he ſhould next do, ſince there was neither Ship ready, nor could they preſume that they could remain long there undiſcover'd.

He comes to Tichfield *in* Hampſhire.

In this Debate, the Iſle of *Wight* came to be mention'd (as they ſay) by *Aſhburnham*, as a place where his Majeſty might ſecurely repoſe himſelf, until he thought fit to inform the Parliament where he was. Colonel *Hammond* was Governour there, an Officer of the Army, and of neareſt truſt with *Cromwell*, having by his advice been Married to a Daughter of *John Hambden*, whoſe memory he always adored; yet, by ſome fatal miſtake, this Man was thought a Perſon of Honour and Generoſity enough to truſt the King's Perſon to, and *Aſhburnham*, and *Berkley*, were ſent to him with Orders, "Firſt to be ſure that the Man would faithfully promiſe not to "deliver his Majeſty up though the Parliament or Army "ſhould require him, but to give him his Liberty to ſhift for "himſelf, if he were not able to defend him; and except he "would make that promiſe, they ſhould not let him know "where his Majeſty was, but ſhould return preſently to him. With this Commiſſion they two croſſed the Water to the Iſle of *Wight*, the King in the mean time repoſing himſelf at *Tichfield*. The next day they found Colonel *Hammond*; who was known to them both, who had Converſation with him in the Army, when the King was well treated there (and their Perſons had been very civilly treated by moſt of the Officers, who thought themſelves qualified ſufficiently for Court Preferments) They told him, "That the King was withdrawn "from the Army; of which he ſeem'd to have had no notice, and to be very much ſurpriſed with it. They then ſaid, "That the King had ſo good an opinion of him, knowing him "to be a Gentleman, and for his relation to Dr *Hammond* "(whoſe Nephew he was) that he would truſt his Perſon "with

The King ſends Aſhburnham *and* Berkley *to Col.* Hammond *in the Iſle of* Wight.

"with him, and would from thence write to the Parliament, "if he would promiſe that if his Meſſage had not that effect "which he hoped it would have, he would leave him to "himſelf to go whither he thought fit, and would not deliver "him to the Parliament, or Army, if they ſhould require it. His Anſwer was, "That he would pay all the Duty and Ser- "vice to his Majeſty that was in his power; and, if he pleas'd "to come thither, he would receive and entertain him as "well as he could; but that he was an Inferior Officer, and "muſt obey his Superiors in whatſoever they thought fit to "command him: with which when he ſaw they were not ſa- tisfied, he asked, "Where the King was? to which they made no other Anſwer, "But that they would acquaint his "Majeſty with his Anſwer, and, if he were ſatisfied with it, "they would return to him again. He demanded that Mr "*Aſhburnham* would ſtay with him, and that the other might "go to the King; which Mr *Aſhburnham* refuſed to do.

AFTER ſome time ſpent in Debate, in which he made many expreſſions of his deſire to do any Service to his Majeſty, they were contented that he ſhould go with them; and *Aſhburnham* ſaid, "He would conduct him to the place where "the King was; and ſo he, commanding three or four Ser- vants or Soldiers to wait on him, they went together to *Tichfield*; and the other ſtaying below, *Aſhburnham* went up to the King's Chamber. When he had acquainted him with all that had paſſed, and that *Hammond* was in the Houſe, his Majeſty broke out in a paſſionate exclamation, and ſaid, "O "*Jack*, thou haſt undone me! with which the other falling into a great paſſion of weeping, offer'd to go down, and to kill *Hammond*; to which his Majeſty would not conſent; and, after ſome pauſing, and deliberation, ſent for him up, and en- deavour'd to perſwade him to make the ſame promiſe, which had before been propoſed; to which he made the ſame An- ſwer he had done, but with many profeſſions of doing all the Offices he could for his Majeſty; and ſeem'd to believe that the Army would do well for him. The King believ'd that there was now no poſſible way to get from him, he having the Command of the Country, and could call in what help he would; and ſo went with him into the Iſle of *Wight*, and was Lodg'd at *Carisbrook*-Caſtle, at firſt with all demonſtration of Reſpect and Duty.

They bring Hammond *to the King.*

Hammond remove. the King to Carisbrooke *Caſtle.*

IT never appear'd afterwards that the King was malici- ouſly betray'd to this unhappy peregrination, by the treachery and practice of thoſe he truſted; and his Majeſty himſelf never entertain'd the leaſt Jealouſy, or Suſpicion of it; yet the whole deſign appear'd to be ſo weakly contriv'd, the not being ſure of a Ship, if the Reſolution were fixed for Embarking, which

The Author's opinion of this whole buſineſs.

was

was never manifeſt, the making choice of the Iſle of *Wight*; and of *Hammond* to be truſted, ſince nothing fell out which was not to be reaſonably foreſeen and expected, and the bringing him to *Tichfield*, without the permiſſion of the King, if not directly contrary to it, ſeem'd to be all ſo far from a rational deſign and conduct, that moſt Men did believe there was Treaſon in the contrivance, or that his Majeſty entruſted thoſe who were groſly impos'd upon and deceiv'd by his greateſt Enemies. *Legg* had had ſo general a Reputation of Integrity, and Fidelity to his Maſter, that he never fell under the leaſt Imputation or Reproach with any Man: he was a very punctual and ſteady obſerver of the Orders he receiv'd, but no contriver of them, and though he had in truth a better Judgment and Underſtanding than either of the other two, his modeſty and diffidence of himſelf never ſuffer'd him to contrive bold Counſels. *Berkley* was leſs known among thoſe Perſons of Hononr and Quality who had follow'd the King, being in a very private Station before the War, and his Poſt in it being in the fartheſt Corner of the Kingdom, and not much ſpoken of till the end of it, when he was not beholden to reports; Ambition and Vanity were well known to be predominant in him, and that he had great confidence in himſelf, and did not delight to converſe with thoſe who had not; but he never fell under any blemiſh of Diſloyalty, and he took care to publiſh that this Enterpriſe of the King's was ſo totally without his privity, that he was required to attend on Horſe-back at ſuch an hour, and had not the leaſt intimation of his Majeſty's purpoſe what he intended to do. Another particular, which was acknowledged by *Hammond*, did him much credit, that when *Hammond* demanded that *Aſhburnham* ſhould remain with him whilſt the other went to the King, which *Aſhburnham* refuſed to do, *Berkley* did offer himſelf to remain with him whilſt *Aſhburnham* ſhould attend his Majeſty; ſo that the whole weight of the prejudice and reproach was caſt upon *Aſhburnham*; who was known to have ſo great an intereſt in the Affections of his Majeſty, and ſo great an influence upon his Counſels and Reſolutions, that he could not be ignorat of any thing that moved him.

THE not having a Ship ready, if it were intended, was unexcuſable; and the putting the King into *Hammond*'s hands without his leave, could never be wiped out. There were ſome who ſaid, that *Aſhburnham* reſolv'd that the King ſhould go to the Iſle of *Wight*, before he left *Hampton* Court; and the Lord *Langdale* often ſaid, "That being in Mr *Aſhburnham*'s Chamber at that time, he had the curioſity, whilſt the "other went out of the Room, to look upon a Paper that lay "upon the Table; in which was writ, that it would be beſt

"for

"for the King to withdraw from the Army, where he was "in such danger; and that the Isle of *Wight* would be a good "retreat, where Colonel *Hammond* Commanded; who was a "very honest Man. And this was some days before his Majesty remov'd. And then it was observ'd, that *Hammond* himself left the Army but two or three days before the King's remove, and went to the Isle of *Wight* at a Season when there was no visible occasion to draw him thither, and when the Agitators in the Army were at highest; and it was looked upon with the more wonder, because *Ashburnham* was not afterwards call'd in Question for being instrumental in the King's going away, but liv'd unquestion'd long after in the sight of the Parliament, and in conversation with some of the Officers of the Army who had most deceiv'd him; and, which was more censured than all the rest, that after the Murder of the King he compounded, as was reported, at an easy rate, and liv'd at ease, and grew rich, for many years together without interruption.

On the other hand, he preserv'd his Reputation and Credit with the most eminent of the King's Party; and his remaining in *England* was upon the Marriage of a Lady by whom he had a great Fortune, and many conveniencies; which would have been seised by his leaving the Kingdom; and he did send over to the King, and had leave to stay there; and sometimes supplied the King with considerable Sums of Money. Afterwards he was committed to the Tower by *Cromwell*, where he remain'd till his Death; and the King was known to have had, to the last, a clear opinion of his Affection, and Integrity; and when King *Charles* the Second return'd, most of those of greatest Reputation, as the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, gave him a good Testimony; yet then, the old discourses were revived, and Major *Huntington* did affirm, "That Mr *Ashburnham* did in-"tend the King should go to the Isle of *Wight*, before he left "*Hampton* Court. Many who did not believe him to be corrupted, did still think that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* had overwitted him, and perswaded him, upon great promises, that it should prove for his Majesty's benefit, and that they should the sooner do his business, that he should withdraw from the Army, and put himself into *Hammond*'s hands; for if in truth Transportation had been thought of, it is hard to believe that a Ship would not have been provided.

Sr *John Berkley*, who shortly after the King's being in the Isle of *Wight*, had Transported himself into *France*, and remain'd still with the Duke of *York* to the time of King *Charles* the Second's Return, and Mr *Ashburnham*, who continued in *England*, and so the more liable to Reproach, had been so

ſollicitous to wipe off the aſperſions which were caſt upon them joyntly; that they had it in care to preſerve the Reputation of a joynt Innocence; but whilſt each endeavour'd to clear himſelf, he objected or imputed ſomewhat to the other, that made him liable to juſt cenſure; and, in this contention, their Friends mention'd their ſeveral diſcourſes ſo loudly, and ſo paſſionately for the credit and reputation of him whom they lov'd beſt, that they contracted a very avow'd Animoſity againſt each other; inſomuch as it was generally believ'd upon the King's Return, that they would, with ſome fierceneſs, have expoſtulated with each other in that way which angry Men chooſe to determine the right, or that both of them would have deſir'd the King to have cauſed the whole to be ſo ſtrictly examin'd, that the World might have diſcern'd, where the faults or overſights had been, if no worſe could have been charged upon them: but they applied themſelves to neither of thoſe Expedients, and liv'd only as Men who took no delight in each others Converſation, and who did not deſire to cheriſh any familiarity together. And the King, who was ſatisfied that there had been no Treaſonable contrivance (from which his Father had abſolv'd them) did not think it fit, upon ſuch a Subject, to make ſtrict Inquiſition into Inadvertencies, Indiſcretions, and Preſumptions, which could not have been puniſhed proportionally.

It is true that they both writ Apologies, or Narrations of all that had paſſed in that Affair, which they made not publick, but gave in writing to ſuch of their Friends in whoſe opinions they moſt deſir'd to be abſolv'd, without any Inclination that one ſhould ſee what the other had writ; in which, though there were ſeveral reflections upon each other, and differences in occurrences of leſs moment, there was nothing in either that ſeem'd to doubt of the Integrity of the other; nor any clear relation of any probable inducement that prevailed with the King to undertake that Journey. I have read both their Relations, and conferr'd with both of them at large, to diſcover in truth what the motives might be which led to ſo fatal an end; and, if I were obliged to deliver my own opinion, I ſhould declare that neither of them were, in any degree, corrupted in their Loyalty or Affection to the King, or ſuborn'd to gratify any Perſons with a diſſervice to their Maſter. They were both of them great Opiniators, yet irreſolute, and eaſy to be ſhaken by any thing they had not thought of before; and exceedingly undervalued each others Underſtanding; but, as it uſually falls out in Men of that kind of Compoſition, and Talent, they were both diſpoſed to communicate more freely with, and, conſequently, to be adviſed by new Acquaintance, and Men they had lately begun

to

to know, than old Friends, and ſuch whoſe judgments they could not but eſteem; who they had no mind ſhould go ſharers with them in the merit of any notable Service which they thought themſelves able to bring to paſs. Then, in the whole managery of the Kings buſineſs, from the time that they came into the Army, they never converſed with the ſame Perſons; but govern'd themſelves by what they receiv'd from thoſe whoſe correſpondence they had choſen. *Aſhburnham* ſeem'd wholely to rely upon *Cromwell*, and *Ireton*; and rather upon what they ſaid to others than to himſelf. For beſides outward Civilities, which they both exerciſed towards him more than to other Men, they ſeldom held private diſcourſe with him, perſwading him "That it was better for "both their ends, in reſpect of the jealouſy the Parliament "had of them, that they ſhould underſtand each others mind, "as to the Tranſaction of any particulars, from third Perſons "mutually intruſted between them, than from frequent con-"ſultations together; and Sr *Edward Ford*, who had Married *Ireton's* Siſter, but had been himſelf an Officer in the King's Army from the beginning of the War, and a Gentleman of good meaning, though not able to fathom the reſerv'd and dark deſigns of his Brother in Law, was truſted to paſs between them, with ſome other Officers of the Army, who had given *Aſhburnham* reaſon to believe that they had honeſt Purpoſes.

Berkley had not found that reſpect, from *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, that he expected; at leaſt diſcern'd it to be greater towards *Aſhburnham*, than it was to Him; which he thought evidence enough of a defect of Judgment in them; and therefore had apply'd himſelf to others, who had not ſo great Names, but greater Intereſt, as he thought, in the Soldiers. His chief confidence was in Dr *Staines*, who, though a Dr in Phyſick, was Quarter Maſter General of the Army; and one *Watſon*, who was Scout Maſter General of the Army; both of the Council of War, both in good credit with *Cromwell*, and both notable Fanaticks, and profeſſed Enemies to the *Scots*, and the Presbyterians, and, no doubt, were both permitted, and inſtructed to Careſs Sr *John Berkley*, and, by admiring his Wiſdom and Conduct, to oblige him to depend on Theirs; and diſſimulation had ſo great, and ſupreme an influence on the Hearts and Spirits of all thoſe who were truſted, and imploy'd by *Cromwell*, that no Man was ſafe in their Company, but he who reſolv'd before, not to believe one word they ſaid. Theſe two Perſons knew well how to humour Sr *John Berkley*, who believ'd them the more, becauſe they ſeem'd very much to blame *Ireton's* ſtubbornneſs towards the King, and to fear that he often prevail'd upon *Cromwell*

againſt his own Inclinations: They inform'd him of many particulars which paſſed in the Council of Officers, and ſometimes of advice from *Cromwell*, that was clean contrary to what the King receiv'd by *Aſhburnham* as his opinion, and which was found afterwards to be true (as it may be the other was too) which exceedingly confirm'd Sr *John* in the good opinion he had of his two Friends. They were the firſt who poſitively advertiſed the King by him, that *Cromwell* would never do him Service; and the firſt who ſeem'd to apprehend that the King's Perſon was in danger, and that there was ſome ſecret deſign upon his Life.

I DO not believe that Sr *John Berkley* knew any thing of the King's purpoſe in his intended eſcape, or whither he reſolv'd to go, or, indeed, more of it than that he reſolv'd at ſuch an hour, and in ſuch a place, to take Horſe, and was himſelf required to attend him; nor do I, in truth, think that the King himſelf, when he took Horſe, reſolv'd whither to go. Some think he meant to go into the City; others, that he intended for *Jerſey*; and that was the ground of the Queſtion to Mr *Aſhburnham*, "Where is the Ship? Certain it is that the King never thought of going to the Iſle of *Wight*. I am not ſure that Mr *Aſhburnham*, who had not yet given over all hope of the chief Officers of the Army, and believ'd the alterations, which had fallen out, proceeded from the barbarity of the Agitators, and the Levelling Party, had not the Iſle of *Wight* in his view from the beginning, that is, from the time his Majeſty thought it neceſſary to make an eſcape from the Army. It had been a difficult task to go about to diſſwade the King from an apprehenſion of his own ſafety, when it was much more natural to fear an Aſſaſſination, than to apprehend any thing that they did afterwards do. Mr *Aſhburnham* had ſo great a deteſtation of the *Scots*, that he expected no good from their Fraternity, the Presbyterians of the City; and did really believe that if his Majeſty ſhould put himſelf into their hands, as was adviſed by many with a purpoſe that he ſhould be there concealed, till ſome favourable conjuncture ſhould offer it ſelf (for no body imagin'd that, upon his arrival there, the City would have declared for him, and have enter'd into a Conteſt with that Army which had ſo lately ſubdued them) the ſecurity of ſuch an Eſcape was not to be relied on, and very earneſtly diſſawaded his Maſter from entertaining the thought of it; and this opinion of his was univerſally known, and as hath been ſaid before, was an ingredient into the compoſition of that civility and kindneſs the Officers of the Army had for him. They did to him, frequently lament the Levelling Spirit that was gotten into the Soldiers, which they foreſaw would in the future be as inconvenient,

nient, and miſchievous to themſelves, as it was, for the preſent, dangerous to the Perſon of the King; which they ſeem'd wonderfully to apprehend, and proteſted "That they knew "not how to apply any remedy to it, whilſt his Majeſty was "in the Army; but that they would quickly correct or ſub-"due it, if the King were at any diſtance from them; and it is not impoſſible, that, in ſuch diſcourſes, ſome body who was truſted by them, if not one of themſelves, might mention the Iſle of *Wight* as a good place to retire to, and Colonel *Hammond* as a Man of good intentions; the minutes of which diſcourſe Mr *Aſhburnham* might keep by him; for the Lord *Langdale*'s relation of ſuch a Paper, which he himſelf ſaw, and read, cannot be thought by me to be a meer fiction; to which, beſides that he was a Perſon of unblemiſh'd Honour and Veracity, he had not any temptation; yet Mr *Aſhburnham* did conſtantly deny that he ever ſaw any ſuch Paper, or had any thought of the Iſle of *Wight* when the King left *Hampton* Court, and he never gave cauſe, in the ſubſequent Actions of his Life, to have his Fidelity ſuſpected. And it is probable, that *Cromwell*, who many years afterwards committed him to the Tower, and did hate him, and deſired to have taken his Life, would have been glad to have blaſted his Reputation, by declaring that he had carried his Maſter to the Iſle of *Wight*, without his privity, upon his own preſumption; which, how well ſoever intended, muſt have been look'd upon by all Men as ſuch a tranſcendent Crime, as muſt have deprived him of all compaſſion for the worſt that could befall him.

THE ſuddain unexpected withdrawing of the King, made a great impreſſion upon the minds of all Men, every Man fancying that his Majeſty would do that which he wiſhed he would do. The Presbyterians imagined that he lay concealed in the City (which they unreaſonably thought he might eaſily do) and would expect a proper conjuncture, upon a new rupture between the Parliament, and the Army, and the many Factions in the Army, which every day appear'd, to diſcover himſelf. The Cavaliers hoped that he would tranſport himſelf into the parts beyond the Seas, and quietly attend there thoſe alterations at home, which might probably in a ſhort time invite his Return. The Army was not without this apprehenſion, as imagining it the worſt that could fall out to their purpoſes.

The Parliament's behaviour upon the news of the King's withdrawing, and where he was.

THE Parliament, that is, that part of it that was devoted to the Army, was moſt frighted with the imagination that the King was in the City, and would lurk there until ſome Conſpiracy ſhould be ripe, and all his Party ſhould be preſent in *London* to ſecond it; and therefore they no ſooner heard that he was gone from *Hampton* Court, than they paſſed an Ordinance of both Houſes, by which they declared, "That "it

"it ſhould be Confiſcation of Eſtate, and loſs of Life, to any "Man who preſumed to harbour and conceal the King's Per- "ſon in his Houſe, without revealing, and making it known "to the Parliament: which, no doubt, would have terrified them all in ſuch a manner, that if he had been in truth amongſt them, he would quickly have been diſcover'd, and given up. They cauſed ſome of the moſt notorious Presbyterians Houſes to be ſearched, as if they had been ſure he had been there; and ſent Poſts to all Ports of the Kingdom "That "they might be ſhut, and no Perſon be ſuffer'd to Embark, "leſt the King, in diſguiſe, Tranſport himſelf; and a Proclamation was iſſued out, "For the baniſhing all Perſons who "had ever borne Arms for the King, out of *London*, or any "place within twenty Miles of it; and all Perſons of that kind, who, upon ſtrict ſearch, were found, were apprehended, and put into ſeveral Priſons, with all the circumſtances of ſeverity and rigour. But all theſe doubts were quickly clear'd, and within two days, *Cromwell* inform'd the Houſe of Commons, "That he had receiv'd Letters from Colonel *Hammond*, of all "the manner of the King's coming to the Iſle of *Wight*, and "the Company that came with him; that he remain'd there "in the Caſtle of *Carisbrooke*, till the pleaſure of the Parliament ſhould be known. He aſſured them, "That Colonel "*Hammond* was ſo honeſt a Man, and ſo much devoted to "their Service, that they need have no jealouſy that he might "be corrupted by any Body; and all this relation he made with ſo unuſual a gaiety, that all Men concluded that the King was where He wiſhed he ſhould be.

And now the Parliament maintain'd no farther Conteſts with the Army, but tamely ſubmitted to whatſoever they propoſed; the Presbyterians in both Houſes, and in the City, being in a terrible Agony, that ſome cloſe Correſpondences they had held with the King during his abode at *Hampton* Court, would be diſcover'd; and therefore would give no farther occaſion of jealouſy by any contradictions, leaving it to their Clergy to keep the fire burning in the hearts of the People by their Pulpit-Inflamations; and they ſtoutly diſcharged their truſt.

But *Cromwell* had more cauſe to fear a fire in his own Quarter, and that he had raiſed a Spirit in the Army which would not eaſily be quieted again. The Agitators, who were firſt form'd by him to oppoſe the Parliament, and to reſiſt the deſtructive doom of their disbanding, and likewiſe to prevent any inconvenience, or miſchief, that might reſult from the drowſy, dull Presbyterian humour of *Fairfax*; who wiſhed nothing that *Cromwell* did, and yet contributed to bring it all to paſs: Theſe Agitators, had hitherto tranſcribed faithfully

all

all the Copies he had given them, and offer'd ſuch Advices to the Parliament, and inſiſted upon ſuch expoſtulations and demands, as were neceſſary, whilſt there was either any purpoſe to treat with the King or any reaſon to flatter his Party. But now the King was gone from the Army, and in ſuch a place as the Army could have no recourſe to him, and that the Parliament was become of ſo ſoft a temper, that the Party of the Army that was in it, could make all neceſſary impreſſion upon them, He deſir'd to reſtrain the Agitators from that Liberty which they had ſo long enjoy'd, and to keep them within ſtricter Rules of Obedience to their Superiors, and to hinder their future Meetings, and Conſultations concerning the ſettling the Government of the Kingdom; which, he thought, ought now to be ſolely left to the Parliament; whoſe Authority, for the preſent, he thought beſt to uphold, and by it to eſtabliſh all that was to be done. But the Agitators would not be ſo diſmiſs'd from State Affairs; of which they had ſo pleaſant a reliſh; nor be at the mercy of the Parliament, which they had ſo much provoked; and therefore when they were admitted no more to conſultations with their Officers, they continued their meetings without them; and thought there was as great need to reform their Officers, as any part of the Church or State. They enter'd into new Aſſociations, and made many Propoſitions to their Officers, and to the Parliament, to introduce an equallity into all Conditions, and a parity among all Men; from whence they had the Appellation of *Levellers*; which appear'd a great Party. They did not only meet againſt the expreſs Command of their Officers, but drew very conſiderable Parties of the Army to Rendezvous, without the Order or Privity of their Superiors; and there perſwaded them to enter into ſuch Engagements, as would in a ſhort time have diſſolv'd the Government of the Army, and abſolv'd them from a dependence upon their General Officers. The ſuppreſſion of this Licenſe, put *Cromwell* to the expence of all his cunning, dexterity, and courage; ſo that after he had cajoled the Parliament, as if the preſervation of their Authority had been all he cared for and took to heart, and ſent ſome falſe Brothers to comply in the Counſels of the Conſpirators, by that means having notice of their Rendezvous, he was unexpectedly found with an ordinary Guard at thoſe meetings; and, with a marvellous vivacity, having ask'd ſome Queſtions of thoſe whom he obſerv'd moſt active, and receiving inſolent Anſwers, he knock'd two or three of them in the head with his own hand, and then charged the reſt with his Troop, and took ſuch a number of them as he thought fit; whereof he preſently cauſed ſome to be Hanged, and ſent others to *London* to a more formal Tryal. By two

Cromwell ſurpreſſes a Tumult of the Levellers.

or three ſuch Encounters, for the obſtinacy continued long, he totally ſubdued that Spirit in the Army, though it continued and encreaſed very much in the Kingdom; and if it had not been Encounter'd at that time with that rough and brisk temper of *Cromwell*, it would preſently have produced all imaginable confuſion in the Parliament, Army, and Kingdom.

ALL oppoſition being thus ſuppreſſed and quieted, and *Cromwell* needing no other aſſiſtance to the carrying on his deſigns, than the preſent temper and inclination of the Parliament, they ſent a Meſſage to the King, briefly propoſing to him, "That he would forthwith grant his Royal Aſſent to four "Acts of Parliament; which they then ſent to him. By one of them, he was to confeſs the War to have been raiſed by him againſt the Parliament; and ſo that he was guilty of all the Blood that had been ſpilt. By another, he was totally to diſſolve the Government of the Church by Biſhops, and to grant all the Lands belonging to the Church to ſuch uſes as they propoſed; leaving the ſettling a future Government in the place thereof to farther Time and Counſels. By a third he was to grant, and ſettle the Militia in the Manner and in the Perſons propoſed, reſerving not ſo much power in himſelf as any Subject was capable of. In the laſt place, he was in effect, to Sacrifice all thoſe who had ſerv'd, or adher'd to him, to the Mercy of the Parliament.

The Parliament ſends a Meſſage to the King to paſs four Acts.

THE Perſons who were ſent with theſe four Bills, had liberty given to expect the King's Anſwer only four days, and were then required to return to the Parliament. With the Commiſſioners of Parliament there came likewiſe the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*, who, after the four Bills were deliver'd, and read to the King, the very next day, deſir'd an Audience; and, with much formality and confidence, deliver'd a Declaration, and Proteſtation on the behalf of the Kingdom of *Scotland* againſt thoſe Bills and Propoſitions. They ſaid, "They "were ſo prejudicial to Religion, the Crown, and the Union, "and Intereſt of the Kingdoms, and ſo far different from the "former proceedings and engagements between the two King-"doms, that they could not concur therein; and therefore, "in the name of the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, did declare "their diſſent. The King had receiv'd Advertiſement, that aſſoon as he ſhould refuſe to conſent to the Bills, he ſhould preſently be made a cloſe Priſoner, and all his Servants ſhould be removed from him; upon which, and becauſe the Commiſſioners had no power to treat with him, but were only to receive his poſitive Anſwer, he reſolv'd that his Anſwer ſhould not be known till it was deliver'd to the Parliament; and that, in the mean time, he would endeavour to make his Eſcape, before new Orders could be ſent from *Weſtminſter*: ſo when

The Commiſſioners of Scotland *enter a Proteſtation againſt them.*

when the Commiſſioners came to receive his Anſwer, he gave it to them ſealed. The Earl of *Denbigh*, who was the chief of the Commiſſioners, and a Perſon very ungracious to the King, told him, "That though they had no Authority to treat "with him, or to do any thing but to receive his Anſwer, "yet they were not to be look'd upon as Common Meſſen- "gers, and to carry back an Anſwer that they had not ſeen: And, upon the matter, refuſed to receive it; and ſaid, "They "would return without any, except they might ſee what they "carried.

The King gives his Anſwer to the Parliament Commiſſioners.

His Majeſty conceiv'd that their return without his Anſwer would be attended with the worſt Conſequences; and therefore he told them, "That he had ſome reaſon for having "offer'd to deliver it to them in that manner; but if they "would give him their words, that the Communicating it to "them ſhould be attended with no prejudice to him, he would "open it, and cauſe it to be read, which they readily under- took (as in truth they knew no reaſon to ſuſpect it) and thereupon he open'd it, and gave it one to read. The An- ſwer was, "That his Majeſty had always thought it a matter "of great difficulty to comply in ſuch a manner with all en- "gaged Intereſts, that a firm and laſting Peace might enſue; "in which opinion he was now confirm'd, ſince the Com- "miſſioners for *Scotland* do ſolemnly proteſt againſt the ſeve- "ral Bills, and Propoſitions, which the two Houſes of Par- "liament had preſented to him for his Aſſent; ſo that it was "not poſſible for him to give ſuch an Anſwer as might be "the foundation of a hopeful Peace. He gave them many un- anſwerable reaſons, "Why he could not paſs the four Bills as "they were offer'd to him; which did not only deveſt him "of all Soveraignty, and leave him without any poſſibility of "recovering it to him or his Succeſſors, but open'd a door "for all intolerable oppreſſions upon his Subjects, he granting "ſuch an Arbitrary and Illimited Power to the two Houſes. He told them, "That neither the deſire of being freed from "that tedious and irkſome Condition of Life, which he had "ſo long ſuffer'd, nor the apprehenſion of any thing that might "befall him, ſhould ever prevail with him to conſent to any "one Act, till the conditions of the whole Peace ſhould be con- "cluded; and then that he would be ready to give all juſt "and reaſonable ſatisfaction, in all particulars; and for the ad- "juſting of all this, he knew no way but a Perſonal Treaty "(and therefore very earneſtly deſir'd the two Houſes to con- "ſent to it) to be either at *London*, or any other place they "would rather chooſe. Aſſoon as this Anſwer, or to the ſame effect, was read, he deliver'd it to the Commiſſioners; who no ſooner receiv'd it than they kiſſed his hand, and departed for *Weſtminſter*.

THE

Presently after Hammond *removes the Kings old Servants from about him.*

THE Commissioners were no sooner gone than *Hammond* caused all the King's Servants, who till then had all Liberty to be with him, to be immediately put out of the Castle; and forbid any of them to repair thither any more; and appointed a strong Guard to restrain any Body from going to the King, if they should endeavour it. This exceedingly troubled, and surprised him, being an absolute disappointment of all the hope he had left. He told *Hammond*, "That it was not suitable to "his engagement, and that it did not become a Man of Ho- "nour or Honesty to treat him so, who had so freely put "himself into his Hands. He ask'd him, whether the Com- "missioners were acquainted with his purpose to proceed in "this matter? To which he Answer'd, "That they were not; "but that he had an Order from the Parliament to do as he "had done; and that he saw plainly by his Answer to the Pro- "positions, that he acted by other Counsels than stood with "the good of the Kingdom.

THIS insolent and imperious proceeding, put the Island (which was generally inhabited by a People always well affected to the Crown) into a high Mutiny. They said, "They "would not endure to see their King so used, and made a "Prisoner. There was at that time there one Captain *Burly*, who was of a good Family in the Island. He had been a Captain of one of the King's Ships, and was put out of his Command when the Fleet Rebell'd against the King; and then he put himself into the King's Army, where he continued an Officer of good Account to the end of the War, and was in one of the King's Armies General of the Ordnance. When the War was at an end, he repair'd into his own Country, the Isle of *Wight*; where many of his Family still lived in good Reputation. This Gentleman chanced to be at *Newport*, the chief Town in the Island, when the King was thus treated, and when the People seem'd generally to resent it with so much indignation; and was so much transported with the same fury, being a Man of more Courage than of Prudence and Circumspection, that he caused a Drum to be presently beaten, and put himself at the head of the People who flock'd together, and cry'd "For God, the King, and the "People; and said, "He would lead them to the Castle, and "rescue the King from his Captivity. The attempt was presently discern'd to be irrational, and impossible; and by the great diligence, and activity of the King's Servants, who had been put out of the Castle, the People were quieted, and all Men resorted to their own Houses; but the poor Gentleman paid dear for his ill advised and precipitate Loyalty. For *Hammond* caused him presently to be made Prisoner; and the Parliament, without delay, sent down a Commission of *Oyer*

Thereupon Captain Burley *stirs up the People in the Island; but is quickly suppressed, condemn'd, and executed.*

and

and *Terminer*; in which an infamous Judge, *Wild*, whom they had made Chief Baron of the Exchequer for ſuch Services, preſided; who cauſed poor *Burley* to be, with all formality, Indicted of high Treaſon for Levying War againſt the King, and engaging the Kingdom in a new War; of which the Jury they had brought together, found him guilty; upon which their Judge condemn'd him, and the Honeſt Man was forthwith hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, with all the circumſtances of Barbarity and Cruelty; which ſtruck a wonderful Terror into all Men, this being the firſt precedent of their having brought any Man to a formal Legal Trial by the Law to deprive him of his Life, and make him guilty of High Treaſon for adhering to the King; and it made a deeper impreſſion upon the hearts of all Men, than all the Cruelties they had yet exerciſed by their Courts of War; which though they took away the Lives of many Innocent Men, left their Eſtates to their Wives and Children; but when they ſaw now, that they might be condemn'd of High Treaſon before a ſworn Judge of the Law for ſerving the King, by which their Eſtates would be likewiſe Confiſcated, they thought they ſhould be juſtified if they kept their Hearts entire, without being involv'd by their Actions in a Capital Tranſgreſſion.

How the King's Anſwer is receiv'd by the Parliament; and Cromwell's *Speech of the King thereupon.*

UPON the receipt of the King's Anſwer, there appear'd a new Spirit and Temper in the Houſe of Commons; hitherto, no Man had mention'd the King's Perſon without Duty and Reſpect, and only lamented "That he was miſled by evil and "wicked Counſellors; who being removed from him, he "might by the advice of his Parliament govern well enough. But now, upon the refuſal to paſs theſe Bills, every Man's mouth was open'd againſt him with the utmoſt Sawcineſs, and Licenſe; each Man ſtriving to exceed the other in the impudence and bitterneſs of his Invective. *Cromwell* declared, "That the King was a Man of great parts, and great under-"ſtanding (faculties they had hitherto endeavour'd to have him thought to be without) "but that he was ſo great a diſ-"ſembler, and ſo falſe a Man, that he was not to be truſted. And thereupon, repeated many particulars, whilſt he was in the Army, that his Majeſty wiſh'd that ſuch, and ſuch things might be done, which being done to gratify him, he was diſpleaſed, and complain'd of it: That whilſt he profeſſed with "all ſolemnity that he referr'd himſelf wholely to the Parlia-"ment, and depended only upon their Wiſdom and Counſel "for the Settlement and Compoſing the Diſtractions of the "Kingdom, he had, at the ſame time, ſecret Treaties with "the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, how he might imbroil the Nation "in a new War, and deſtroy the Parliament. He concluded, "that they might no farther trouble themſelves with ſending

"Meſſages

"Meſſages to him, or farther Propoſitions, but that they might "enter upon thoſe Counſels which were neceſſary towards "the Settlement of the Kingdom, without having farther re- "courſe to the King. Thoſe of his Party ſeconded this ad- vice with new Reproaches upon the Perſon of the King, charging him with ſuch abominable Actions, as had been ne- ver heard of, and could be only ſuggeſted from the malice of their own Hearts; whilſt Men who had any Modeſty, and abhorr'd that way of proceeding, ſtood amaz'd and confound- ed at the manner and preſumption of it, and without Courage to give any notable oppoſition to their Rage. So that, after ſeveral days ſpent in paſſionate Debates to this purpoſe, they Voted, "That they would make no more Addreſſes to the King, but proceed towards ſettling the Government, and "providing for the Peace of the Kingdom, in ſuch manner as "they ſhould judge beſt for the benefit and liberty of the Sub- "ject: and a Committee was appointed to prepare a Decla- ration to inform and ſatisfy the People of this their Reſolu- tion, and the grounds thereof, and to aſſure them, "That they "had Lawful Authority to proceed in this manner. In the mean time, the King, who had, from the time of his coming to the Iſle of *Wight*, enjoy'd the liberty of taking the Air, and refreſhing himſelf throughout the Iſland, and was attended by ſuch Servants as he had appointed, or ſent for, to come thi- ther to him, to the time that he had refuſed to paſs thoſe Bills, from thenceforth was no more ſuffer'd to go out of the Caſtle beyond a little ill Garden that belonged to it. And now, af- ter this Vote of the Houſe of Commons, that there ſhould be no more Addreſſes made to him, all his Servants being remov'd, a few new Men, for the moſt part unknown to his Majeſty, were deputed to be about his Perſon to perform all thoſe Of- fices which they believ'd might be requiſite, and of whoſe Fi- delity to themſelves they were as well aſſured, as that they were without any Reverence or Affection for the King.

Vote of no more Addreſſes to the King, &c.

A meeting of Crom- well *and the Officers at* Wind- ſor, *wherein they deſign the King's Deſtruction.*

It is very true, that within few days after the King's with- drawing from *Hampton* Court, and after it was known that he was in the Iſle of *Wight*, there was a meeting of the Ge- neral Officers of the Army at *Windſor*, where *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were preſent, to conſult what ſhould be now done with the King. For, though *Cromwell* was weary of the Agitators, and reſolv'd to break their meetings, and though the Parlia- ment concurr'd in all he deſir'd, yet his entire confidence was in the Officers of the Army; who were they who ſway'd the Parliament, and the Army it ſelf, to bring what he intended to paſs. At this conference, the preliminaries wereof were always Faſtings and Prayers, made at the very Council by *Cromwell* or *Ireton*, or ſome other *Inſpired* Perſon, as moſt of the

the Officers were, it was reſolv'd "That the King ſhould be "proſecuted for his Life as a Criminal Perſon: of which his Majeſty was advertiſed ſpeedily by *Watſon*, Quarter Maſter General of the Army; who was preſent; and had pretended, from the firſt coming of the King to the Army, to have a deſire to ſerve him, and deſired to be now thought to retain it; but the Reſolution was a great ſecret, of which the Parliament had not the leaſt intimation, or jealouſy; but was, as it had been, to be cozen'd by degrees to do what they never intended. Nor was his Majeſty eaſily perſwaded to give credit to the information; but though he expected, and thought it very probable, that they would Murder him, he did not believe they would attempt it with that formality, or let the People know their Intentions. The great approach they made towards it, was, their Declaration "That they would "make no more Addreſſes to the King, that by an Interregnum they might feel the pulſe of the People, and diſcover how they would ſubmit to another form of Government; and yet all Writs, and Proceſs of Juſtice, and all Commiſſions, ſtill iſſued in the King's Name without his conſent or privity; and little other change or alteration, but that what was before done by the King himſelf, and by his immediate Order, was now perform'd by the Parliament; and, inſtead of Acts of Parliament, they made Ordinances of the two Houſes to ſerve all their occaſions; which found the ſame Obedience from the People.

THIS Declaration of no more Addreſſes, contain'd a charge againſt the King of whatſoever had been done amiſs from the beginning of his Government, or before, not without a direct Inſinuation, as if "He had conſpired with the Duke "of *Buckingham* againſt the life of his Father; the prejudice "he had brought upon the Proteſtant Religion in Forreign "parts, by lending his Ships to the King of *France*, who imemploy'd them againſt *Rochel*: they renew'd the remembrance, and reproach of all thoſe grievances which had been mention'd in their firſt Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom, and repeated all the calumnies which had been contain'd in all their Declarations before and after the War; which had been all ſo fully Anſwer'd by his Majeſty, that the world was convinced of their Rebellion and Treaſon: they charged him with being "The cauſe of all the blood that had "been ſpilt, by his having made a War upon his Parliament, "and rejecting all Overtures of Peace which had been made "to him; and in regard of all theſe things, they reſolv'd to "make no more Addreſs to him, but, by their own Autho-"rity, to provide for the Peace and Welfare of the King-"dom.

The Vote of no more Addreſſes ſeconded by a Declaration.

THIS

THIS Declaration found much oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons, in reſpect of the particular reproaches they had now caſt upon the Perſon of the King, which they had heretofore, in their own publiſh'd Declarations to the People, charged upon the evil Counſellors, and Perſons about him; and ſome Perſons had been ſentenc'd, and condemn'd, for thoſe very crimes which they now accuſed his Majeſty of. But there was much more exception to their concluſion from thoſe premiſes, that therefore they would addreſs themſelves no more to him; and *John Maynard*, a Member of the Houſe, and a Lawyer of great eminence, who had too much complied and concurred with their irregular, and unjuſt proceedings, after he had with great vehemence oppoſed, and contradicted the moſt odious Parts of their Declaration, told them plainly, "That by this reſolution of making no more "Addreſſes to the King, they did, as far as in Them lay, "diſſolve the Parliament; and that, from the time of that de- "termination, he knew not with what ſecurity, in point of "Law, they could meet together, or any Man joyn with them "in their Counſels: That it was of the Eſſence of Parliament, "that they ſhould upon all occaſions repair to the King; and "that his Majeſty's refuſal at any time to receive their Peti- "tions, or to admit their Addreſſes, had been always held "the higheſt breach of their Privilege, becauſe it tended to "their diſſolution without diſſolving them; and therefore if "they ſhould now, on their parts, determine that they would "receive no more Meſſages from him (which was likewiſe a "part of their Declaration) nor make any more addreſs to "him, they did, upon the matter, declare that they were no "longer a Parliament: and then, how could the People look "upon them as ſuch? This Argumentation being boldly preſs'd by a Man of that Learning and Authority, who had very ſeldom not been believ'd, made a great impreſſion upon all Men who had not proſtituted themſelves to *Cromwell*, and his Party. But the other ſide meant not to maintain their reſolution by diſcourſes, well knowing where their ſtrength lay; and ſo ſtill called for the Queſtion; which was carried by a plurality of Voices, as they foreſaw it would; very many Perſons who abhorr'd the determination, not having Courage to provoke the powerful Men by owning their diſſent; others, ſatisfying themſelves with the reſolution to withdraw themſelves, and to bear no farther part in the Counſels; which *Maynard* himſelf did; and came no more to the Houſe in very many Months, nor till there ſeem'd to be ſuch an alteration in the minds of Men, that there would be a reverſal of that monſtrous determination; and many others did the ſame.

Mr Maynard's Argument againſt it.

WHEN

When this Declaration was thus paſſed the Commons, and by them ſent to the Houſe of Peers for their concurrence, the Manner of the Matter was of that importance as to need much Debate, but, with as little formality as was poſſible, it had the concurrence of that Houſe, and was immediately printed, and publiſhed, and new Orders ſent to the Iſle of *Wight*, for the more ſtrict looking to, and guarding the King, that he might not eſcape.

The publiſhing this Declaration wrought very different effects in the minds of the People, from what they expected it would produce; and it appear'd to be ſo publickly deteſted, that many who had ſerv'd the Parliament in ſeveral unwarrantable Imployments and Commiſſions, from the beginning of the War, in the City and in the Country, withdrew themſelves from the Service of the Parliament; and much inveigh'd againſt it, for declining all the Principles upon which they had engaged them. Many private Perſons took upon them to publiſh Anſwers to that Declaration, that, the King himſelf being under ſo ſtrict a reſtraint that he could make no Anſwer, the People might not be poyſon'd with the belief of it. And the ſeveral Anſwers of this kind wrought very much upon the People, who open'd their Mouths very loud againſt the Parliament and the Army; and the clamour was encreaſed by the encreaſe of Taxes, and Impoſitions, which were raiſed by new Ordinances of Parliament upon the Kingdom; and though they were ſo entirely poſſeſſed of the whole Kingdom, and the Forces and Garriſons thereof, that they had no Enemy to fear or apprehend, yet they disbanded no part of their Army; and notwithſtanding they raiſed incredible Sums of Money, upon the Sale of the Church and the Crown Lands; for which they found Purchaſers enough amongſt their own Party in the City, Army, and Country, and upon compoſition with Delinquents, and the ſale of their Lands who refuſed, or could not be admitted, to compound (which few refuſe to do who could be admitted, in regard that their Eſtates were all under Sequeſtration, and the Rents thereof paid to the Parliament, ſo that till they compounded they had nothing to ſupport themſelves, whereby they were driven into extreme wants and neceſſities, and were compelled to make their Compoſitions, at how unreaſonable rates ſoever, that they might thereby be enabled to ſell ſome part, to preſerve the reſt, and their Houſes from being pulled down, and their Woods from being waſted or ſpoiled) Notwithſtanding all theſe vaſt receipts, which they ever pretended ſhould eaſe the People of their Burden, and ſhould ſuffice to pay the Army their expences at Sea, and Land, their debts were ſo great, that they raiſed the publick Taxes; and,

beſides

beſides all Cuſtom, and Exciſe, they Levied a Monthly Contribution of above a hundred thouſand pounds by a Land Tax throughout the Kingdom; which was more than had been ever done before, and it being at a time when they had no Enemy who contended with them, was an Evidence that it would have no end, and that the Army was ſtill to be kept up, to make good the reſolution they had taken, to have no more to do with the King; and that made the reſolution generally the more odious. All this grew the more inſupportable, by reaſon that upon the publiſhing this laſt monſtrous Declaration, moſt of thoſe Perſons of condition, who, as hath been ſaid before, had been ſeduced to do them Service throughout the Kingdom, declined to appear longer in ſo deteſtable an imployment; and now a more inferior ſort of the common People ſucceeded in thoſe imployments, who thereby exerciſed ſo great inſolence over thoſe who were in Quality above them, and who always had a power over them, that it was very grievous; and for this, let the circumſtances be what they would, no redreſs could be ever obtain'd, all diſtinction of Quality being renounced. They who were not above the condition of ordinary inferior Conſtables, ſix or ſeven years before, were now the Juſtices of Peace, and Sequeſtrators, and Commiſſioners; who executed the Commands of the Parliament, in all the Counties of the Kingdom, with ſuch Rigour and Tyranny, as was natural for ſuch Perſons to uſe over and towards thoſe upon whom they had formerly looked at ſuch a diſtance. But let their ſufferings be never ſo great, and the murmur and diſcontent never ſo general, there was no ſhadow of hope by which they might diſcern any poſſible relief: ſo that they who had ſtruggled as long as they were able, ſubmitted patiently to the Yoke, with the more ſatisfaction, in that they ſaw many of thoſe who had been the principal Contrivers of all the miſchiefs to ſatisfy their own Ambition, and that they might govern others, reduced to almoſt as ill a condition as themſelves, at leaſt to as little Power, and Authority, and Security; whilſt the whole Government of the Nation remain'd, upon the matter, wholely in Their hands who in the beginning of the Parliament were ſcarce ever heard of, or their names known but in the places where they inhabited.

THE King being in this melancholick neglected Condition, and the Kingdom poſſeſſed by the new Rulers, without controul, in the new method of Government, where every thing was done, and ſubmitted to, which they propounded, they yet found that there was no foundation laid for their Peace, and future Security; that beſide the general diſcontent of the Nation, which for the preſent they did not fear, they were

were to expect new Troubles from *Ireland*, and from *Scotland*; which would, in the Progreſs have an influence upon *England*.

The Affairs of Ireland.

In *Ireland* (which they had totally neglected from the time of the differences and conteſts between the Parliament and the Army, and from the King's being in the Army) though they were poſſeſſed of *Dublin*, and upon the matter, of the whole Province of *Munſter*, by the activity of the Lord *Inchiquin*, and the Lord *Broghill*; yet the *Iriſh* Rebels had very great Forces, which cover'd all the other parts of the Kingdom. But they had no kind of fears of the *Iriſh*, whom they vanquiſhed as often as they ſaw, and never declined Fighting upon any inequality of Number: they had an apprehenſion of another Enemy. The Marquis of *Ormond* had often attended the King at *Hampton* Court, and had great reſort to him, whilſt he ſtay'd in *London*, by all thoſe who had ſerv'd the King, and not leſs by thoſe who were known to be unſatisfy'd with the proceedings both of the Parliament and the Army; and by the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners, who had frequently private Meetings with him; inſomuch as the Officers of the Army, who gave the firſt motion to all extravagant Acts of power, had reſolv'd to have apprehended and impriſon'd him, as a Man worthy of their fear, though they had nothing to charge him with; and by his Articles, he had liberty to ſtay ſix Months where he would in *England* (which time was little more than half expired) and then he might Tranſport himſelf into what part he deſired beyond the Seas. The Marquis had notice of this their purpoſe; and having conferr'd with his Majeſty as much as was neceſſary, upon a reaſonable foreſight of what was like to fall out, ſhortly after, or about the time that the King left *Hampton* Court, he in diſguiſe, and without being attended by more than one Servant, rid into *Suſſex*; and in an obſcure and unguarded Port or Harbour, put himſelf on board a Shallop, which ſafely Tranſported him into *Normandy*; from whence he waited upon the Queen, and the Prince of *Wales*, at *Paris*; to whom he could not but be very welcome.

The Marquis of Ormond *tranſports himſelf out of* England *into* France.

At the ſame time, there were Commiſſioners arriv'd from *Ireland* from the Confederate Roman Catholicks; who, after they had driven the King's Authority from them, quickly found they needed it for their own preſervation. The Factions grew ſo great amongſt the *Iriſh* themſelves, and the Pope's Nuntio exerciſed his Authority with ſo great Tyranny and Inſolence, that all were weary of him; and found that the Parliament, aſſoon as they ſhould ſend more Forces over, would eaſily, by reaſon of their diviſions, reduce them into great ſtreights, and neceſſities. They therefore ſent Commiſ-

ſioners to the Queen and Prince to deſire, "That by their fa-"vour, they might have the King's Authority again among "them; to which they promiſed, for the future, a ready obe-dience, with many acknowledgments of their former miſcar-riage and ill behaviour. It is very true that the Marquis of *Antrim*, who was one of the Commiſſioners, and was always inſeparable from the higheſt Ambition (though without any Qualifications for any great Truſt) had entertain'd the hope, that by the Queen's favour, who had too good an opinion of him, the Government of *Ireland* ſhould be committed to Him, and his Conduct; which none of the other Commiſſioners thought of, nor had their Eyes fixed on any Man but the Mar-quis of *Ormond*, in whom the King's Authority was veſted; for he remain'd ſtill Lieutenant of *Ireland* by the King's Com-miſſion; and they had reaſon to believe that all the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, who had formerly liv'd under his Government (without a conjunction with whom, they well foreſaw the *Iriſh* would not be able to defend or preſerve themſelves) would return to the ſame obedience, aſſoon as he ſhould re-turn to receive it. The Queen and the Prince thought not of truſting any other in that moſt hazardous and difficult Im-ployment, and ſo referr'd the Commiſſioners to make all their Overtures, and Propoſitious to him; who knew well enough, what they would not do if they could, and what they could not do if they had a mind to it; and how devoted ſoever he was to the King's Service, nothing propoſed or undertaken by them, could have been the leaſt inducement to him to en-gage himſelf, and to depend upon their Fidelity. But there were three things, which with the great and entire Zeal for the King's Service, to which he had dedicated himſelf, made him believe that he might with ſome ſucceſs appear again in that Kingdom, in this conjuncture; and that his ſo doing, might have a good effect upon the temper of *England* towards the mending his Majeſty's Condition there.

The Reaſons that moved the Marquis to go again into Ire-land.

FIRST, the Cardinal *Mazarin* (who then abſolutely go-vern'd *France*) ſeem'd very earneſtly to adviſe it, and pro-miſed to ſupply him with a good Sum of Money, and ſtore of Arms and Ammunition to carry with him; which he knew very well how to diſpoſe of there. Secondly, he was privy to the *Scotiſh* Engagement, and to a reſolution of many Perſons of great Honour in *England*, to appear in Arms at the ſame time; which was deſign'd for the Summer following; where-by the Parliament, and Army, which were like to have new diviſions amongſt themſelves, would not be able to ſend any conſiderable Supplies into *Ireland*; without which, their Power there, was not like to be Formidable. Thirdly, which was a greater Encouragement than the other two, he had, during

during his abode in *England*, held a close correspondence with the Lord *Inchiquin*, President of the Province of *Munster* in *Ireland*, who had the full Power and Command of all the *English* Army there; which was a better Body of Men than the Parliament had in any other part of that Kingdom. That Lord was weary of his Masters, and did not think the Service he had done the Parliament (which indeed had been very great, and without which it is very probable that whole Kingdom had been united to his Majesty's Service) well requited; and did really and heartily abhor the Proceedings of the Parliament, and Army, towards the King; and did therefore resolve to redeem what he had formerly done amiss, with exposing all he had for his Majesty's Restoration; and had frankly promis'd the Marquis to receive him into *Munster*, as the King's Lieutenant of that Kingdom; and that That whole Province, and Army, should pay him all Obedience; and that against the time he should be sure of his presence, he would make a Cessation with the *Irish* in Order to a firm conjunction of that whole Kingdom for the King. After the Marquis came into *France*, he receiv'd still Letters from that Lord to hasten his Journey thither.

THESE were the Motives which disposed the Marquis to comply with the Queen's, and the Prince's Command to prepare himself for that Expedition; and so he conserted all things with the *Irish* Commissioners; who return'd into their Country, with promises to dispose their General Assembly to consent to those Conditions as might not bring a greater prejudice to the King, than any conjunction with them could be of advantage.

THE Parliament had too many Spies, and Agents at *Paris*, not to be inform'd of whatsoever was whisper'd there; but whether they undervalued any conjunction with the *Irish* (for of the Lord *Inchiquin* they had no suspicion) or were confident of the Cardinal's kindness, that he would not advance any design against them, they were not so apprehensive of Trouble from *Ireland* as they were of their Brethren from *Scotland*; where they heard of great preparations, and of a purpose to call a Parliament, and to raise an Army; which, they believ'd, would find too many Friends in *England*, the Presbyterian Party holding up their Heads again, both in the Parliament, and the City. Besides, they knew that some Persons of Quality and Interest, who had serv'd the King in good Command in the late War, were gone into *Scotland*, and well receiv'd there; which, they thought, would draw the King's Party together upon the first appearance.

AFTER the King had been so infamously deliver'd up to the Parliament by the *Scots* at *New-Castle*, and assoon as the

Army had poſſeſſed themſelves of him, that Nation was in terrible Apprehenſion that the Officers of the Army would have made their Peace, and eſtabliſhed their own greatneſs by reſtoring the King to his juſt Rights, of which they had ſo fouly depriv'd him; and then the conſcience of their guilt made them preſume, what Their Lot muſt be; and therefore, the ſame Commiſſioners who had been joyn'd with the Committee of Parliament in all the Tranſactions, made haſte to *Weſtminſter* again to their old Seats, to keep their Intereſt; which was great in all the Presbyterian Party, both of Parliament and City; for there remain'd ſtill the ſame profeſſion of maintaining the ſtrict Union between the two Kingdoms, and that all Tranſactions ſhould be by joynt Counſels. And aſſoon as the King appear'd with ſome ſhew of Liberty, and his own Servants had leave to attend him, no Men appear'd with more confidence than the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners; the Earl of *Lowden*, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and the reſt; as if they had been the Men who had contriv'd his Reſtoration: No Men in ſo frequent Whiſpers with the King; and they found ſome way to get themſelves ſo much believ'd by the Queen, with whom they held a diligent Correſpondence, that her Majeſty very earneſtly perſwaded the King "To truſt them, "as the only Perſons who had Power and Credit to do him "Service, and to redeem him from the Captivity he was in. Duke *Hamilton*, who had been ſent Priſoner by the King to the Caſtle of *Pendennis*, and had been deliver'd from thence by the Army, when that place was taken in the end of the War, had enjoyed his Liberty at *London*, and in his own Houſe at *Chelſey*, as long as he thought fit, that is, near as long as the King was with the *Scotiſh* Army and at *New-Caſtle*; and ſome time before his Majeſty was deliver'd up to the Parliament Commiſſioners, he went into *Scotland* to his own Houſe at *Hamilton*; looked upon by that Nation as one who had unjuſtly ſuffer'd under the King's Jealouſy, and diſpleaſure, and who remain'd ſtill very faithful to him; and during the time that he remain'd in and about *London*, he found means to converſe with many of the King's Party, and made great profeſſions that he would do the King a very ſignal Service, which he deſired them to aſſure his Majeſty of; and ſeem'd exceedingly troubled and aſhamed at his Country Men's giving up the King. His having no ſhare in that infamy made him the more truſted in *England*, and to be receiv'd with the more reſpect in *Scotland* by all thoſe who abhorr'd that Tranſaction.

Duke Hamilton *goes into* Scotland.

THE Commiſſioners who attended his Majeſty, made great Apologies for what had been done, imputing it wholely to the "Malice and power of the Marquis of *Argyle*, and to his "Credit

"Credit, and Authority in the Council, and in the Army; "ſo that nothing could be done which was deſir'd by Honeſt "Men; but that now Duke *Hamilton* was amongſt them, "who they knew was moſt devoted to his Majeſty, they "ſhould be able to over-power *Argyle*; and the proceedings "of the Army and the Parliament, were ſo foul, and ſo con- "trary to their publick Faith, that they were confident that "all *Scotland* would riſe as one Man for his Majeſty's defence "and vindication; and they were well aſſured, there would "ſuch a Party in *England* of thoſe who were faithful to his Ma- "jeſty, appear at the ſame time, that there would be little "queſtion of being able, between them, to be hard enough "for that part of the Army that would oppoſe them; which his Majeſty knew well was reſolv'd by many Perſons of Ho- nour, who afterwards perform'd what they had promiſed.

WHEN the Commiſſioners had, by theſe Inſinuations, gain'd new Credit with the King, and had undertaken, that their Invading *England* with an Army equal to the undertaking, ſhould be the foundation upon which all other hopes were to depend (for no attempt in *England* could be reaſonable before ſuch an Invaſion, which was likewiſe to be haſten'd, that it might be at the ſame time when the Marquis of *Ormond* ſhould appear in *Ireland*) they begun to propoſe to him many Conditions, which ſhould be neceſſary for his Majeſty to engage himſelf to perform towards that Nation; without which it would not be eaſy to induce it into ſo unanimous a Conſent and Engagement, as was neceſſary for ſuch an Enterpriſe. They requir'd, as a thing without which nothing was to be under- taken, "That the Prince of *Wales* ſhould be preſent with "them, and march in the head of their Army; and deſired "that advertiſement, and order, might be ſent to that pur- "poſe to the Queen, and the Prince, at *Paris*; that ſo his "Highneſs might be ready for the Voyage, aſſoon as they "ſhould be prepared to receive him. The King would by no means conſent that the Prince ſhould go into *Scotland*, being too well acquainted with the manners and fidelity of that Par- ty there; but he was contented, that when they ſhould have enter'd *England* with their Army, then the Prince of *Wales* ſhould put himſelf in the head of them. They demanded, "that ſuch a number of *Scots*-men ſhould be always in the "Court, of the Bed-Chamber, and all other places about the "Perſons of the King, and Prince, and Duke of *York*: That "*Berwick* and *Carliſle*, ſhould be put into the hands of the "*Scots*; and ſome other Conceſſions with reference to the Northern Counties; which trench'd ſo far upon the Honour and Intereſt of the *Engliſh*, that his Majeſty utterly refuſed to conſent to it; and ſo the Agreement was not concluded

The Commiſſioners of Scotland's *private Treaty with the King at* Hampton *Court.*

when the King left *Hampton* Court. But, aſſoon as he was at the Iſle of *Wight*, the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners repaired to him, at the ſame time with thoſe who were ſent to him from the Parliament for his Royal Aſſent to thoſe four Bills ſpoken of before; then in that ſeaſon of deſpair, they prevail'd with him to Sign the Propoſitions he had formerly refuſed; and, having great apprehenſion from the Jealouſies they knew the Army had of them, that they ſhould be ſeiſed upon, and ſearched in their return to *London*, they made up their precious Contract in Lead; and buried it in a Garden in the Iſle of *Wight*; from whence they eaſily found means afterwards to receive it. So conſtant were thoſe Men to their Principles, and ſo wary to be ſure to be no loſers by returning to their Allegiance; to which neither Conſcience nor Honour did invite or diſpoſe them. So after a ſtay of ſome Months at *London* to adjuſt all Accounts, and receive the remainder of thoſe Monies they had ſo dearly earn'd, or ſo much of it as they had hope would be paid, they return'd to *Scotland*, with the hatred and contempt of the Army, and the Parliament, that was then govern'd by it; but with the veneration of the Preſbyterian Party, which ſtill had faith in them, and exceedingly depended upon their future Negotiation; which was now incumbent upon them: and in order thereunto, a faſt intercourſe and correſpondence was ſettled, as well by conſtant Letters, as by frequent Emiſſaries of their Clergy, or other Perſons, whoſe devotion to their Combination was unqueſtionable.

Which Treaty was renew'd; and He Sign'd it at the Iſle of Wight.

It can never be enough wonder'd at that the *Scotiſh* Preſbyterians, being a watchful and crafty People, the principal of whom were as unreſtrain'd by Conſcience as any of the Officers of the Army were, and only intended their particular advantage and ambition, ſhould yet hope to carry on their Intereſt by ſuch conditions, and limitations, as all wiſe Men ſaw muſt abſolutely ruin and deſtroy it. They knew well enough the Spirit of their own People, and that though it would be no hard matter to draw a numerous Army enough together, yet that being together it would be able to do very little towards any vigorous attempt; and therefore their chief dependence was upon the Aſſiſtance they ſhould find ready to joyn with them in *England*. It is true, they did believe the Body of the Presbyterians in *England* to be much more conſiderable than in truth it was; yet they did, or might have known, that the moſt conſiderable Perſons who in the conteſt with the other Faction were content to be thought Presbyterians, were ſo only as they thought it might reſtore the King; which they more impatiently deſired, than any alteration in the Government of the Church; and that they did heartily intend a conjunction with all the Royal Party, upon whoſe Intereſt,

Conduct

Conduct, and Courage, they did more rely than upon the power of the *Scots*; who did publickly profeſs that all the King's Friends ſhould be moſt welcome, and receiv'd by them; nor did they truſt any one Presbyterian in *England* with the Knowledge of the Particulars contain'd in the Agreement with the King; but concealed it between the three Perſons who tranſacted it, and if it had been known, *Cromwell* might as eaſily have overrun the Country before their Army Invaded *England*, as he did afterwards; nor would one *Engliſh* Man have joyn'd with them. Beſides the infamous Circumſtances by which they extorted Conceſſions from the King, which would have render'd any Contract odious (it being made in thoſe four days, which were all that were aſſign'd both to the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners; ſo that his Majeſty had not only no time to adviſe with others, but could not adviſe with Himſelf upon ſo many monſtrous Particulars as were demanded of him by both Kingdoms; which if he could have done, he would no more then have ſubmitted to them, than he did afterwards upon long deliberation, and when his Life appear'd to be in more manifeſt danger by his refuſal) the Particulars themſelves were the moſt ſcandalous, and derogatory to the Honour and Intereſt of the *Engliſh* Nation; and would have been abominated, if known and underſtood, by all Men, with all poſſible indignation.

The ſubſtance of the Treaty Sign'd the 26. of Dec. 1647.

AFTER they had made his Majeſty give a good Teſtimony of their League and Covenant, in the Preface of their Agreement, and "That the intentions of thoſe who had enter'd into "it, were real for the preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon "and Authority, according to their Allegiance, and no ways "to diminiſh his juſt Power and Greatneſs, they obliged him "aſſoon as he could, with Freedom, Honour, and Safety, be "preſent in a free Parliament, to confirm the ſaid League and "Covenant by Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, for the "ſecurity of all who had taken, or ſhould take it. It is true, they admitted a Proviſo, "That none who was unwilling, "ſhould be conſtrain'd to take it. They likewiſe oblig'd his Majeſty "To confirm by Act of Parliament in *England*, Preſ- "byterian Government; the Directory for worſhip; and the "Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*, for three years; ſo that "his Majeſty, and his Houſhold, ſhould not be hinder'd from "uſing that form of Divine Service he had formerly practiced; "and that during thoſe three years there ſhould be a Conſul- "tation with the Aſſembly of Divines, to which twenty of "the King's nomination ſhould be added, and ſome from the "Church of *Scotland*; and thereupon it ſhould be determin'd "by his Majeſty, and the two Houſes of Parliament, what "form of Government ſhould be eſtabliſh'd after the expira-

"tion of thoſe years, as ſhould be moſt agreeable to the word "of God: that an effectual courſe ſhould be taken by Act of "Parliament, and all other ways needful or expedient, for the "ſuppreſſing the opinions and practices of Anti-Trinitarians, "Arians, Socinians, Anti-Scripturiſts, Anabaptiſts, Antino-"mians, Armenians, Famyliſts, Browniſts, Separatiſts, Inde-"pendents, Libertines, and Seekers, and, generally, for the "ſuppreſſing all Blaſphemy, Hereſy, Schiſm, and all ſuch "ſcandalous Doctrines and Practices as are contrary to the "light of Nature, and to the known Principles of Chriſtia-"nity, whether concerning Faith, Worſhip, or Converſa-"tion, or the power of Godlineſs, or which may be deſtru-"ctive to Order and Government, or to the Peace of the "Church or Kingdom. The King promiſed, "That in the "next Seſſion of Parliament, after the Kingdom of *Scotland* "ſhould declare for his Majeſty, in purſuance of this Agree-"ment, he ſhould in Perſon, or by Commiſſion, confirm the "League and Covenant in that Kingdom; and concerning all the Acts paſſed in the laſt Parliament of that Kingdom, his Majeſty declared, "That he ſhould then likewiſe be con-"tent to give aſſurance by Act of Parliament, that neither "He, nor his Succeſſors, ſhould Quarrel, call in Queſtion, or "command the contrary of any of them, nor queſtion any for "giving Obedience to the ſame. Then they made a long re-cital of "The Agreement the Parliament of *England* had made, "when the *Scots* Army return'd to *Scotland*, that the Army "under *Fairfax* ſhould be disbanded; and of that Army's ſub-"mitting thereunto; of their taking the King from *Holmby*, "and keeping him Priſoner till he fled from them to the Iſle "of *Wight*; and ſince that time both his Majeſty, and the "Commiſſioners for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, had very earn-"eſtly deſir'd that the King might come to *London*, in ſafety, "honour, and freedom, for a Perſonal Treaty with the two "Houſes and the Commiſſioners of the Parliament of *Scotland*; "which, they ſaid, had been granted, but that the Army "had in violent manner, forced away divers Members of the "Parliament from the diſcharge of their truſt, and poſſeſſed "themſelves of the City of *London*, and all the Strengths, and "Garriſons of the Kingdoms; and that by the ſtrength, and "influence of that Army, and their adherents, Propoſitions "and Bills had been ſent to the King without the advice and "conſent of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, contrary to the Treaties "which are between the two Kingdoms, and deſtructive to "Religion, his Majeſty's juſt Rights, the Privileges of Parlia-"ment, and Liberty of the Subject; from which Propoſitions, "and Bills, the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners had diſſented, and pro-"teſted againſt, in the name of the Kingdom of *Scotland*.

AFTER

AFTER this preamble, and recital, they ſaid, "That for-
"aſmuch as his Majeſty is willing to give ſatisfaction concern-
"ing the ſettling Religion, and other matters in difference, as
"is expreſt in this Agreement, the Kingdom of *Scotland* doth
"oblige and engage it ſelf, firſt, in a peaceable way and man-
"ner to endeavour that the King may come to *London* in ſafe-
"ty, honour, and freedom, for a Perſonal Treaty with the
"Houſes of Parliament and the Commiſſioners of *Scotland*,
"upon ſuch Propoſitions as ſhould be mutually agreed on be-
"tween the Kingdoms, and ſuch Propoſitions as his Majeſty
"ſhould think fit to make; and for this end all Armies
"ſhould be disbanded; and in caſe that this ſhould not be
"granted, that Declarations ſhould be emitted by the King-
"dom of *Scotland* in purſuance of this Agreement, againſt the
"unjuſt proceedings of the two Houſes of Parliament towards
"his Majeſty and the Kingdom of *Scotland*; in which they
"would aſſert the Right that belonged to the Crown, in the
"power of the Militia, the Great Seal, beſtowing of Ho-
"nours and Offices of Truſt, choice of the Privy Counſellors,
"and the Right of the King's Negative Voice in Parliament:
"And that the Queen's Majeſty, the Prince, and the reſt of
"the Royal Iſſue, ought to remain where his Majeſty ſhall
"think fit in either of his Kingdoms, with ſafety, honour,
"and freedom: That, upon the iſſuing out this Declaration,
"an Army ſhould be ſent out of *Scotland* into *England*, for the
"preſervation, and eſtabliſhment of Religion; for defence of
"his Majeſty's Perſon, and Authority, and reſtoring him to
"his Government, to the juſt Rights of the Crown, and his
"full Revenues; for defence of the Privileges of Parliament,
"and Liberties of the Subject; for making a firm Union be-
"tween the Kingdoms under his Majeſty, and his Poſterity,
"and ſettling a laſting Peace. In purſuance whereof, the
Kingdom of *Scotland* was to endeavour "That there might be
"a free and full Parliament in *England*, and that his Majeſty
"may be with them in honour, ſafety, and freedom; and
"that a ſpeedy period be ſet to the preſent Parliament. And
"they undertook, that the Army which they would raiſe,
"ſhould be upon its march, before the Meſſage and Declara-
"tion ſhould be deliver'd to the Houſes. It was farther a-
greed, "That all ſuch in the Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ire-*
"*land*, as would joyn with the Kingdom of *Scotland* in pur-
"ſuance of this Agreement, ſhould be protected by his Majeſty
"in their Perſons, and Eſtates; and that all his Majeſty's Sub-
"jects in *England* or *Ireland* who would joyn with him, in
"purſuance of this Agreement, might come to the *Scotiſh* Army,
"and joyn with them, or elſe put themſelves into other Bodies
"in *England* or *Wales*, for proſecution of the ſame ends, as

"the

"the King's Majesty should judge most convenient, and un-
"der such Commanders, or Generals of the *English* Nation,
"as his Majesty should think fit: And that all such should
"be protected by the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and their Army,
"in their Persons and Estates; and where any injury or wrong
"is done unto them, they would be careful to see them fully
"repair'd, as far as it should be in their power to do; and
"likewise when any injury or wrong is done to those who
"joyn with the Kingdom of *Scotland*, his Majesty shall be
"careful of their full reparation.

THEY obliged his Majesty to promise "That neither him-
"self, nor any by his Authority or Knowledge, should make
"or admit of any Cessation, Pacification, or Agreement what-
"soever for Peace, nor of any Treaty, Propositions, Bills, or
"any other ways for that end, with the Houses of Parlia-
"ment, or any Army or Party in *England*, or *Ireland*, with-
"out the advice and consent of the Kingdom of *Scotland*;
"and, reciprocally, that neither the Kingdom of *Scotland*,
"nor any having their Authority, should make or admit of
"any of these any manner of way, with any whatsoever, with-
"out his Majesty's advice or consent: And that, upon the set-
"tlement of a Peace, there should be an Act of Oblivion to
"be agreed on by his Majesty, and both his Parliaments of
"both Kingdoms: That his Majesty, the Prince, or both,
"should come into *Scotland* upon the invitation of that King-
"dom, and their Declaration, that they should be in honour,
"freedom, and safety, when possibly they could come with
"safety, and convenience; and that the King should contribute
"his utmost endeavour, both at home and abroad, for assisting
"the Kingdom of *Scotland* for carrying on this War by Sea and
"Land, and for their Supplies by Monies, Arms, Ammuni-
"tion, and all other things requisite, as also for guarding the
"Coasts of *Scotland* with Ships, and protecting all their Mer-
"chants in the free exercise of their Trade and Commerce
"with other Nations; and likewise that his Majesty was will-
"ing, and did Authorize the *Scotish* Army to possess themselves
"of *Berwick*, *Carlisle*, *New-Castle* upon *Tyne*, with the Castle
"of *Tinmouth*, and the Town of *Hartlepool*; those places to
"be for Retreat, and Magazines; and that, when the Peace
"of the Kingdom should be settled, the Kingdom of *Scot-*
"*land* should remove their Forces, and deliver back again
"those Towns and Castles.

AND as if all this had not been recompence enough for the wonderful Service they were like to perform, they obliged the King to promise and undertake to pay, the remainder of that Brotherly Assistance which was yet unpaid upon the large Treaty after their first Invasion of *England*, and likewise

two

two hundred thouſand pounds, which remain'd ſtill due upon the laſt Treaty made with the Houſes of Parliament for return of the *Scotiſh* Army, when they had deliver'd up the King; and alſo, "That payment ſhould be made to the King-"dom of *Scotland*, for the charge and expence of their Ar-"my in this future War, with due recompence for the loſſes "which they ſhould ſuſtain therein; and that due ſatisfaction, "according to the Treaty on that behalf betwixt the two "Kingdoms, ſhould be made to the *Scotiſh* Army in *Ireland*, "out of the Lands of the Kingdom, and otherwiſe: And that "the King, according to the intention of his Father, ſhould "endeavour a compleat Union of the two Kingdoms, ſo as "they may be one under his Majeſty, and his Poſterity; or "if that cannot ſpeedily be effected, that all Liberties and "Privileges, concerning Commerce, Traffick, Manufactures, "peculiar to the Subjects of either Nation, ſhall be common "to the Subjects of both Kingdoms without diſtinction; and "that there be a Communication, and mutual capacity, of "all other Liberties of the Subjects in the two Kingdoms: "That a competent number of Ships ſhould be yearly aſ-"ſign'd and appointed out of his Majeſty's Navy, which "ſhould attend the coaſts of *Scotland*, for a Guard, and free-"dom of Trade of that *Nation*; and that his Majeſty ſhould "declare that his Succeſſors, as well as Himſelf, are obliged "to the performance of the Articles, and Conditions of this "Agreement; but that his Majeſty ſhall not be obliged to the "performance of the aforeſaid Articles, until the Kingdom of "*Scotland* ſhall declare for him in purſuance of this Agree-"ment; and that the whole Articles, and Conditions afore-"ſaid, ſhall be finiſhed, perfected, and perform'd before the "return of the *Scotiſh* Army; and that when they return into "*Scotland*, at the ſame time, *ſimul & ſemel* all Armies ſhould "be disbanded in *England*. And for a compliment, and to "give a reliſh to all the reſt, the King engaged himſelf "to "employ thoſe of the *Scotiſh* Nation equally with the *Engliſh* "in all Forreign Imployments, and Negotiations; and that "a third part of all the Offices and Places about the King, "Queen, and Prince, ſhould be conferr'd upon ſome Per-"ſons of that Nation; and that the King and Prince, or one "of them, will frequently reſide in *Scotland*, that the Subjects "of that Kingdom may be known to them. This Treaty and Agreement being thus preſented to the King by the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners in the Caſtle of *Carisbrook*, his Majeſty was prevailed with to ſign the ſame the 26th day of *December* 1647; and to oblige himſelf, "In the word of a King, to "perform His part of the ſaid Articles; and the Earl of *Low-den*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and the

the Earl of *Lanrick*, being intruſted as Commiſſioners from that Kingdom, ſign'd it likewiſe at the ſame time; and engaged themſelves "Upon their Honour, Faith, and Conſcience, "and all that is dear to Honeſt Men, to endeavour to the ut-"moſt of their power, that the Kingdom of *Scotland* ſhould "engage to perform what was on its part to be perform'd; "which they were confident the Kingdom of *Scotland* would "do, and they themſelves would hazard their Lives and For-"tunes in purſuance thereof.

No Man, who reads this Treaty (which very few Men have ever done) can wonder that ſuch an Engagement met with the fate that attended it; which contain'd ſo many monſtrous Conceſſions, that, except the whole Kingdom of *England* had been likewiſe impriſon'd in *Carisbrook* Caſtle with the King, it could not be imagined that it was poſſible to be perform'd; and the three Perſons who were Parties to it, were too wiſe to believe that it could be punctually obſerv'd; which they uſed as the beſt Argument, and which only prevailed with the King, "That the Treaty was only made to "enable them to engage the Kingdom of *Scotland* to raiſe an "Army, and to unite it in his Majeſty's Service; which leſs "than thoſe Conceſſions would never induce them to do; "but when that Army ſhould be enter'd into *England*, and "ſo many other Armies ſhould be on foot of his *Engliſh* Sub-"jects for the vindication of his Intereſt, there would be no "body to exact all thoſe particulars; but every Body would "ſubmit to what his Majeſty ſhould think fit to be done; which though it had been urged more than once before to induce the King to conſent to other inconveniences, which they would never after releaſe to him, did prevail with him at this time. And, to confirm him in the belief of it, they were contented that it ſhould be inſerted under the ſame Treaty, as it was, "That his Majeſty ſhould declare, that by "the Clauſe of confirming Presbyterian Government by Act "of Parliament, he is neither obliged to deſire the ſettling "Presbyterian Government, nor to preſent any Bills to that "effect; and that he likewiſe underſtands that no Perſon "whatſoever ſhall ſuffer in his Eſtate, nor undergo any Cor-"poral puniſhment, for not ſubmitting to Presbyterian Go-"vernment; his Majeſty underſtanding that this indemnity "ſhould not extend to thoſe who are mention'd in the Ariticle "againſt Toleration: and to this the three Earls likewiſe ſub-ſcribed their hands, "As Witneſſes only, as they ſaid, that his "Majeſty had made that Declaration in their preſence, not "as Aſſenters; ſo wary they were of adminiſtring jealouſy to their Maſters, or of being thought to be leſs rigid in ſo Fundamental a Point, as they knew that would be thought to be.

THERE

THERE was a wonderful difference, throughout their whole proceedings, between the heads of those who were thought to sway the Presbyterian Counsels, and those who govern'd the Independents, though they were equally Masters of dissimulation, and had equally malice and wickedness in their Intentions, though not of the same kind, and were equally unrestrain'd by any scruples or motions of Conscience, the Independents always doing that, which how ill and unjustifiable soever, contributed still to the end they aimed at, and to the conclusion they meant to bring to pass; whereas the Presbyterians, for the most part, did somewhat that reasonably must destroy their own end, and cross that which they first and principally design'd; and there were two Reasons that might naturally produce this ill Success to the Latter, at least hinder'd the even progress and current which favour'd the other. First, their Councils were most distracted and divided, being made up of many Men, whose humours and natures must be observ'd, and complied with, and whose concurrence was necessary to the carrying on the same designs, though their Inclinations did not concur in them; whereas the other Party was entirely led and govern'd by two or three, to whom they resign'd, implicitely, the conduct of their Interest; who advanced, when they saw it seasonable, and stood still, or retired, or even declined the way they best liked, when they saw any inconvenient jealousy awaken'd by the Progress they had made.

The Author's judgement of the different Conduct of the two Parties, the Independent English, and the Presbyterian Scots.

IN the second place, the Presbyterians, by whom I mean the *Scots*, form'd all their Counsels by the Inclinations, and Affections of the People; and first consider'd how they might corrupt, and seduce, and dispose them to second their purposes; and how far they might depend upon their concurrence and assistance, before they resolv'd to make any attempt; and this made them in such a degree submit to their senseless, and wretched Clergy; whose infectious breath corrupted, and govern'd the People, and whose Authority was prevalent upon their own Wives, and in their Domestick Affairs; and yet they never communicated to them more than the outside of their designs: Whereas, on the other side, *Cromwell*, and the few others with whom he Consulted, first consider'd what was absolutely necessary to their main and determin'd end; and then, whether it were right or wrong, to make all other means subservient to it; to couzen and deceive Men, as long as they could induce them to contribute to what they desired, upon Motives how forreign soever; and when they would keep company with them no longer, or farther serve their purposes, to compel them by force to submit to what they should not be able to oppose; and so the one resolv'd, only

to

to do what they believ'd the People would like and approve; and the other, that the People ſhould like and approve what they had reſolv'd. And this difference in the meaſures they took, was the true cauſe of ſo different Succeſs in all they undertook. *Machiavel*, in this, was in the right, though he got an ill name by it with thoſe who take what he ſays from the report of other Men, or do not enough conſider themſelves what he ſays, and his method in ſpeaking: (He was as great an Enemy to Tyranny and Injuſtice in any Government, as any Man then was, or now is; and ſays) "That a Man were "better be a Dog than be ſubject to thoſe Paſſions and Appe-"tites, which poſſeſs all Unjuſt, and Ambitious, and Tyran-"nical Perſons; but he confeſſes, "That they who are ſo tranſ-"ported, and have entertain'd ſuch wicked deſigns as are void "of all Conſcience, muſt not think to proſecute them by the "rules of Conſcience, which was laid aſide, or ſubdued, be-"fore they enter'd upon them; they muſt make no ſcruple of "doing all thoſe impious things which are neceſſary to com-"paſs and ſupport the Impiety to which they have devoted "themſelves; and therefore he commends *Cæſar Borgia* for "not being ſtartled with breach of Faith, Perjuries, and Mur-"ders, for the removal of thoſe Men who he was ſure would "croſs, and enervate the whole Enterpriſe he had reſolv'd, "and addicted himſelf to; and blames thoſe Uſurpers, who "had made themſelves Tyrants, for hoping to ſupport a Go-"vernment by Juſtice, which they had aſſumed unjuſtly, and "which having wickedly attempted, they manifeſtly loſt by "not being wicked enough. The common old Adage, "That "he who hath drawn his Sword againſt his Prince, ought to "throw away the Scabbard, never to think of ſheathing it a-"gain, will ſtill hold good; and they who enter upon un-warrantable Enterpriſes, muſt purſue many unwarrantable ways to preſerve themſelves from the penalty of the firſt guilt.

CROMWELL, though the greateſt Diſſembler living, al-ways made his Hypocriſy of ſingular uſe and benefit to him; and never did any thing, how ungracious or imprudent ſoever it ſeem'd to be, but what was neceſſary to the deſign; even his roughneſs and unpoliſhedneſs, which, in the beginning of the Parliament, he affected contrary to the ſmoothneſs, and complacency, which his Couſin, and boſom Friend, Mr *Hamb-den* practiced towards all Men, was neceſſary; and his firſt publick Declaration, in the beginning of the War, to his Troop when it was firſt Muſter'd, "That he would not deceive "or couzen them by the perplexed and involv'd expreſſions "in his Commiſſion, to Fight for King and Parliament; and therefore told them, "That if the King chanced to be in the "Body of the Enemy that he was to Charge, he would aſ-

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"ſoon diſcharge his Piſtol upon him, as any other private "Perſon; and if their Conſcience would not permit them to "do the like, he adviſed them not to liſt themſelves in his "Troop, or under his Command; which was generally look-ed upon as imprudent, and malicious, and might, by the pro-feſſions the Parliament then made, have prov'd dangerous to him; yet ſerv'd his turn, and ſever'd from others, and united among themſelves, all the furious, and incenſed Men againſt the Government, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, to look up-on him as a Man for their turn, upon whom they might de-pend, as one who would go through his work that he under-took. And his ſtrict and unſociable Humour in not keeping company with the other Officers of the Army in their Jollities, and Exceſſes, to which moſt of the ſuperior Officers under the Earl of *Eſſex* were inclined, and by which he often made himſelf ridiculous or contemptible, drew all thoſe of the like ſour or reſerv'd Natures, to his Society and Converſation, and gave him opportunity to form their Underſtandings, Inclina-tions, and Reſolutions, to his own Model. By this he grew to have a wonderful Intereſt in the Common Soldiers, out of which, as his Authority increaſed, he made all his Officers, well inſtructed how to live in the ſame manner with their Soldiers, that they might be able to apply them to their own purpoſes: whilſt he looked upon the Presbyterian Humour as the beſt incentive to Rebellion, no Man more a Presby-terian; he ſung all Pſalms with them to their Tunes, and lov'd the longeſt Sermons as much as they; but when he diſ-cover'd that they would preſcribe ſome limits and bounds to their Rebellion, that it was not well breathed, and would ex-pire aſſoon as ſome few particulars were granted to them in Religion, which he cared not for; and then that the Go-vernment muſt run ſtill in the ſame Channel; it concern'd him to make it believ'd "That the State had been more De-"linquent than the Church, and that the People ſuffer'd more "by the Civil than by the Eccleſiaſtical Power; and therefore "that the Change of one, would give them little eaſe, if there "were not as great an alteration in the other, and if the "whole Government in both were not reform'd, and alter'd; which though it made him generally odious at firſt, and ir-reconciled many of his old Friends to him; yet it made thoſe who remain'd, more cordial and firm: he could better com-pute his own ſtrength, and upon whom he might depend. This diſcovery made him contrive the new Model of the Army; which was the moſt unpopular Act, and diſobliged all thoſe who firſt contrived the Rebellion, and who were the very Soul of it; and yet, if he had not brought that to paſs,

and

and changed a General, who, though not very sharp-sighted, would never be govern'd, nor applied to any thing he did not like, for another who had no Eyes, and so would be willing to be led, all his designs must have come to nothing, and He remain'd a private Colonel of Horse, not considerable enough to be in any figure upon an advantageous Composition.

AFTER all the Successes of his new Model, he saw his Army was ballanced by that of the *Scots*, who took themselves to have equal merit with the other, and was thought to have contributed no less towards the suppression of the King, than that under *Fairfax* had done; and after all the Victories, and Reduction of the King to that lowness, desired still a composition, and to submit again to the Subjection of the King; nor was it yet time for him to own or communicate his resolution to the contrary, lest even many of those who wished the extirpation of Monarchy, might be startled at the difficulty of the Enterprise, and with the Power that was like to oppose them. He was therefore first to incense the People against the *Scotish* Nation, "As being a mercenary aid, entertain'd at a "vast Charge to the Kingdom, that was only to be paid their "Wages, and to be dismissed, without having the honour to "judge with them upon what conditions the King should "be receiv'd, and restor'd; the accomplishing whereof, ought "to be the particular Glory of the Parliament without a Ri-"val, and that the King might owe the benefit wholely to "them. And this was as popular an Argument as he could embark himself in, the whole Kingdom in general having at that time a great detestation of the *Scots*; and they who most desired the King's Restoration, wish'd that he might have as little obligation to them as was possible, and that they might have as little credit afterwards with him. With this universal Applause, he compelled the *Scotish* Army to depart the Kingdom, with that circumstance as must ever after render them odious and infamous. There now seem'd nothing more dangerous and destructive to the power and interest of the *English* Army, in so general a discontent throughout the Kingdom, than a division, and mutiny within it self; that the Common Soldiers should erect an Authority distinct from their Officers, by which they would choose to govern against their Superior Commanders, at least without them, and to fancy that they had an Interest of their own sever'd from theirs, for the preservation whereof they were to trust none but themselves; which had scarce ever been heard of before in any Army, and was looked upon as a presage of the ruin of the whole, and of those who had adhered to them; yet, if he had

not

not raiſed this ſeditious Spirit in the Army, he could not have prevented the disbanding ſome part of it, and ſending another part of it into *Ireland*, before the *Scots* left *New-Caſtle*; nor have been able to have taken the King from *Holmby* into the hands of the Army, after the *Scots* were gone. And after all his Hypocriſy towards the King and his Party, by which he prevented many inconveniencies which might have befallen him, he could never have been rid of him again ſo unreproachfully, as by his changing his own countenance, and giving cauſe to the King to ſuſpect the ſafety of his Perſon, and thereupon to make his Eſcape from the Army; by which his Majeſty quickly became a Priſoner, and ſo was depriv'd of any reſort, from whence many miſchiefs might have proceeded to have diſturbed his Counſels. How conſtantly he purſued this method in his ſubſequent Actions, will be obſerv'd in its place.

CONTRARY to this the Presbyterian *Scots* proceeded, in all their Actions after their firſt Invaſion in the year 1640, and always interwove ſome Conditions in their Counſels and Tranſactions, which did not only prove, but, in the inſtant, might have been diſcern'd to be, diametrically oppoſite to their publick Intereſt, and to their particular Deſigns. It is very true, that their firſt Invaſion, ſaving their breach of Allegiance, might have ſome excuſe from their Intereſt. They were a poor People, and though many particular Men of that Nation had receiv'd great Bounties, and were exceedingly enriched in the Court of *England* by King *James* and the preſent King, yet thoſe particular Men who had been, and then were in the Court, were, for the moſt part, Perſons of little Intereſt in *Scotland*; nor was that Kingdom at all enriched by the conjunction with this; and they thought themſelves expoſed to ſome late preſſures, which were new to them, and which their Preachers told them "Were againſt Conſcience, "and an Invaſion of their Religion; from which they had vindicated themſelves ſo rudely, and unwarrantably, that they might well expect to be called to an account hereafter, if thoſe Perſons whom they had moſt provoked, retain'd their intereſt ſtill with the King, and in his Councils; from whom they were promiſed to be ſecured, and to be well paid for their pains, if they would, by marching into *England* with an Army, give their Friends their countenance to own their own grievances, and ſo to procure relief and ſecurity for both Kingdoms. In this Enterpriſe, the Succeſs crown'd their work; they were thought a Wiſe, and Reſolute Nation; and after an unbloody War of above a year, they return'd into their Country laden with Spoils and great Riches; and were

liberally rewarded, as well for going out, as for coming into *England*. But from their return from this Expedition, their whole true Intereſt conſiſted in, and depended upon, an entire adhering to the King, and vindicating his Honour and Intereſt from all Aſſaults; and their being ſuborn'd afterwards (when the King was in a hopeful way to have reduced his *Engliſh* Rebels to their Obedience, by the ſtrength and power of his Arms) to make a ſecond Invaſion of the Kingdom, was a weak and childiſh Engagement, directly oppoſite to their Intereſt, except they had at the ſame time a Reſolution to have changed their own Government, and for ever to have renounced Subjection to Monarchy (which was never in their purpoſe to do) or to withdraw it from the preſent King. Again, when his Majeſty had truſted them ſo far (which they had never reaſon to expect) as to put his Royal Perſon into their hands, and thereby given them an opportunity to redeem themſelves in the Eyes of the World, and to undo ſome part of the miſchief they had done, it was ſurely their Intereſt to have joyn'd cordially with him, and firmly to have united themſelves to his Party in vindication of the Law, and the Government eſtabliſhed; and if they had not had the Courage at that time to have looked the *Engliſh* Army in the face, as apparently they had not, it had been their Intereſt to have retired with the King in the Head of their Army into *Scotland*; and, leaving good Garriſons in *New-Caſtle*, *Berwick*, and *Carliſle*, all which were in their poſſeſſion, to have expected a Revolution in *England* from the Diviſions amongſt themſelves, and from ſome conjunction with a ſtrong Body of the King's *Engliſh* Party, which would quickly have found themſelves together; but the delivery of the King up, beſides the Infamy of it, was, in view, deſtructive to all that could be thought their Intereſt.

After all this, when they found themſelves couzen'd and deceiv'd in all the meaſures they had taken, and laughed at and deſpiſed by thoſe who had deceiv'd them, to have a new opportunity to ſerve the King, and then to inſiſt upon ſuch Conditions as muſt make it impoſſible for them to ſerve him effectually, was ſuch a degree of weakneſs, and a deprav'd underſtanding, that they can never be looked upon as Men who knew what their Intereſt was, or what was neceſſary to advance their own deſigns. And yet we ſhall be obliged to obſerve how incorrigibly they adher'd to this obſtinate and froward Method, in all the Tranſactions they afterwards had with the King; all which turn'd, as it could not but do, to their own Ruin, and the Deſtruction of that Idol they Ador'd, and paid their Devotion to. But it is time to return to our diſcourſe,

discourse, from whence this tedious digression hath misled us.

The King's condition in the Isle of Wight at this time.

All Designs and Negotiations, abroad and at home, being in this state and condition, the King remain'd under a strict, and disconsolate imprisonment, no Man being suffer'd to speak with him, and all diligence used to intercept all Letters which might pass to, or from him; yet he found means sometimes, by the affection and fidelity of some Inhabitants of the Island, to receive important Advertisements from his Friends; and to write to and receive Letters from the Queen; and so he inform'd her of the *Scotish* Transaction, and of all the other hopes he had; and seem'd to have some ease; and looked upon it as a good Omen, that in that desperate lowness of his Fortune, and notwithstanding all the care that was taken that none should be about him but Men of inhuman tempers and natures, void of all reverence towards God and Man, his Majesty's gracious disposition, and generous Affability still wrought upon some Soldier, or other Person placed about him, to undertake, and perform some Offices of trust, in conveying Papers to and from him. So great a force and influence had Natural duty; or some desperate Men had so much craft, and forecast, to lay out a little application that might bring advantage to them in such a change as they neither looked for, nor desired. But many who did undertake to perform those Offices, did not make good what they promised; which made it plain, they were permitted to get credit, that they might the more usefully betray.

The present condition of the Parliament.

In the Parliament, there was no opposition or contradiction in any thing relating to the Publick; but in all those Transactions which concern'd particular Persons, with reference to Rewards, Preferments, or matter of Profit, Men were consider'd according to the Party they were of; every day those receiv'd benefit who had appear'd most to adhere to the Army; the notorious Presbyterians were removed from places of Profit and Authority; which vexed them; and well prepared and disposed them to be ready for revenge. But the Pulpit-Skirmishes were higher than ever; the Presbyterians, in Those fields, losing nothing of their Courage, having a notorious power in the City, notwithstanding the emulation of the Independents, who were more Learned and Rational; who; though they had not so great Congregations of the Common People, yet infected, and were follow'd by, the most substantial, and wealthy Citizens; and by others of better condition. To these Men *Cromwell*, and most of the Officers of the Army adhered, with bitterness against the other. But the Divinity of the time was not to be judged by the Preach-

ing, and Congregations in Churches, which were now thought not to be the fit and proper places for Devotion and Religious Assemblies, where the Bishops had exercised such illimited Tyranny, and which had been polluted by their Original Consecrations. Liberty of Conscience was now become the great Charter; and Men who were *inspired*, Preached and Prayed, when, and where they would. *Cromwell* himself was the greatest Preacher; and most of the Officers of the Army, and many Common Soldiers, shew'd their *gifts* that way, Anabaptists grew very numerous, with whom the Independents concurr'd so far as to joyn with them for the utter abolishing of Tithes, as of Judaical Institution; which was now the patrimony of the Presbyterians, and therefore prosecuted by one Party, and defended by the other, with equal Passion, and Animosity. If any honest Man could have been at so much ease as to have beheld the prospect with delight, never was such a scene of Confusion, as at this time had spread it self over the face of the whole Kingdom.

The Prince's condition at Paris.

DURING all this time, the Prince remain'd at *Paris* under the Government of his Mother; exercised with that strictness, that though his Highness was above the Age of seventeen years, it was not desired that he should meddle in any business, or be sensible of the unhappy condition the Royal Family was in. The Assignation which was made by the Court of *France* for the better support of the Prince, was annexed to the Monthly allowance given to the Queen, and receiv'd by Her, and distributed as she thought fit; such Cloaths and other necessaries provided for his Highness as were thought convenient; her Majesty desiring to have it thought that the Prince lived entirely upon her, and that it would not consist with the dignity of the Prince of *Wales* to be a Pensioner to the King of *France*. Hereby none of his Highness's Servants had any pretence to ask Money, but they were to be contented with what should be allow'd to them; which was dispensed with a very sparing hand; nor was the Prince himself ever Master of ten Pistols to dispose as he desir'd. The Lord *Jermyn* was the Queen's chief Officer, and govern'd all Her receipts, and he lov'd plenty so well, that he would not be without it, whatever others suffer'd. All who had any relation to the Prince, were to implore His aid; and the Prince himself could obtain nothing but by Him; which made most Persons of Honour of the *English* Nation who were driven into Banishment, as many of the Nobility and chief Gentry of the Kingdom then were, chose rather to make their residence in any other place, as *Caen*, *Roan*, and the like, than in *Paris*, where the Prince was, and could do so little: nor

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was this Oeconomy well liked even in *France*, nor the Prince himſelf ſo much reſpected as he would have been if he had liv'd more like himſelf, and appear'd more concern'd in his own Buſineſs.

When the Marquis of *Ormond* came thither, he was receiv'd very graciouſly by the Queen, and conſulted with in all things, being the Perſon moſt depended upon to begin to give a turn to their Fortune, recommended to them by the King, and of the moſt univerſal Reputation of any Subject the King had. He preſſed a ſpeedy diſpatch, that he might purſue his deſign in *Ireland*; where he longed to be, whilſt the Affairs of that Kingdom were no more taken to heart by the Parliament, who had yet ſent no ſupplies thither. He inform'd the Queen, and the Lord *Jermyn*, of the neceſſity of haſtning that work, which they underſtood well enough by the *Iriſh* Commiſſioners; who had been there, and had been ſent back with a million of promiſes, a Coyn that Court always abounded with, and made moſt of its payments in.

When the Queen, who was as zealous for the diſpatch as was poſſible, preſſed the Queen Regent, and the Cardinal, upon it, ſhe receiv'd in words all the ſatisfaction imaginable, and aſſurance that all things ſhould be ſpeedily provided; and when the Marquis ſpoke firſt with the Cardinal upon the ſubject, he found him well diſpoſed; making ſuch ample promiſes for a very good Sum of Money, and ſuch a Proportion of Arms, and Ammunition, as could be wiſh'd. So that he thought he had no more to do, but to appoint the place for his Embarkation, that thoſe Proviſions might be ſent thither to meet him; and that he ſhould be ready to Tranſport himſelf within a very ſhort time; of which he gave notice to thoſe who expected him in *Ireland*, and prepared all his own Accommodations accordingly. But he was very much diſappointed in his expectation; the Cardinal was not ſo confident of the recovery of the King's Affairs as to diſoblige the Parliament by contributing towards it: ſo that Affair advanced very ſlowly.

Having now, contrary to the order formerly obſerv'd by Me crowded in all the particular paſſages, and important Tranſactions of two whole years in this Book, that I might not interrupt, or diſcontinue the relation of the myſterious Proceedings of the Army, their great Hypocriſy, and Diſſimulation, practiced towards the King and his Party, and then their pulling off their Mask, and appearing in their natural dreſs of Inhumanity and Savageneſs, with the vile Artifices of the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners to draw the King into their hands,

and then their low and baſe complyance, and groſs folly in delivering him up, and laſtly their abſurd and merchandly Trafficking with him for the price of returning to their Allegiance, when there was no other way of preſerving themſelves, and their Nation from being deſtroyed, the many woful Tragedies of the next year, which filled the World with amazement and horror, muſt be the ſubject of the diſcourſe in the next Book.

THE END OF THE TENTH BOOK.

THE

THE
Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c.
BOOK XI.

Deut. XXIX. 24.

Even all Nations ſhall ſay, Wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this Land? What meaneth the heat of this great Anger?

Lam. II. 7.

The Lord hath caſt off his Altar; he hath abhorred his Sanctuary; he hath given up into the hand of the Enemy the Walls of his Palaces; they have made a noiſe in the Houſe of the Lord as in the day of a ſolemn feaſt.

IF a univerſal diſcontent and murmuring of the three Nations, and almoſt as general a deteſtation both of Parliament and Army, and a moſt paſſionate deſire that all their follies and madneſs might be forgotten in reſtoring the King to all they had taken from him, and in ſettling that bleſſed Government they had deprived themſelves of, could have contributed to his Majeſty's recovery, never People were better diſpoſed to erect and repair again the Building they had ſo maliciouſly thrown and pulled down. In *England* there was a general diſcontent amongſt all ſorts of Men; many Officers and Soldiers who had ſerv'd the Parliament from the beginning of the War, and given too great Teſtimonies of their Courage and Fidelity to their Party, and had been disbanded upon the new Model, look'd upon the preſent Army with hatred, as thoſe who reaped the Harveſt and Reward of their Labours,

The Temper of the Nation at this time.

and ſpake of them and againſt them in all places accordingly; The Nobility and Gentry who had advanced the Credit and Reputation of the Parliament by concurring with it againſt the King, found themſelves totally neglected, and the moſt inferior People preferr'd to all places of truſt and profit: The Presbyterian Miniſters talked very loud; their Party appear'd to be very numerous, and the expectation of an attempt from *Scotland*, and the importunity and clamour from *Ireland*, for ſupplies of Men and Money againſt the *Iriſh*, who grew powerful, raiſed the Courage of all diſcontented Perſons to meet and confer together, and all to inveigh againſt the Army, and the Officers who corrupted it. The Parliament bore no reproach ſo concernedly, as that of "The want of ſupplies to *Ireland*, and that, having "ſo great an Army without an Enemy, they would not ſpare "any part of it to preſerve that Kingdom. This Argument made a new warmth in the Houſe of Commons, they who had been ſilent, and given over inſiſting upon the inſolence and preſumption of the Army, which had prevailed, and cruſhed them, took now new Spirit, and preſſed the relief of *Ireland* with great earneſtneſs, and in order thereunto made great inquiſition into the expences of the Money, and how ſuch vaſt Sums receiv'd had been diſburſed; which was a large Field, and led them to many Mens doors upon whom they were willing to be revenged.

The Affairs of Ireland *during the* Lord Liſle's *being there.*

THERE was a deſign this way to get the Presbyterians again into power, and that they might get the Command of an Army for the ſubduing the Rebels in *Ireland*. *Cromwell* had, for the quieting the Clamours from thence, got the Lord *Liſle*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Leiceſter*, to be ſent under the Title of Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom thither, with a Commiſſion for a limited time. He had Landed in *Munſter*, either out of the Jealouſy they had of the Lord *Inchiquin*, or becauſe the beſt part of their Army of *Engliſh* were under his Command in that Province. But that Expedition gave the *Engliſh* no relief, nor weaken'd the power or ſtrength of the *Iriſh*, but rather increaſed their Reputation by the Faction and Bitterneſs that was between the Lieutenant and the Preſident, who writ Letters of complaint one againſt the other to the Parliament, where they had both their Parties which adhered to them. So that, the time of his Commiſſion being expired, and the contrary Party not ſuffering it to be renew'd, the Lord *Liſle* return'd again into *England*, leaving the Lord *Inchiquin*, whom he meant to have deſtroy'd, in the entire poſſeſſion of the Command, and in greater Reputation than he was before. And, in truth, he had preſerv'd both with wonderful dexterity, expecting every day the Arrival of the Marquis of *Ormond*, and every day informing the Parliament of the

the ill Condition he was in, and preſſing for a ſupply of Men and Money, when he knew they would ſend neither.

Waller *nominated General there, but oppoſed by* Cromwell; *who propoſed* Lambert.

UPON the return of the Lord *Liſle* the Presbyterians renew'd their deſign, and cauſed Sr *William Waller* to be named for Deputy or Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the rather (over and above his merit, and the experience they had had of his Service) becauſe he could quickly draw together thoſe Officers and Soldiers which had ſerv'd under him, and were now diſbanded, and would willingly again engage under their old General. At the firſt, *Cromwell* did not oppoſe this motion, but conſented to it, being very willing to be rid both of *Waller*, and all the Officers who were willing to go with him, who he knew were not his Friends, and watch'd an opportunity to be even with him. But when he ſaw *Waller* inſiſt upon great Supplies to carry with him, as he had reaſon to do, and when he conſider'd of what conſequence it might be to him and all his deſigns, if a well form'd and diſciplined Army ſhould be under the power of *Waller*, and ſuch Officers, he changed his mind; and firſt ſet his Inſtruments to croſs ſuch a ſupply of Men and Money, as he had propoſed; "The one, "as more than neceſſary for the Service, and the other as more "than they could ſpare from their other occaſions: And when this check was put to *Waller*'s Engagement, he cauſed *Lambert* to be propoſed for that Expedition, a Man who was then faſt to the ſame Intereſt He embraced, and who had gotten a great Name in the Army. He formalized ſo long upon this, that *Ireland* remain'd ſtill unſupplied, and their Affairs there ſeem'd to be in a very ill Condition.

THE *Scots* made ſo much noiſe of their purpoſes, even before their Commiſſioners left *London*, and gave ſuch conſtant Advertiſements of the impatience of their Country-men to be in Arms for the King, though they made no haſte in providing for ſuch an Expedition, that both the Presbyterians, who were their chief Correſpondents, and the Royal Party, bethought themſelves how they might be ready; the one, that they might redeem themſelves from their former Guilt, and the other, that they might not only have a good part in freeing the King from his Impriſonment, but be able to preſerve him in Liberty from any Presbyterian Impoſitions, which they ſtill apprehended the *Scots* might endeavour to oppoſe, though they had no ſuſpicion of the Engagement lately mention'd at the Iſle of *Wight*.

The Earl of Holland *prepares to riſe with the Duke of* Bucks *and others.*

THE Earl of *Holland*, who had done twice very notoriouſly amiſs, and had been, ſince his return from *Oxford*, notably deſpiſed by all Perſons of Credit in the Parliament and the Army, had a mind to redeem his former faults by a new and thorough Engagement. He had much Credit by deſcent

deſcent and by alliance with the Presbyterian Party, and was privy to the undertakings of *Scotland*, and had conſtant Intelligence of the advance that was made there. His Brother, the Earl of *Warwick*, had undergone ſome mortification with the reſt, and had not that Authority in the Naval Affairs as he had uſed to have, though he was the High Admiral of *England* by Ordinance of Parliament, and had done them extraordinary Services. He did not reſtrain, or endeavour to ſuppreſs the Earl of *Holland*'s diſcontents, but inflamed them, and promiſed to joyn with him, as many others of that Gang of Men did; reſolving that the *Scots* ſhould not do all that work, but that they would have a ſhare in the merit. The Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Brother, the Lord *Francis Villiers*, were newly return'd from Travel, and though both very young, were ſtrong and active Men, and being, in reſpect of their Infancy, uningaged in the late War, and ſo unhurt by it, and coming now to the poſſeſſion of large Eſtates, which they thought they were obliged to venture for the Crown upon the firſt opportunity, they fell eaſily into the Friendſhip of the Earl of *Holland*, and were ready to Embark themſelves in his Adventure. The Earl had made tender of his Reſolutions to his old Miſtreſs the Queen at *Paris*, who was always diſpoſed to truſt him, and the Lord *Jermyn* and He renew'd their former Friendſhip, the warmth whereof had never been extinguiſhed.

So a Commiſſion was ſent from the Prince to the Earl to be General of an Army, that was to be raiſed for the Redemption of the King from Priſon, and to reſtore the Parliament to its freedom. The Earl of *Peterborough*, and *John Mordaunt* his Brother, the Family of the Earl of *Northampton*, and all the Officers who had ſerv'd the King in the War, with which the City of *London*, and all Parts of the Kingdom abounded, applied themſelves to the Earl of *Holland*, and receiv'd Commiſſions from him for ſeveral Commands.

THIS Engagement was ſo well known, and ſo generally ſpoken of, that they concluded that the Parliament durſt not take notice of it, or wiſh'd well to it. And there is no queſtion, never undertaking of that Nature was carried on with ſo little reſervation; there was ſcarce a County in *England*, in which there was not ſome Aſſociation enter'd into to appear in Arms for the King. They who had the principal Command in *Wales* under the Parliament, ſent to *Paris* to declare, "That if they might have ſupply of Arms and Ammunition, "and a reaſonable Sum for the payment of their Garriſons, "they would declare for the King, having the chief places "of thoſe Parts in their Cuſtody. The Lord *Jermyn* encouraged all thoſe Overtures with moſt poſitive Undertaking, that

that they ſhould be ſupplied with all they expected, within ſo many days after they ſhould declare; which they depended upon, and he, according to his cuſtom, never thought of after; by which the Service miſcarried, and many Gallant Men were loſt.

CROMWELL, to whom all theſe Machinations were known, choſe rather to run the hazard of all that ſuch a looſe Combination could produce, than, by ſeiſing upon Perſons, to engage the Parliament in Examinations, and in Parties; the inconvenience whereof he apprehended more; finding already that the Presbyterian Party had ſo great an influence upon the General, that he declar'd to him, "He would not "march againſt the *Scots*, whom he had a good mind to have viſited before their Counſels and Reſolutions were form'd; and *Cromwell* had reaſon to believe, that *Fairfax* would be firm to the ſame mind, even after they ſhould have Invaded the Kingdom.

The Scots preparations for an Expedition into England.

ALL things being in this forwardneſs in *England*, it is fit to enquire how the *Scots* complied with their obligations, and what Expedition they uſed in raiſing their Army. After the Commiſſioners return from *London*, upon the King's being made Priſoner in the Iſle of *Wight*, it was long before the Marquis of *Argyle* could be prevailed with to conſent that a Parliament ſhould be called. He had made a faſt Friendſhip with *Cromwell*, and *Vane*; and knew that in this new ſtipulation with the King, the *Hamiltonian* Faction was the great Undertaker, and meant to have all the Honour of whatſoever ſhould follow. And yet the Duke upon his return to *Scotland* liv'd at firſt very privately at his own Houſe; ſeldom went abroad to any Meeting; and to thoſe who came to him, and to whom that Reſolution would be grateful, he uſed to ſpeak darkly, and as a Man that thought more of revenge upon thoſe who had Impriſon'd him, than of aſſiſting the Crown to recover the Authority it had loſt. *Argyle*, whoſe power was over that violent Party of the Clergy which would not depart from the moſt rigid clauſe in the Covenant, and were without any reverence for the King or his Government, diſcern'd that he ſhould never be able to hinder the calling of a Parliament, which the People generally called for, and that he ſhould ſooner obtain his end by puzling their proceedings, and obſtructing their determinations, after they ſhould be aſſembled, than by obſtinately oppoſing their coming together. So Summons were iſſued for the Convention of a Parliament; and they who appear'd moſt concern'd for the King, and to ſet him at Liberty from his Impriſonment (which was all they pretended) were the Earl of *Lanrick*, Brother to Duke *Hamilton*, and then reſtored to his Office of

of Secretary of *Scotland*, who had been Impriſon'd at *Oxford*, and made his eſcape from thence; and the Earl of *Lauderdale*, who had been with the forwardeſt from the beginning of the Rebellion, when he was ſcarce of Age, and proſecuted it to the end with moſt eminent Fierceneſs and Animoſity.

The Characters of Lanrick *and* Lauderdale.

THEY were both Men of great Parts and Induſtry, though they lov'd Pleaſures too; both Proud and Ambitious; the former, much the civiler and better bred, of the better Nature, and better Judgement, and an openneſs and clearneſs more to be truſted and relied upon than moſt Men of that Party: the latter, Inſolent, Imperious, Flattering, and Diſſembling, fitter for Intrigues and Contrivances by the want of the Ingenuity which the other had, and by the Experience and Practice he had in the Committee of both Kingdoms in their darkeſt deſigns. The former was a Man of Honour and Courage; the latter, had Courage enough not to fail where it was abſolutely neceſſary, and no impediment of Honour to reſtrain him from doing any thing that might gratify any of his paſſions.

THESE two were the chief Managers and Contrivers to carry on this Affair; for though the Chancellor, the Earl of *Lowden*, had been a Commiſſioner in *England*, and as privy to the Treaty with the King, and had made as many profeſſions and proteſtations of duty to him as they, and indeed was willing to perform them, yet he was ſo obnoxious for his looſe and vitious Life, which was notorious, that he durſt not provoke *Argyle* or the Clergy by diſſenting from them. They uſed all the Intereſt and Skill they had, to get ſuch Elections in the Boroughs of Members for the Parliament as might comply with them; and the People generally were exceedingly offended, and aſhamed of the infamous delivery up of the King to the *Engliſh*, to which they imputed all the danger that threaten'd them, and the reproach and Infamy that lay upon their Country; and ſo had great prejudice to all Men who were thought to be the cauſe of it.

The Parliament met in Scotland; *and their deliberations.*

AT the opening of the Parliament, they did all they could to inflame the People againſt the Army in *England*; which, they ſaid, "Had forced the Parliament there to break the "Treaty between the two Kingdoms in their ill uſage of the "King, who was Impriſon'd by the Army, nor was it in the "power of the Parliament to ſet him at Liberty: That they "had now, upon the matter, abſolutely depoſed him, by not "ſuffering him to perform the Office of a King, nor permit-"ting any of his Subjects to repair to him; in which the "Kingdom of *Scotland* was concern'd, in that being indepen-"dent upon *England*, and the Parliament of *England*, they "were

"were by them depriv'd of their King, and could not be ad-
"mitted to ſpeak with him, nor his Majeſty to ſend to them;
"which was ſuch a preſumption, and violation of the Law of
"Nations, and ſuch a perfidious breach and contempt of the
"ſolemn League and Covenant, and of the Treaty between
"the two Kingdoms, that they were bound by all the obli-
"gations Human and Divine to be ſenſible of it, and to re-
"deem their King's Liberty, and their own Honour, with
"the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes and all that was dear
"to them: and therefore they deſired that they might enter
"upon thoſe Counſels, which might ſooneſt get an Army
"together, which ſhould no ſooner enter *England*, but it
"would find a conjunction from that whole Kingdom, ex-
"cept only the Army; and that it would then quickly ap-
"pear that the Parliaments of both Kingdoms deſired the
"ſame thing, and to live happily under the Government of
"the ſame King.

THIS diſcourſe, urged and ſeconded by many of the prin-cipal Men, was entertain'd by the reſt with ſo general a re-ception, that *Argyle* found it would be to no purpoſe directly to contradict or oppoſe it. He ſaw the Election of the Knights and Burgeſſes had ſucceeded according to the wiſhes of the other Lords, and that they would concur with what-ſoever was propoſed; and he found likewiſe that they had wrought upon the greateſt part of their Clergy; who be-liev'd all they ſaid to them. He did not therefore oppoſe any thing propoſed by them, but only deſired, "That they
"would very well weigh the manner of their proceeding in
"an affair of ſo great concernment, which was like to termi-
"nate in a bloody War between the two Kingdoms; which
"had hitherto proceeded as Brethren, and had both reaped
"great benefit and advantage from the conjunction: and he
"hoped there was no purpoſe to ſhake any of thoſe founda-
"tions which had been laid in the years by-gone, which ſup-
"ported that Government, and made that Kingdom happy;
"which if diſſolv'd, all the miſchief and tyranny they had
"formerly felt and undergone, would break in upon them
"with a torrent that ſhould deſtroy them. Every Body de-clar'd, "That there was no purpoſe to ſwerve, in the leaſt de-
"gree, from what was eſtabliſh'd for the Government in ei-
"ther Kingdom, by their ſolemn League and Covenant,
"which they had in perfect veneration, and look'd upon it as
"an obligation upon them to do all that had been propoſed;
upon which *Argyle* acquieſced as ſatisfied, not doubting but that, in the proſecution of their Counſels, he ſhould find op-portunity enough to obſtruct the quick progreſs, and to in-terrupt the concluſion, and execution.

THE

Sr M. Langdale *and Sr* P. Musgrave *and others, treated with by the* Scots, *and invited into* Scotland; *whither they went.*

THE Lords who had been in *England*, and frequented *Hampton* Court, whilst the King was there, to make themselves the more gracious, had treated all the King's Party with all manner of careſſes, and more particularly had much applied themſelves to thoſe Gentlemen of the North who had moſt eminently ſerv'd the King, and who had good Fortunes there to ſupport their Intereſt. Of this kind there were two very notable Men, Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sr *Philip Muſgrave*; both Men of large and plentiful Eſtates, the one in *York-ſhire*, the other in *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*; who having been in the time of Peace eminent in their Country in the Offices of Juſtices of Peace, and Deputy Lieutenants, had, in the beginning of the War, engaged themſelves in Commands in the King's Army with great reputation of ſtout, diligent, and active Officers; and continued to the end, and had not after applied themſelves to make any compoſition, but expected a new opportunity to appear with their Swords in their hands. They were both look'd upon by the Parliament, and the chief Officers of the Army, with great jealouſy, as Men worthy to be fear'd, and who could never be induc'd to comply with them. The *Scotiſh* Lords had not been ſcrupulous to let theſe two Gentlemen know what they intended, and "That they made no queſtion but they ſhould engage "their whole Kingdom and Nation to enter into a preſent "War with *England* on the King's behalf; and therefore de- "ſired them, by the Intereſt, and Influence they had upon "the Northern Counties, to diſpoſe them to a conjunction "with them. And becauſe they knew that they two were too notorious to ſtay with any Security about *London*, much leſs in their own Country, they invited them into *Scotland*, where they aſſured them, "They ſhould not only be ſafe, but "very welcome; and ſhould be Witneſſes of their proceed- "ings, and have parts of their own to act in, aſſoon as the "Seaſon ſhould be ripe.

THESE Gentlemen, though they had been hitherto unhurt, and whilſt the Army made thoſe profeſſions towards the King, had been much courted by the chief Officers thereof, and had been Quarter'd with them as Friends, knew well, now the Mask was off, that if they did not immediately apply themſelves to make their compoſitions, they ſhould be apprehended, and impriſoned. And therefore, being perſwaded that the *Scots* would engage for the King, they accepted their Invitation, and told them, "They ſhould quickly "find them in *Scotland* after their own return. Accordingly, after having ſecretly ſpent ſome time in their own Countries, and directed their Friends to be in a readineſs when they ſhould be called upon, and in the mean time ſettled a way how

how to correſpond together, they went into *Scotland* to thoſe who had invited them, and were receiv'd by them with civility enough. They own'd ſuch a warineſs, in reſpect of the jealouſies amongſt themſelves, and the ill Arts of *Argyle*, that they deſir'd them "For ſome time to withdraw to ſome place (which they recommended to them) "and there to remain in "ſecret, and under feigned Names, untill the calling of the "Parliament; at which time they might come to *Edenborough*, "and appear in their own likeneſs with all freedom. So after having remain'd in that private manner, where they were well treated for ſome Months, when the Parliament was aſſembled at *Edenborough*, they return'd thither; and were very well look'd upon by all that knew them; which made them behave themſelves with the more freedom and confidence in their converſation, the foremention'd Lords telling them all they meant to do, and what Arts they were to uſe till they could get their Army up, towards which they believ'd they had maſter'd the greateſt difficulties.

THOUGH the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners had withdrawn from *London*, ſhortly after they had proteſted loudly againſt the proceedings of the Parliament, both in impriſoning the King, and in refuſing to give them leave to repair to him, or to receive from him any directions or orders concerning the Government of that Kingdom, and thought it high time to provide for their own Security by quitting their Station at *London*, where they receiv'd every day Affronts, and their Perſons were expoſed to contempt; yet there were no ſooner Preparations towards a Parliament in *Scotland*, than Commiſſioners were ſent from the Lords and Commons at *Weſtminſter* to reſide at *Edenborough*, as if they hoped to over-vote them there too; and it was evident quickly that they were not without a ſtrong or at leaſt an active Party there. They were receiv'd with the ſame ſhew of reſpect, and the ſame care was taken for their Accommodation, as had been when they firſt came for contriving of the Covenant; not only the Marquis of *Argyle*, and his Party, very diligently viſited them, and perform'd all offices of reſpect towards them, but even the *Hamiltonian* Faction, and they who were moſt ſollicitous to raiſe the War, attended them as officiouſly as others, and made the ſame profeſſions to preſerve the Peace and Amity between the two Nations.

Commiſſioners ſent from the two Houſes into Scotland.

THAT rigid Party of the Clergy which ſo ador'd the Covenant in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the Letter, that they did not deſire to have any more dependence upon the King, but in effect to lay him aſide, and to ſettle the Government without him, as their Brethren in *England* had reſolv'd to do, were never from them, and willingly receiv'd ſuch Preſents and

Penſions

Penſions from the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners, as they were prepared and provided to offer to them; and much Money was given to make them faſt Friends. By this means nothing was reſolv'd, or propoſed in the moſt ſecret Councils, that was not forthwith imparted, and made known to them; and they behaved themſelves as haughtily and imperiouſly, as if they had their Army at hand to ſecond them. They took notice of the reſort of ſo many *Engliſh* to *Edenborough*, and that there were many amongſt them who had been in Arms againſt the Parliament, and demanded "That they might either be ba-"niſhed that Kingdom, or deliver'd to them to be ſent to the "Parliament.

THEY were ſo clamorous in this Argument, and found ſo much countenance to their clamour, that they who had invited the *Engliſh* thither, had not the Courage to own them; but adviſed them under-hand "To abſent themſelves from the "Town, till that ſtorm ſhould be over. And even Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, and Sr *Philip Muſgrave*, whom, over and above all the diſcourſes held with them at *London*, the *Scotiſh* Lords had ſent to confer with as they paſſed through the Northern parts Homewards, and had then conferred with them, and deſired them "To prepare all things with their "Friends for the ſurpriſal of *Berwick* and *Carliſle*, when the "Seaſon ſhould be Ripe, and that they would haſten their "Journey into *Scotland*, that they might be out of danger of "impriſonment; even theſe Men were deſired, "Either to "withdraw again from *Edenborough*, or to keep their Cham-"bers there, and not to be ſeen abroad, until their Army "ſhould be raiſed, and ſuch a General made choice of as would "take care of their Protection. And they did not conceal from them, that they made no doubt but that Duke *Hamilton* ſhould be that General; who often conferr'd with them in private, and always aſſured them, "That whatever was, in "that place and ſeaſon, diſcourſed of the Covenant, which "was very neceſſary to bring their deſigns to paſs, he ſhould "be no ſooner inveſted in the Command his Friends deſign'd "for him, than he would manifeſt his reſolution to joyn with "the King's Party, upon the true Intereſt of the Crown, "without which he would hope for little ſucceſs in *England*; and he deſired them, "Though they ſaw little appearance yet "of raiſing an Army, which would be aſſoon finiſhed as be-"gun, by the method they were accuſtom'd to uſe, that they "would write very earneſtly to their Friends in *England* to "begin, aſſoon as might be, to execute the deſigns they had "laid, in as many parts of the Kingdom as they could, upon "confidence that they ſhould receive relief before they could "be oppreſſed. To the ſame purpoſe they writ to the Queen,

and

"and desired that the Prince might be in a readiness to be "with them against the time their Army should be ready to "march; which, they assured Her, should be by the beginning of *May*. All which several Advertisements, being communicated in *England*, found a People too ready to give Credit to what was promised, and to begin the work sooner than they ought to have done: and yet they were hasten'd by such accidents, as, in truth, made their appearance even necessary.

THE King, whilst he was at *Hampton* Court, when he foresaw that the Army would not comply with him, as he once believ'd, and resolv'd to get themselves out of their hands, had, as is mention'd before, directed the Duke of *York*, who was of years to be trusted with the secret, "That, when "a fit opportunity should be offer'd, he should make his escape "into the parts beyond the Seas, and follow the directions "of his Mother: and about this time, when so much Action was expected, which probably might produce many alterations, his Majesty in all places, found some way to advertise the Duke, "That it would be a very proper Season for him to "make his escape. The Person who was entrusted to contrive it was Colonel *Bamfield*, a Man of an active and insinuating Nature, and dextrous enough in bringing any thing to pass that he had the managing of himself. He had now no relation to the King's Service; he had serv'd the King in the late War as a Colonel of Foot, and had not behaved himself so well in it, as to draw any suspicion upon himself from the other Party, and was in truth much more conversant with the Presbyterian Party than with the King's. So that his repair often to the place where the Duke of *York* and the other Children were, drew nothing of suspicion upon him.

The escape of the Duke of York *beyond Sea from St* James's.

THE Duke and his Brother and Sister were then kept at St *James*'s, where they had the liberty of the Garden and Park to walk and exercise themselves in, and Lords, and Ladies, and other Persons of Condition, were not restrain'd from resorting thither to visit them. In this manner *Bamfield* had been sometimes there; and after he had inform'd the Duke what he was to do, and found one or two more to be trusted between them, that he might not become suspected by being observ'd to speak too often with him, he provided a small Vessel to be ready about the Custom House, and to have its Pass for *Holland*, and then advertised the Duke to be ready in the close of an Evening, when playing, as he used to do, with the other Children, in a Room from whence their was a pair of Stairs to the Garden, he might, untaken notice of, get thither; from whence there was a door into the Park; where *Bamfield* would meet him. And this was so well adjusted, that

the Duke came at the hour to the place; where the other met him, and led him presently where a Coach was ready, and so carried him into a private House; where he only stay'd whilst he put on Women's Apparel, that was provided for him; and presently, with Colonel *Bamfield* only, went into a pair of Oars that was ready; so passed the Bridge, and went on Board the Vessel that was ready to receive him; which immediately hoisted Sail, and arriv'd safe in *Holland*, without any Man of the Ship having the least imagination what Freight they carried.

THE Duke, assoon as he was on Shore, and in a Lodging, resolving no longer to use his Womans habit, stay'd there till he advertised his Sister, the Princess Royal of *Orange*, of his Arrival; who quickly took care to provide all such things as were necessary for his remove to the *Hague*; from whence the Queen was inform'd, and so knew assoon almost where he was, as she did of his escape from *London*. The Prince was not yet ready for his remove, nor was it resolv'd which way he should go; so that it was thought best that the Duke should, for the present, stay at the *Hague* with his Sister, till farther resolutions might be taken; and though the Service which *Bamfield* had perform'd, was very well esteem'd, yet they thought the making him a Groom of his Bed-Chamber, would be an ample recompence, and that it was necessary to put a Person of a better Quality about his Highness, who might have a superior Command over the other Servant; and because the Lord *Byron*, who had been made Governour of the Duke of *York* by the King, was then in *England*, secretly attending the conjuncture to appear in Arms in a quarter assign'd to him, Sr *John Berkley* was sent by the Queen to wait upon the Duke, as Governour in the absence of the Lord *Byron*, which *Bamfield* looked upon as a degradation, and bringing the Man he hated of all Men living, to have the command over him.

Sr John Berkley *made his Highness's Governour in the absence of the Lord* Byron.

THE Lord *Capel*, who was in the most secret part of all these Intrigues in *England*, being entirely trusted by those who would not trust any of the Presbyterians nor communicate their purposes to them, had written to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who remain'd still in *Jersey*, the hopes he had of a good conjuncture, and his own resolution to Embark himself in that attempt, assoon as it should be ripe; and had signified the King's Command to him, "That assoon as the Chancellor "should be required to wait upon the Prince, he should without delay obey the Summons: and the King had likewise writ to the Queen very positively, "That when it should be "necessary for the Prince to remove out of *France*, the Chancellor should have notice of it, and be required to give his "attendance

"attendance upon the Perſon of his Royal Highneſs, in the "condition he had formerly done. About the beginning of *May*, in the year 1648, the Lord *Capel*, who had always correſponded with the Chancellor, and inform'd him of the State of Affairs, and all that concern'd himſelf, writ to him, "That all things were now ſo ripe, that he believ'd the Prince "would not find it fit to remain longer in *France*; and there- "upon conjur'd him that he would be ready, if he ſhould be "ſent for, as he was confident he would be, to attend upon "his Highneſs; which, he ſaid, all the King's Friends expected he ſhould do; and which he was reſolv'd to do aſſoon as the Prince ſhould be out of *France*, though he ſhould receive no order or invitation ſo to do.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer ſent for to the Prince from Jerſey.

ABOUT the middle of *May*, the Queen, according to his Majeſty's Command, ſent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to *Jerſey*, commanding, "That he would wait upon the "Prince in the *Louvre* at *Paris*, upon a day that was paſt before the Letter came to his hands. But he no ſooner receiv'd the Summons, than he betook himſelf to the Journey, and to tranſport himſelf into *Normandy*; where after he was landed, he made what haſte he could to *Caen*, ſuppoſing he ſhould there find Secretary *Nicholas*, who had given him notice, "That he had receiv'd the ſame Command. When he came to *Caen*, he found the Secretary's Lady there, but himſelf was gone to *Roan*, to the Lord *Cottington*, and intended to ſtay there till the other ſhould arrive, and to conſult together there upon their farther Journey. The old Earl of *Briſtol*, who had liv'd likewiſe at *Caen*, was gone with the Secretary to *Roan*, having likewiſe receiv'd the ſame Summons with the others to attend the Prince at the *Louvre*. The Chancellor haſten'd to *Roan*, where he found the Lord *Cottington*, who had ſtill the Title and Precedency of Lord High Treaſurer of *England*, the Earl of *Briſtol*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, who were all his very good Friends, and very glad of his Arrival. They had receiv'd Advertiſement, the day before, "That the Prince, with all his ſmall Train, was paſſed "by towards *Calais*; and direction was ſent "That the Chan- "cellor, whom they ſuppoſed to be on the way, and the reſt, "ſhould ſtay at *Roan*, till they ſhould receive new Orders "from *Calais*, where his Royal Highneſs would take new "Meaſures what he was to do. So they ſtayed together at *Roan*, where there were at the ſame time very many *Engliſh* of Quality in their own condition, who were driven out of *England*, as well as they, for their fidelity to the King, and had brought ſomewhat with them for their ſupport abroad, till they might upon ſome good change return to their own Country. In the mean time they liv'd very decently together

in that City; where they were well esteem'd. The way between *Roan* and *Calais* was so dangerous without a very strong Convoy, that no day passed without Robberies, and Murders, so that they were glad of their Order not to stir from thence, till they should receive a very particular direction from the Prince; and within few days they receiv'd advice, "That the "Prince had, assoon as he came to *Calais*, put himself on "board a Ship that he found there bound for *Holland*, whence "they were to hear from him, how they should dispose of "themselves. Whereupon they all resolv'd to remove from *Roan* to *Diep*, from whence they might Embark themselves for *Holland* if they saw cause; the ways by Land, in regard that both the *French* and the *Spanish* Armies were in the Field, being very dangerous.

The Prince went into Holland *from* Calais.

The Revolt of part of the Fleet to the King from Rainsborough.

THE Prince's remove from Paris on such a suddain, proceeded from an Accident in *England* that was very extraordinary, and looked like a call from Heaven. The Parliament about this time had prepared, according to custom, a good Fleet of ten or a dozen Ships for the Summer Guard, and appointed *Rainsborough* to be Admiral thereof; who had been bred at Sea, and was the Son of an eminent Commander at Sea lately dead; but he himself, from the time of the new Model, had been an Officer of Foot in the Army, and was a Colonel of special Note and Account, and of *Cromwell*'s chief Confidents. This offended the Earl of *Warwick* much, and disposed him to that inclination to concur with his Brother lately mention'd. Captain *Batten* likewise was as much unsatisfied, who had acted a great part in the first alienating the Fleet, and the Affections of the Sea-men from the King, and had ever been their Vice-Admiral afterwards, and one of the Persons upon whom they principally rely'd at Sea. *Rainsborough*, as long as he remain'd in the Navy, had been under his Command, and both the Earl and *Batten* well knew that this Man was now made Admiral of this Fleet, because they, being Presbyterians, should have no credit or influence upon it; which made them sollicitous enough that the Seamen should not be well pleased with the Alteration; and they looked upon *Rainsborough* as a Man that had forsaken them, and preferr'd the Land before the Sea Service. The Sea-men are in a manner a Nation by themselves, a humourous, brave, and sturdy People; fierce, and resolute in whatsoever they are inclined to, somewhat unsteady and inconstant in pursuing it, and jealous of those to morrow by whom they are govern'd to day. These Men, observing the general discontent of the People, and that, however the Parliament was obeyed by the power of the Army, both Army and Parliament were grown very odious to the Nation, and hearing so much

much discourse of an Army from *Scotland* ready to enter into the Kingdom, concluded that the King would be restored; and then remembring that the revolt of the Fleet was the preamble to the loss of his Majesty's Authority every where else, and a great cause of all his Misfortunes, thought it would be a glorious thing to them, if they could lead the way to his Majesty's Restoration by their declaring for him. This was an Agitation among the Common Sea-men, without communicating it to any Officer of the Quality of Master of a Ship. This inclination was much improv'd in them by a general disposition in *Kent* to an Insurrection for the King, and by some Gentlemen's coming on board the Ships, according to the custom of that Country; who fomented the good disposition in the Sea-men by all the ways they could.

Commotions in Kent *for the King.*

At this very time there appear'd generally throughout *Kent* the same indigested Affection to the King, and inclination to serve him, as was among the Sea-men, and was conducted with much less order and caution, neither the one nor the other having been design'd by those who took care of the King's Affairs, and who design'd those Insurrections which happen'd in other parts of the Kingdom. They knew nothing, that is, contributed nothing to this good disposition in the Sea-men, though they were not without some hope that, upon all other Revolutions, somewhat might likewise fall out at Sea to the advantage of the King's Affairs. They had some expectation indeed from *Kent*, where they knew the People were generally well Affected, and depended upon two or three Gentlemen of that Country, who had been Officers in the King's Army, and resolv'd to bring in some Troops of Horse, when occasion should be ripe; but it was resolv'd and intended that the *Scotish* Army should be enter'd the Kingdom, by which the Parliament Army would be upon their march towards them, before they would have any appearance of force in the parts near *London*; and then they believ'd that both Country and City would rise together. And so those Gentlemen of *Kent*, who were privy to any design, lay privately in *London* to avoid all Cabals in their Country; so that what now fell out there, was by meer chance and accident, that could never be foreseen, or prevented.

There happen'd to be at some Jovial meeting in *Kent* about that time, one Mr *L' Estrange* a younger Brother of a good Family in *Norfolk*, who had been always of the King's Party, and for attempting somewhat in his own Country for his Majesty's Service, had been taken Prisoner by the Parliament, and by a Court of War condemn'd to dye, but being kept in Prison till the end of the War, was then set at Li-

berty, as one in whom there was no more danger. But he retain'd his old Affections, and more remember'd the cruel uſage he had receiv'd, than that they had not proceeded as cruelly with him as they might have done. He had a great Friendſhip with a young Gentleman, Mr *Hales*, who liv'd in *Kent*, and was Married to a Lady of a Noble Birth and Fortune, he being Heir to one of the greateſt Fortunes of that Country, but was to expect the Inheritance from the favour of an Old Severe Grand-father, who for the preſent kept the young Couple from running into any Exceſs; the Mother of the Lady being of as ſour and ſtrict a Nature as the Grand-father, and both of them ſo much of the Parliament Party, that they were not willing any part of their Eſtates ſhould be hazarded for the King. At the Houſe of this Mr *Hales*, Mr *L' Eſtrange* was, when by the Communication which that part of *Kent* always hath with the Ships which lye in the *Downs*, the report firſt did ariſe that the Fleet would preſently declare for the King, and thoſe Sea-men who came on Shore talked as if the City of *London* would joyn with them. This drew many Gentlemen of the Country who wiſhed well, to viſit the Ships, and they return'd more confirm'd of the truth of what they had heard. Good-fellowſhip was a Vice ſpread every where, and this young great Heir, who had been always bred among his Neighbours, affected that which they were beſt pleaſed with, and ſo his Houſe was a Rendezvous for thoſe who delighted in that Exerciſe, and who every day brought him the News of the good inclinations in the Fleet for the King; and all Mens Mouths were full of the general hatred the whole Kingdom had againſt the Parliament as well as the Army. Mr *L' Eſtrange* was a Man of a good Wit, and a Fancy very luxuriant, and of an enterpriſing Nature. He obſerv'd, by the good Company that came to the Houſe, that the Affections of all that Large and Populous Country were for the King. He began to tell Mr *Hales*, "That though his "Grand-father did in his heart wiſh the King well, yet his "carriage had been ſuch in his conjunction with the Parlia-"ment, that he had more need of the King's favour than of "his Grand-father's to be Heir to that great Eſtate; and that "certainly nothing could be more acceptable to his Grand-"father, or more glorious to him, than to be the Inſtru-"ment of both; and therefore adviſed him "To put himſelf "into the Head of his own Country, which would be willing to be led by him; that when the *Scots* were enter'd in-"to the Northern Parts, and all the Kingdom ſhould be in "Arms, he might, with the Body of his Country-men, "march towards *London*; which would induce both the "City and the Parliament to joyn with him, whereby he "ſhould

"ſhould have great ſhare in the Honour of reſtoring the "King.

THE Company that frequented the Houſe thought the diſcourſe very reaſonable, and ſaw that the iſſue muſt be very Honourable: The young Lady of the Houſe was full of Zeal for the King, and was willing her Husband ſhould be the Inſtrument of his delivery: The young Gentleman himſelf had not been enough converſant in the Affairs of the World to apprehend the danger, or hazard of the Attempt, and ſo referr'd himſelf and the whole Buſineſs to be govern'd, and conducted by Mr *L'Eſtrange*, whom they all believ'd by his diſcourſe to be an able Soldier. He writ ſome Letters to particular Gentlemen, who he was inform'd would receive them willingly, and ſign'd Warrants to the Conſtables of Hundreds with his own Name, which had been never heard of in the Country, requiring, "In his Majeſty's Name, all "Perſons to appear, at a time and place appointed, to adviſe "together, and to lay hold on ſuch opportunities, as ſhould "be offer'd for relieving the King, and delivering him out of "Priſon. There was an incredible appearance of the Country at the place appointed, where Mr *L'Eſtrange* appear'd with Mr *Hales*, and thoſe Perſons which had been uſed to their Company. Mr *L'Eſtrange* ſpoke to them in a ſtyle very much his own; and being not very clear to be underſtood, the more prevailed over them. He ſpake like a Man in Authority, inveighed againſt "The Tyranny of the Army, which "had ſubdued the Parliament, againſt their barbarous Impri-"ſonment of the King, and againſt a Conſpiracy they had to "Murder him. He added "That the Affections of that No-"ble Country were well known to his Majeſty, and that he "had therefore appointed the Fleet that was in the *Downs* to "joyn with them; and that he doubted not but they would "together be too ſtrong for his Enemies, who were like to "have enough to do to defend themſelves in many other "places; and that his Majeſty was willing they ſhould have "a Gentleman of their own Country, well known to them, "to be their General; and named Mr *Hales*; who was preſent. There was not one Man who ſo much as ask'd for any Letter or Commiſſion, or other Authority from the King; but all of them, very frankly and unanimouſly, declar'd "They "would be ready to joyn, and march as their General *Hales* "ſhould direct; and ſo another day and place was appointed for another appearance, and Liſting and Forming their Regiments; and in the mean time Mr *L'Eſtrange* ſet out ſuch Declarations, and Engagements, as he thought moſt like to prevail with the People, and requir'd "That they ſhould be read "in all Churches; which was done accordingly. The next

appearance was greater than the former; and with the ſame forwardneſs, many coming armed both Horſe and Foot, and ſhewing a marvellous alacrity to the Engagement. Their General than gave out his Commiſſions for ſeveral Regiments, and a new day was appointed for their Rendezvous, when all ſhould come arm'd, and keep together in a Body, until it ſhould be fit to march to *London*.

It was known that the Fleet was gone out of the *Downs*, but it was as well known that it had abſolutely renounced the Service of the Parliament, and rejected all their Officers. It was eaſy to perſwade the People, that they were gone upon ſome important Enterpriſe, and would ſpeedily return; and it was inſinuated, "That it was gone to the Iſle of *Wight* to "releaſe the King, who would return with it into *Kent*; which made them haſten their preparations.

At the time when the King made the Earl of *Northumberland* Admiral, he declared, and it was inſerted in his Commiſſion, "That he ſhould enjoy that Office during the Mino-"rity of the Duke of *York*; and the Duke having made his eſcape at this time, when there was this Commotion amongſt the Sea-men, it was no ſooner known that his Highneſs was in *Holland*, but the Sea-men talked aloud "That they would "go to their Admiral; and the Gentlemen of *Kent* ſtirring them up and inflaming them to that Reſolution, and the Sea-men again preſſing the Gentlemen to haſten their Riſing in Arms, that they might aſſiſt and ſecond each other, they both declared themſelves ſooner than they ought to have done, and before they were prepared for an Enterpriſe of that importance.

The Parliament was well inform'd of the diſtemper amongſt the Sea-men, and had therefore foreborne putting the half of the Proviſions aboard the Ships, which, for the greateſt part, lay ready in the *Downs*, wanting only half the Victual they were to have for the Summer Service. But thoſe Officers which were on board, finding they had no Authority, and that the Sea-men mocked and laughed at them, ſent every day to inform the Parliament, what mutinous humour the whole Fleet was in. Whereupon they ſent *Rainsborough* and ſome other Officers thither; preſuming that the preſence of the Admiral would quickly quiet all. He, being a Man of a rough imperious Nature, aſſoon as he came on board his Ship, begun to make a ſtrict Enquiry into the former Diſorders and Mutinous behaviours, upon which all the Men of his Ship retired into their old Fortreſs of, One and All, and preſently laid hold on Him, and put Him, and ſuch other Officers of the Ship as they liked not, into the Boat, and ſent them on Shore. Which was no ſooner known to the reſt of the

Rainsborough and ſome other Officers put on Shore by the Sea-men.

the Ships, but they follow'd their example, and uſed their Officers in the ſame manner. After they had for ſome days been Feaſted and Careſſed by the People of *Kent*, ſome of the Gentlemen putting themſelves on board to joyn with them, and in order to aſſiſt them towards providing ſuch neceſſaries as were wanting, they went out of the *Downs*, and ſtood for *Holland*, that they might find their Admiral; and let fall their Anchors before the *Brill*. What was done by the Gentlemen of *Kent* on Shore, and the ſucceſs thereof, will be related hereafter.

The revolted Ships went over to Holland.

THIS ſo very ſeaſonable revolt of the Fleet, in a conjuncture when ſo many Advantages were expected, was looked upon as a ſure Omen of the deliverance of the King. And the report that the Ships were before *Calais*, as if they had expected ſome Body there, which was true, for ſome time, was the reaſon that it was thought fit that Prince (who had hitherto thought of nothing but being ſent for by the *Scots*, and how to find himſelf with them) ſhould make all poſſible haſte to *Calais*. This was the Cauſe of that his ſuddain motion, which was yet retarded for want of Money, and all other things neceſſary for his Journey. The Cardinal ſhew'd no manner of favouring all theſe Appearances of Advantage to the King; he gave leſs countenance to *Scotland*, than he had ever done when it was in Rebellion againſt the King; and, notwithſtanding all his promiſes with reference to *Ireland*, the Marquis of *Ormond* remain'd ſtill at *Paris*, without obtaining Arms or Money in any proportion (both which had been promiſed ſo liberally) and was, after all importunities, compelled to tranſport himſelf into *Ireland* (where he was ſo importunately called for) without any manner of Supplies, which were expected. And now, when the remove of the Prince was ſo behoveful, the Cardinal utterly refuſed to furniſh him with any Money; all which diſcountenances were ſhortly after remember'd to *Cromwell*, as high merit.

The Marquis of Ormond *goes out of* France *into* Ireland.

THE Prince's remove was by every Body thought ſo neceſſary, that the Lord *Jermyn*, as was pretended, found means to borrow ſo much Money as was neceſſary for the Journey; which the King paid long after with full Intereſt. Dr *Goffe*, a Man well known in that time, as the chief Agent and Confident of my Lord *Jermyn*, was preſently ſent into *Holland*, to diſpoſe the Sea-men to be willing to receive the Lord *Jermyn* to Command the Fleet. So Sollicitous that Noble Man was to be in the head of any Action that was like to proſper, how unfit ſoever he was for it; having neither induſtry, nor knowledge of any thing of the Sea, and being leſs belov'd by the Sea-men than any Man that could be named. The Prince made what haſte he could to *Calais*, attended by Prince *Rupert*, the

the Lord *Hopton*, and the Lord *Colepepper*, and ſome other Gentlemen, beſides his own Domeſticks; and finding one of the *Engliſh* Frigats before *Calais*, and underſtanding that the Duke of *York* was gone from the *Hague* to *Helvoet Sluce*, and had put himſelf on board the Fleet there, his Highneſs preſently embarked, and made the more haſte leſt his Brother ſhould be in Action before him, and was receiv'd at the Fleet with all thoſe acclamations and noiſes of joy, which that People are accuſtom'd to; they having expreſſed as much ſome days before, at the arrival of the Duke of *York*.

The Prince is receiv'd at the Fleet.

Assoon as it was known in *Holland* that the Prince of *Wales* was arriv'd, the Prince of *Orange*, with his Wife the Princeſs Royal, came preſently thither to entertain his Highneſs the beſt that place would permit, but eſpecially to rejoyce together, having not ſeen each other from the time they were Children. The Prince found the Fleet in Faction and Diſorder, and great pains had been taken to corrupt them. Sr *John Berkley*'s coming to the *Hague* to aſſume the Government of the Duke of *York*, had not been acceptable to his Royal Highneſs, who was perſwaded by Colonel *Bamfield*, that he had been unfaithful, as well as unfortunate, in his attendance upon the King, to the Iſle of *Wight*. The Colonel himſelf was ſo incenſed with it, that he uſed all the skill and inſinuation he had, to leſſen his Highneſs reverence to the Queen, and to diſpute her Commands. Then taking the opportunity of the Fleet's being come to *Helvoet Sluce*, he went thither, and having, as is ſaid before, a wonderful Addreſs to the diſpoſing Men to Mutiny, and to work upon Common Men, which the Fleet conſiſted of, there being no Officers, for the moſt part, above the Quality of a Boat-Swaine or Maſter's-Mate, he perſwaded them "To declare for the Duke "of *York*, without any reſpect to the King or Prince; and "when his Highneſs ſhould be on board, that they ſhould not "meddle in the Quarrel between the King and the Parlia-"ment, but entirely joyn with the Presbyterian Party, and "the City of *London*; which by this means would bring the "Parliament to reaſon: And he prepared his Friends the Seamen when the duke ſhould come to them, that they would except againſt Sr *John Berkley*, and cauſe him to be diſmiſſed; and then he believ'd he ſhould be able to govern both his Highneſs and the Fleet.

Factions in the Prince's Fleet.

At the ſame time Dr *Goffe*, who was a dextrous Man too, and could comply with all Men in all the Acts of good-fellowſhip, had gotten acquaintance with others of the Sea-men, and made them jealous of *Bamfield*'s activity; and endeavour'd to perſwade them "That they ſhould all petiton the Prince "who, he knew, would be ſhortly with them) "That the Lord

"*Jermyn*

"*Jermyn* might be made their Admiral; who would be able "to ſupply them with Money, and whatſoever elſe they want- "ed: That there was no hope of Money but from *France*, "and that the Lord *Jermyn* had all the Power and Credit "there, and might have what Money he deſired; and by theſe Agitations the infant Loyalty of the Sea-men begun to be diſtracted.

AT the ſame time the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, who had always adher'd to the Presbyterians, and was of great eſteem amongſt them, though he was not tainted with their principles, had left the Parliament, and ſecretly Tranſported himſelf into *Holland*; and was arrived at *Rotterdam*, when *Bamfield* return'd from the Fleet, and went to wait upon the Duke of *York* at the *Hague*. *Bamfield* deliver'd ſuch a Meſſage from the Fleet as he thought would haſten the Duke's Journey thither; and told him, "The Sea-men made great enquiry after "the Lord *Willoughby*, and much longed to have him with "them; inſinuating to the Duke, "That he had much contri- "buted to that good diſpoſition in the Sea-men, and was pri- "vy to their revolt, and had promiſed ſpeedily to come to "them, and that it would be the moſt acceptable thing his "Highneſs could do to carry him with him to the Fleet, and "make him his Vice-Admiral. The Duke made all imagin- able haſte to *Helvoet Sluce*, and immediately went on board the Admiral; where he was receiv'd with the uſual marks of joy and acclamation. He declared the Lord *Willoughby* his Vice-Admiral, and appointed ſome other Officers in the ſeveral Ships, and ſeem'd very deſirous to be out at Sea. In the mean time *Bamfield* continued his Activity; and the Doctor, finding he had little hope to raiſe his Patron to the height he propoſed, did all he could to hinder the Operation of *Bamfield*, and took all the ways he could that the Prince might be advertiſed of it; and thereupon haſten his own Journey; which did likewiſe contribute to the haſte his Highneſs made. He arriv'd at *Helvoet Sluce* very ſeaſonably to prevent many inconveniences, which would have inevitably fallen out; and the Sea-men, upon his Highneſſes appearance, return'd again into their old chearful humour; which the Prince knew would be beſt preſerv'd by Action; and therefore exceedingly deſir'd to be at Sea, where he was ſure he muſt be Superior to any Force the Parliament could in a ſhort time put out. But the Fleet already wanted many Proviſions, of which Beer was the chief; which, by the countenance and aſſiſtance of the Prince of *Orange*, was in a ſhort time procured in a reaſonable proportion; and then the Prince ſet ſail firſt for *Yarmouth* Road, then for the *Downs*; having ſent his Brother, the Duke of *York*, with all his Family to the *Hague*, to remain there.

The Prince comes into the Downs *with the Fleet.*

THOUGH

THOUGH the Duke was exceedingly troubled to leave the Fleet, which he had been perſwaded to look upon as his Province, yet he could not but acknowledge, that right reaſon would not permit they ſhould both be ventur'd at one time on board the Fleet; and, the Prince determining to engage his own Perſon, he ſubmitted to the determination; and was well content to remain with his Siſter. The Prince did not think fit to remove the Lord *Willoughby* (who, he knew, was much relied upon by the Presbyterian Party) from the Charge the Duke had given him; though he was not much known to the Sea-Men. But Captain *Batten* coming at the ſame time when his Highneſs did to the Fleet, and bringing the *Conſtant Warwick*, one of the beſt Frigats the Parliament had built, with *Jordan*, and two or three Sea-men of good Command, his Highneſs knighted him, and made him Rere-Admiral of the Fleet; believing, that he could not do a more popular and acceptable thing to the Sea-men, than by putting the ſame Man, who had Commanded them ſo many years, over them again at this time; whoſe experience and government would ſupply the defects and want of skill of the Vice-Admiral, who was very willing to be adviſed by him. But the Prince ſhortly after found he was miſtaken in that expedient, and that the Sea-men (who deſired to ſerve the King upon the clear principles of Obedience, and Loyalty) did not in any degree affect *Batten*, becauſe he had failed in both, and was now of a Party towards which they had no veneration. The truth is, the Prince came prepared and diſpoſed from the Queen, to depend wholely upon the Presbyterian Party, which, beſides the power of the *Scotiſh* Army, which was every day expected to Invade *England*, was thought to be poſſeſſed of all the ſtrength of the City of *London*; and the Lord *Colepepper*, and Mr *Long*, the Prince's Secretary, were truſted by the Queen to keep the Prince ſteady and faſt to that dependence; and his Highneſs was injoyn'd to be entirely adviſed by them; though all the other Lords about him were of another mind, and the Prince himſelf not inclined that way. Dr *Steward*, the Dean of the King's Chappel, whom his Majeſty had recommended to his Son to inſtruct him in all matters relating to the Church, and Dr *Earles*, and the reſt of his Chaplains, waited diligently upon him to prevent thoſe Infuſions. But, by thoſe two, the benefit of this Fleet was principally conſider'd, as a happy means to put the Prince on Shore, that he might be in the Head of the *Scotiſh* Army; and no doubt if that Army had been then enter'd into *England*, as it was very ſhortly after, the Prince would have been directed, with the Fleet, "To have follow'd all the ad-"vice which ſhould have been ſent from the *Scots*.

IN

In the mean time it was thought moſt Counſellable, after the Prince had ſailed ſome days about the Coaſt, that the Kingdom might generally know that his Highneſs was there, that they ſhould all go into the River of *Thames*, and lye ſtill there; by which they expected two great Advantages; firſt, that the City would be thereby engaged to declare it ſelf, when they ſaw all their Trade obſtructed; and that their Ships homewards bound, of which at that Seaſon of the year, they expected many, muſt fall into the Prince's hands; and then, that the preſence of the Prince in the River would hinder the Parliament from getting Seamen; and from ſetting out that Fleet which they were preparing to reduce the other, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*; whom they thought fit, in this exigent, again to imploy; and who, by accepting the Charge, thought he ſhould be in a better poſture to chooſe his Party, in any other alteration that ſhould happen at Land. *Thence into the River of Thames.*

When the Parliament firſt heard of the Commotion in *Kent*, and ſaw the Warrants which were ſent out and ſign'd by *L' Eſtrange*, whom no body knew (and the Gentlemen of *Kent* who ſat in the Parliament, aſſured them, "That there "was no ſuch Gentleman in that County, and Sr *Edward Hales*, who likewiſe was preſent there, told them, "He was "very confident that his Grandſon could not be Embarked in "ſuch an Affair) they neglected it, and thought it a deſign to amuſe them. But when they heard that the meetings were continued, and ſaw the Declarations which were publiſh'd, and were well aſſured that young *Hales* appear'd with them as their General, they thought the matter worth their care; and therefore appointed their General, "To ſend two "or three Troops of Horſe into *Kent* to ſuppreſs that ſeditious Inſurrection; Sr *Edward Hales* now excuſing himſelf with revilings, threats, and deteſtation of his Grandſon; who he proteſted, ſhould never be his Heir.

The Earl of *Holland*, who had a Commiſſion to be General, and the reſt who were engaged, were not yet ready, the *Scots* being not yet enter'd; nor did they underſtand any thing of the buſineſs of *Kent*; however when they were aſſured that they were drawn into a Body, and were ſo ſtrong that the Officers who Commanded the Troops which had been ſent to ſuppreſs them, had ſent to the Parliament word, "That "they durſt not advance, for that the Enemy was much ſtronger than they, and encreaſed daily; and that they had ſent a "Letter to the City of *London* inviting them to joyn with "them; the Earl of *Holland* I ſay, and the others with him, thought it fit to ſend them all the countenance, and encouragement they could; and thereupon diſpatched thoſe Officers who had been deſign'd for the Troops of that County, when the

the Seaſon ſhould be ripe, and who had hitherto lurked privately in *London* to avoid ſuſpicion. They were deſir'd to call their Friends together, aſſoon as was poſſible, to joyn with their Neighbours; and were told "That they ſhould "very ſhortly receive a General from the King: for they did not think Mr *Hales* equal to the work, who found his Power and Credit to grow leſs, the greater the appearance grew to be; and they begun to enquire for the King's Commiſſion. The Earl of *Holland* had form'd his Party of many Officers who had ſerv'd both the King and the Parliament; all which were in the City; and he had not yet a mind to call them together, but to expect the appearance of their Northern Friends, and therefore conſulting with the reſt, and finding the Earl of *Norwich*, who had been ſome Months in *England* under a Paſs from the Parliament (upon pretence of making his compoſition, from which he had never been excluded) willing to engage himſelf in the Conduct of thoſe in *Kent*, where he was well known and belov'd, his Affections and Zeal, for the King's Service being not to be doubted, they reſolv'd that he ſhould go thither; and there being many blank Commiſſions ready to be diſpoſed as the Service ſhould require, they filled one with His name, by which the Command of all *Kent* was committed to him, "With power to lead them any "whither as the good of the King's Service ſhould make re-"quiſite. And with this Commiſſion he made haſte into *Kent*, and found at *Maidſtone* a better Body of Horſe and Foot arm'd than could have been expected; enough in number to have met any Army that was like to be brought againſt them. They all receiv'd him with wonderful Acclamations, and vowed obedience to him. Mr *Hales* upon the News of another General to be ſent thither, and upon the ſtorms of threats and rage which fell upon him from his Grand-father, on the one ſide, and on his Wife by her Mother on the other ſide, and upon the Conſcience that he was not equal to the Charge, though his Affection was not in the leaſt declined, found means to Tranſport himſelf, and Wife, together with his Friend Mr *L' Eſtrange* who had loſt his Credit with the People, into *Holland*; reſolving, aſſoon as he had put his Wife out of the reach of her Mother, to return himſelf, and to venture his Perſon in the Service which he could not Conduct; which he did quickly after very heartily endeavour to do.

The importunities from *Scotland* with the Presbyterians their Correſpondent, the fame of Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*'s being well receiv'd at *Edenborough*, and that many *Engliſh* Officers and Soldiers daily flocked thither, but eſpecially the promiſes from *Paris* of Supplies of Arms, Ammunition, and Money, aſſoon as they could expect it, ſet all the other wheels

wheels going in *England* which had been preparing all the Winter. There were in South *Wales* Colonel *Laughorn*, Colonel *Powell*, and Colonel *Poyer*, who Commanded thoſe parts under the Parliament, which they had ſerv'd from the beginning: the firſt of them a Gentleman of a good Extraction, and a fair Fortune in Land in thoſe Counties, who had been bred a Page under the Earl of *Eſſex*, when he had a Command in the Low Countries, and continued his dependence upon him afterwards, and was much in his favour, and by that relation was firſt engaged in the Rebellion, as many other Gentlemen had been, without wiſhing ill to the King: the ſecond was a Gentleman too, but a Soldier of Fortune: the third, had from a low Trade raiſed himſelf in the War to the Reputation of a very diligent and ſtout Officer, and was at this time truſted by the Parliament with the Government of the Town and Caſtle of *Pembroke*. Theſe three communicated their diſcontents to each other, and all thought themſelves ill requited by the Parliament for the Service they had done, and that other Men, eſpecially Colonel *Mitton*, were preferr'd before them; and reſolv'd to take the opportunity of the *Scots* coming in, to declare for the King upon the Presbyterian Account. But *Laughorn*, who was not infected with any of thoſe freaks, and doubted not to reduce the other two, when it ſhould be time, to ſober Reſolutions, would not engage till he firſt ſent a confident to *Paris* to inform the Prince of what he had determin'd, and of what their wants conſiſted, which if not reliev'd, they ſhould not be able to purſue their purpoſe, deſiring to receive Orders for the time of their declaring, and Aſſurance that they ſhould in time receive thoſe Supplies they ſtood in need of. And the Lord *Jermyn* ſent him a promiſe under his hand, "That "he ſhould not fail of receiving all the things he had deſired, "before he could be preſſed by the Enemy; and therefore conjur'd him, and his Friends, "forthwith to declare for the "King; which he aſſured them would be of ſingular benefit, "and advantage to his Majeſty's Service; ſince upon the firſt "notice of their having declared, the *Scotiſh* Army would be "ready to march into *England*. Hereupon they preſently declared, before they were provided to keep the Field for want of Ammunition and Money, and when *Pembroke* was not ſupplied with Proviſions for above two Months; and were never thought of after.

The Lord *Byron* had been ſent from *Paris*, upon the importunities from *Scotland*, to get as many to declare in *England* in ſeveral places, as might diſtract the Army, and keep it from an entire Engagement againſt them; to diſpoſe his old Friends about *Cheſter* and North *Wales* to appear aſſoon as

might

might be: and he presently, with the help of Colonel *Robinson*, possessed himself of the Island of *Angleſey*, and disposed all North *Wales* to be ready to declare assoon as the *Scots* should enter the Kingdom. But that which was of most Importance, and seem'd already to have brought the War even into the heart of *England*, was that some Gentlemen, who had formerly serv'd the King in the Garrison of *Newark*, and in the Northern Army, under Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, had (by a design consulted with him before his going into *Scotland*, and upon Orders receiv'd from him since, when he believ'd the *Scots* would be in a short time ready to begin their March) surprised the strong Castle of *Pontfret* in *York shire* (which had a Garrison in it for the Parliament) and grew presently so numerous, by the resort of Officers and Soldiers from the adjacent Counties, that they grew formidable to all those parts, and made the Communication between *London* and *York* insecure, except it was with strong Troops. Upon which Argument of the surprise of *Pontfret*, We shall enlarge hereafter, before We speak of the Tragick conclusion of this Enterprise. All Affairs were in this motion in *England*, before there was any appearance of an Army in *Scotland*, which they had promised should be ready to march by the beginning of *May*.

INDEED as to the raising an Army in *Scotland*, the difficulties were well nigh over, nor did they ever look upon that as a thing that would trouble them, but who should Command, and be General of this Army was the matter upon which the Success of all they proposed would depend; and if they could not procure Duke *Hamilton* to be made choice of for that Service, they would promise themselves no good issue of the Undertaking. It was a hard thing to remove the old General *Lesley*, who had been hitherto in the Head of their Army in all their prosperous Successes; but he was in the confidence of *Argyle*, which was objection enough against him, if there were no other; and the Man was grown old, and appear'd in the Actions of the last Expedition into *England*, very unequal to the Command. And therefore some expedient was to be found to be rid of him; and they found it no hard matter to prevail with him to decline the Command, upon pretence of his Age and Infirmities, when in truth he had no mind to venture his Honour against the *English*, except assisted by *English*, which had been his good Fortune in all the Actions of Moment he had perform'd in this War; and when he had been destitute of that help, he had always receiv'd some Affront. When by this means there was a new General to be named, Duke *Hamilton* was proposed, as a fit Man to be employ'd to redeem the Honour of

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the Nation. He had formerly discharged the Office of General under the King of *Sweden*, where *Lesley*, that had now declin'd the imployment, was Major General under him; and therefore could not be thought to be without ample experience of War.

WHILST this was depending, *Argyle* took notice of Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*'s, and Sr *Philip Musgrave*'s being in the Town, and of some discourses which they had used, or some other *English* Officers in their Company, and desired, "That, "if they were to have any Command in the Army, they might "presently take the Covenant; and that there might be a ge- "neral Declaration, that there should be neither Officer nor "Soldier receiv'd into their Army, before he had first taken "the Covenant; and that, after they were enter'd into the "Kingdom of *England*, they should make no conjunction with "any Forces, or Persons, who had not done, or should re- "fuse to do the same. This proposal found no opposition; they who were most forward to raise the Army for the deli- very of the King, being as violent as any to advance that De- claration. And though Duke *Hamilton* and his Brother of *Lanrick* did as well disapprove it in their own judgments, as they did foresee, out of the long experience they had of *Eng- land*, what prejudice it would bring upon them there, yet they had not the Courage in any degree to speak against it; and the Chancellor of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale* were as passionate for the Advancement of it, as *Argyle* him- self; and seem'd to think that those two Gentlemen either had already taken, or would be willing to take it.

IT can hardly be believ'd, that, after so long knowledge of *England*, and their observation of whom the King's Party did consist, after their so often conferences with the King without prevailing upon him, in any degree, either to pre- serve himself at *New-Castle* from being deliver'd up to the Parliament, or in their last agitation with him, when he yield- ed to so many unreasonable particulars to gratify them, to con- sent to or promise, "That any Man should be compell'd to "take the Covenant; that they should still adhere to that fa- tal Combination against the Church, which they could ne- ver hope to bring to pass, except they intended only to change the hand, and to keep the King under as strict a restraint, when they should get him into Their hands, as he was under the domination of the Parliament and Army: yet they were so infatuated with this resolution, that they discovered their apprehension of the King's Party, and design'd no less to op- press Them than the Independents, and Anabaptists; and upon the news of the revolt of the Fleet from the Parliament to the King, the Insurrection in *Kent*, and other places, and the general inclinations throughout the Kingdom for the

King, they ſlacken'd their preparations, that they might defer their March, to the end that all that ſtrength might be oppreſſed and reduced, that ſo they might be abſolute Maſters after they had prevailed over the Army. And at laſt, when they could defer their March no longer, upon the importunate preſſure of their Friends in *London*, they ſent the Earl of *Lautherdale* with thoſe inſolent inſtructions, which will be mention'd anon, and poſitively required the Prince immediately to repair to them; declaring, "That if his Perſon ſhould "not be forthwith in their Army, they would return again "into *Scotland* without making any attempt; and the knowing this reſolution, was the reaſon that the Queen was ſo poſitive in her Inſtructions, notwithſtanding the appearance of any other Advantage to the King in *England*.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and Sr *Philip Muſgrave* no ſooner heard of this Declaration, than they went to thoſe Lords, and expoſtulated very ſharply with them, for "Having broken "their Faiths, and betrayed them into their Country; where "they were looked upon as Enemies. They were Anſwer'd, "that they muſt give over their deſign to redeem the King, "or yield to this determination, which their Parliament was "ſo firm and united in; and would never depart from. And therefore they entreated them with all imaginable importunity, that they would take the Covenant; ſome of them deſiring to confer with them upon it, and undertaking to ſatisfy them, that the Covenant did not include thoſe things in it, which they thought it did. But when they ſaw thoſe Gentlemen would not be prevailed with, but that on the contrary they reſolv'd preſently to leave the Country; and told them, "They would undeceive thoſe honeſt People in *England*, who "were too much inclined to truſt them; and that they ſhould "find that they had a harder work in hand than they imagined; the *Scotiſh* Lords knew well enough of what importance their preſence was to be to them, for their very entrance into *England*; and thereupon deſir'd them, "That they would have "a little patience, and again abſent themſelves from *Edenbo-* "*rough*, till the heat of this diſpute was over, and till the "Army ſhould be ready to march; and Duke *Hamilton*, who had a marvellous inſinuation to get himſelf believ'd, aſſured them in confidence, "That aſſoon as he ſhould find himſelf in "the head of his Army, and upon their march, there ſhould "be no more talk of Covenants, but that all the King's Friends "ſhould be welcome, and without diſtinction. So they left *Edenborough* again, and went to their old Quarters; where they had not ſtayed long, before the Duke ſent for them to come to him in private; and, after a very chearful reception, he told them, "He was now ready; and that their Friends in

"*England*

"*England* called ſo importunately for them, that he was re-
"ſolv'd to march in very few days; which he thought ne-
"ceſſary to communicate to them, not only for the Friend-
"ſhip he had for them; which would always keep him with-
"out reſerve towards them; but becauſe he muſt depend upon
"them two to ſurpriſe the Towns of *Berwick* and *Carliſle*,
"againſt the time he ſhould be able to march thither; for he
"intended to march between thoſe two Places.

THE work was not hard to be perform'd by them, they having, from their firſt entrance into *Scotland*, adjuſted with their Friends who inhabited near thoſe places, to be ready for that enterpriſe when they ſhould be called upon; which they then believ'd would have been much ſooner; ſo that they were willing to undertake it, and demanded Commiſſions from the Duke for the doing thereof; which he excuſed himſelf for not giving, under pretence of "The ſecrecy that was
"neceſſary; in reſpect whereof he would not truſt his own Se-
"cretary; and likewiſe, as a thing unneceſſary for the work;
"ſince it was their own reputation and intereſt, and their be-
"ing known to have been always truſted by the King, by
"which they could bring it to paſs, and not His Commiſſion;
"for which thoſe Towns would have no reverence. Beſides, he told them, "That the Marquis of *Argyle* had ſtill proteſted a-
"gainſt their beginning the War by any Act of Hoſtility againſt
"the *Engliſh*, in forcing any of the Towns; which was not ne-
"ceſſary in order to the King's deliverance; but that an Army
"might march to the place where the King was, to the end
"that thoſe Meſſengers who were ſent by the State to ſpeak
"with the King, might have liberty to ſpeak with his Ma-
"jeſty; which was a Right of the Kingdom, and the de-
"manding it could be no breach of the Pacification between
"the two Kingdoms.

THIS Argument, they knew, was not reaſonable enough to ſway the Duke. But they foreſaw two other reaſons, which did prevail with him not to give thoſe Commiſſions they deſired, which otherwiſe might have been given with the ſame ſecrecy that the buſineſs was to be acted with; the one, The Order againſt giving any Commiſſion to any Man before he had taken the Covenant; and how much Authority ſoever the Duke might take upon him to diſpenſe with that Order after he ſhould be in *England*, it might not be convenient that he ſhould aſſume it whilſt he remain'd yet at *Edenborough*: the other was, that, when they had done it without his Commiſſion, he might, upon his March, or aſſoon as he came thither, diſpoſſeſs them of the Government, and put *Scots*-men into their places; the laſt of which he did not diſſemble to them; but confeſſed "That, though the Council of *Scotland*,

"would not attempt the taking of those Towns, yet when "They should be taken, they would expect the Government "thereof should be in Their hands, and depend upon Them, "without which they should not be able to send him those con-"tinual Supplies which he expected from them. And there being then a recruit of five or six thousand, which Sr *George Monroe* had near raised in the North, and from *Ireland*, who were to begin their March after him, assoon as he should be out of *Scotland*, the two Gentlemen had no purpose of remaining in those Governments, well knowing that their presence would be of importance to the Army, at least whilst they stayed in the Northern Counties; yet they knew well, it was for the Service that those Towns should remain in the hands of the *English*, without which few of the Gentlemen of those Parts would declare themselves, how well affected soever they were; which when they had offer'd to the Duke, they left it to him, and accepted the imployment he pressed them to undertake, and parted to put the same in execution in both places at one time, all things being concerted between them to that purpose.

SIR *Marmaduke Langdale* had several Officers, and Soldiers, laid privately on the *Scotish* side to wait his Commands, and more on the *English*; there being two or three good Families within two or three Miles of *Berwick*, who were well affected and ready to appear when they should be required; in expectation whereof they had harboured many Men. Some of them Sr *Marmaduke* appointed to meet him, on the *Scotish* side, at a place about a Mile distant from *Berwick*, the Night before he intended the surprise, and the rest to be in the Town by the rising of the Sun; some about the Market place, and some upon the Bridge, by which he must enter. The next Morning, being Market day, when great droves of little Horses, laden with sacks of Corn, always resorted to the Town, Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, with about a hundred Horse, and some few Foot, which walked with the Market People, presently after Sun rising, was upon the Bridge, before there was any apprehension; and finding his Friends there whom he expected, he caused the Bridge presently to be drawn up, and guarded by his Foot, and sent others to the other parts. Himself with most of his Troops went into the Market place, where he found his Country Friends ready to do all he would Command. There was so general a consternation seised upon the whole Town, there being no other Garrison but Towns-men, that after they had seised upon the Mayor, who was the Governour, all things were in a short time so quiet, that they open'd their Ports again, that the Market might not be interrupted. Sr *Philip Musgrave*, with

Sr M. Langdale *surprises* Berwick, *and Sr* P. Musgrave Carlisle *soon after.*

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as little oppoſition, poſſeſſed himſelf of *Carliſle*; where he had a greater Intereſt; and the People were generally better affected to the King, and more diſinclined to the *Scots* than thoſe of *Berwick* uſed to be; and they both haſten'd advertiſement to the Duke of what they had done.

It will be much wonder'd at, that after *Cromwell* plainly foreſaw they ſhould have a War with *Scotland*, and had conſtant Intelligence from thence of the Advances they made, he did not take care to put Garriſons into thoſe two Important places, the very ſtrength of which could for ſome time have withſtood all the power which *Scotland* could have brought againſt them. But the ſame reaſon which had been current at *Edenborough* to this very time, had prevail'd at *Weſtminſter*. It was ſpecially provided for by the Act of Pacification between the two Kingdoms, when the Parliaments of both Kingdoms Combined againſt the King, "That there ſhould be "no more Garriſons kept on either ſide in *Berwick* or *Carliſle*; where they were then disbanded, and ſome of their Fortifications ſlighted; which could eaſily have been repaired; and, without repairing, could have kept out an Enemy for ſome time. And the Parliament would not now permit any Men to be ſent thither, that the *Scots* might not pretend that the War was begun by them; but left *Berwick* to the Government of the Mayor and the Citizens; who could have defended themſelves againſt the *Scots* if they had expected them. But the truth is, *Cromwell* had ſo perfect a contempt of the whole ſtrength of that Nation, that he never cared what Advantage ground they had upon any Field, or what place they ever poſſeſſed.

Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and Sr *Philip Muſgrave* were no ſooner poſſeſſed of *Berwick* and *Carliſle*, than all the Gentlemen, Officers, and Soldiers thereabouts, who had formerly ſerv'd the King, reſorted and flock'd to them well Arm'd, appointed, and provided for the War; ſo that they had not only very ſufficient Garriſons to keep thoſe places, but Troops enough of Horſe to free the adjacent Counties from thoſe Forces, and Committees, and other Perſons, who were either publickly engaged in, or well known privately to wiſh well to the Parliament. It was upon the 28th of *April* that Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* poſſeſſed himſelf of *Berwick*; and ſoon after Sr *Philip Muſgrave* ſurpriſed *Carliſle*, about eight of the Clock at Night, many Gentlemen of the Neighbours being in, and about the Town, expecting his Arrival; ſo that the Citizens were in confuſion, and made little reſiſtance. It is very true, they had both given under their hands to Duke *Hamilton*, that they would deliver up the Towns to him when he ſhould require them; he having aſſured them, "That the King had

"promiſed, under his hand, that thoſe two Towns ſhould be "deliver'd into the poſſeſſion of the *Scots*; which it muſt needs be ſuppoſed that they ſhould firſt take from the Parliament, in whoſe poſſeſſions they were both when the King ſign'd the Engagement at *Carisbrook* Caſtle. And the Duke had not only refuſed to give them any Men, or other Aſſiſtance towards the taking them, but, as hath been ſaid, would not grant them his Commiſſion to perform it; pretending "That "he durſt not do it, becauſe they were bound not to begin "the War: only He, and the other Lords of his Fraternity, promiſed "To ſend five hundred Muſquets, and ten Barrels of "Powder to each Garriſon; and that their whole Army ſhould "march into *England* within twenty days; and that, if they "were ſooner in diſtreſs, they ſhould be ſure to be reliev'd.

BUT after he heard that both places were poſſeſſed by them, he deferr'd not to ſend a Governour and Garriſon to receive *Berwick*; to whom Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* deliver'd it according to his promiſe; and was requir'd "To march with all "the *Engliſh* to the parts adjacent to *Carliſle*, and there to "increaſe his Troops to what Number he could, with what "expedition was poſſible; which he perform'd ſo effectually, that, in very few days, he had a Rendezvous upon a Heath within five Miles of *Carliſle*, where he Muſter'd above three thouſand Foot well Arm'd, and ſeven hundred Horſe not ſo well Arm'd; all which were raiſed in *Cumberland*, and *Weſtmoreland*, over and above the Garriſon of *Carliſle*; which yet remain'd under Sr *Philip Muſgrave*; and, within two days, five hundred Horſe, very well appointed, came out of *Yorkſhire*, the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and the Neighbour parts; ſo that Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* reſolv'd preſently to march into *Lancaſhire*, to reduce thoſe who were for the Parliament there; which he could eaſily have done, the Lord *Byron* being ready upon the Borders of *Cheſhire* to have joyn'd with him. But this quick advance and progreſs towards an Army, was not well look'd upon at *Edenborough*; and an Expreſs was diſpatch'd with poſitive Orders to Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* "Not "to Engage or Fight with the Enemy, upon what advantage "ſoever, until the *Scotiſh* Army ſhould come up. And whereever that Expreſs ſhould overtake Sr *Marmaduke*, he was immediately to retire with his Forces near *Carliſle*; which he obey'd aſſoon as he receiv'd the Order, and when he might have march'd againſt *Lambert*; who was ſent before with a leſs ſtrength than Sr *Marmaduke* Commanded, and which in all probability would have been defeated.

BUT, as if this had not been diſcouragement enough, within one or two days after that Expreſs, Letters were ſent from the Council in *Scotland*, by which Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* was very

very ſeverely reprehended, "For receiving Papiſts into his "Army, and not owning the Covenant in the Declarations "which he had publiſh'd; and told, "That he ſhould receive "no Aſſiſtance from Them, except the Covenant was em-"braced by all his Army. This ſtruck at the root of all their hopes; and was ſo contrary to all the Engagements they had receiv'd from the *Scotiſh* Lords, both by words and Letters, "that they ſhould never be troubled with any ſuch motions, "after they were once upon *Engliſh* ground; and that then "they ſhould proceed upon thoſe Grounds as were like to "bring in moſt Men to their Aſſiſtance; that Sr *Marmaduke* prevail'd with Sr *Philip Muſgrave* to make a Journey forthwith to *Edenborough*, to expoſtulate upon the whole matter, and declare their firm Reſolution to the Lords there.

Sir *Philip Muſgrave*, that it might appear that they did not exclude any who had taken the Covenant, and were willing to joyn with them, carried a liſt with him of the names of many Officers in their Troops who had been compell'd to take the Covenant before they could be admitted to compoſition, or procure the Sequeſtration to be taken from their Eſtates, and of ſome others who had taken it for quietneſs ſake in the places where they liv'd; with which the *Scots* were in ſome degree mitigated, but ſeem'd to retain ſtill their rigour, that it ſhould be ſubmitted to by the whole Army.

In the mean time *Lambert*, having gotten a ſtrong Body of Horſe and Foot, advanced upon Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*; who, being enjoyn'd not to fight, was forced to retire to *Carliſle*, and ſuffer himſelf to be, upon the matter block'd up on one ſide, whilſt he ſent Letter upon Letter to the Duke "To haſten his March, or to ſend ſome Troops to his Aſ-"ſiſtance, and Liberty to Fight the Enemy. *Lambert marches againſt them.*

The Earl of *Norwich* had found the Aſſembly at *Maidſtone* very numerous, but likewiſe very diſorderly, and without Government, nor eaſy to be reduced under any Command. They had been long enough together to enter into Jealouſies of one another, and from thence into Factions, and were of ſeveral opinions what they were to do. And though they all pretended an entire ſubmiſſion and obedience to the Earl of *Norwich* as their General, yet no Man forbore to deliver his opinion of Things and Perſons, nor to enquire by what means they had firſt been drawn together; which imply'd that many Men wiſh'd they had been to begin again. The Earl was a Man fitter to have drawn ſuch a Body together by his frolick and pleaſant humour, which reconciled People of all conſtitutions wonderfully to him, than to form and conduct them towards any Enterpriſe. He had always *The Earl of* Norwich *at* Maidſtone *with the* Kentiſh *Forces.*

liv'd in the Court in ſuch a ſtation of buſineſs as raiſed him very few Enemies; and his pleaſant and jovial Nature, which was every where acceptable, made him many Friends, at leaſt made many delight in his Company. So that by the great favour he had with the King and Queen, and the little prejudice he ſtood in with any Body elſe, he was very like if the fatal diſorder of the time had not blaſted his hopes, to have grown Maſter of a very fair Fortune; which was all that he propoſed to himſelf. But he had no experience or knowledge of the War, nor knew how to exerciſe the Office he had taken upon him of General, but was very willing to pleaſe every Man, and comply with every Bodies humour; which was quickly diſcover'd; and ſo Men withdrew the Reverence they were prepared to have paid him, and grew more obſtinate in their own opinions what was to be done; and the indiſpoſition increaſed, when they heard that *Fairfax* himſelf was appointed to march towards them. They who beſt underſtood the Affair, and how to apply the ſtrength they had to the beſt advantage, adviſed "That they might re-"tire beyond *Rocheſter*, and by breaking down the Bridge "there, and Fortifying another Paſs or two, which was eaſy "to be done, they might keep the Enemy from entring into "the Eaſt of *Kent* (which was the largeſt and beſt part of that rich and populous County) "Longer than they would be "able to continue the attempt, for fear of being incloſed by "an Enemy at their back, if the City of *London*, or thoſe of "*Eſſex*, who were moſt ſpoken of, had a mind to declare for "the King; and by this means they might be ſure of a cor-"reſpondence with the Fleet; of the return whereof in a ſhort time they were moſt confident; and the more, becauſe ſome Gentlemen of their own Body were on board the Fleet in ſome Authority, who, they knew, would haſten their return all they could.

MANY were the more perſwaded that the Fleet was gone to the Iſle of *Wight* for the reſcue of the King, becauſe thoſe Gentlemen were gone in it. And without doubt that advice was the moſt reaſonable, and if it had been purſued might have kept the Enemy at a Bay for ſome time. But other Men leſs reaſonable were of another mind: they did not believe "that *Fairfax* could have leiſure to look after them; they "were confident that the Parliament had ſo many Enemies "to look after, thoſe in *Wales* growing ſtrong, and having "beaten the Party that had been ſent againſt them; and the "Officers in the North, who had ſeiſed upon *Pontfret* Caſtle "in *York-ſhire*, and had drawn in a ſtrong Garriſon from the "parts adjacent, had a Body of Horſe, that infeſted all thoſe "parts; and the *Scots* were upon their march for *England*;

"and

"and therefore they concluded that *Fairfax* could not be at "leiſure to viſit them: The retiring would be an Argument "of fear, which would diſhearten their Friends at *London*, "and all thoſe of that part of *Kent*, which muſt be deſerted "upon their Retreat, would deſert them, aſſoon as that reſo-"lution ſhould be known; and therefore they deſir'd, "That "they might all march towards *Black-Heath*; which would "raiſe the Spirits of their Friends, and many would reſort "every day to them out of *London* and the parts adjacent; "all which were eminently well affected.

THE Noiſe for this was the greater, and the Earl of *Norwich* himſelf was thereby ſway'd to be of that opinion; and ſo they reſolv'd to advance, and a ſhort day was appointed for a general Rendezvous upon *Black-Heath*; and Orders were ſent out accordingly. *The* Kentiſh *Army marches towards* Black-Heath.

THE diſturbance in ſo many places made the reſolution of the General now to be known, which had been hitherto carefully concealed, "That *Fairfax* himſelf was not willing to "march againſt the *Scots*; which was not now Counſellable for him to do. *Cromwell* was very willing to take that Province to himſelf, and had always ſo great a contempt of the *Scots*, that he was willing to march with a much leſſer Number than he well knew the *Scotiſh* Army to conſiſt of; and being inform'd which way the *Scots* reſolv'd to enter the Kingdom, and that they were even ready to march, he advanced to meet them, aſſoon as they ſhould be enter'd, with thoſe Troops which he had made choice of, having firſt ſuppreſſed the Riſings in South *Wales* by taking of *Pembroke* Caſtle, and making Priſoners therein *Laughorn*, *Powel*, and *Poyer*, the heads of that Inſurrection, and not troubling himſelf with *Pontfret* Caſtle, which he thought would not be of great conſequence, if the *Scots* were ſubdued. Cromwell *advances againſt the* Scots:

FAIRFAX, with a numerous part of the Army, remain'd in and about *London* to ſuppreſs the Inſurrection in *Kent*, and watch any other which ſhould fall out in the City or thereabouts; of which they had more apprehenſion than of all the power of *Scotland*. And ſo when the Parliament was advertiſed by their Troops which were firſt ſent, that they were too weak to advance farther, and heard that the Earl of *Norwich* was declar'd General of the *Kentiſh* Troops, and was marching in the Head of them towards *Black-Heath*, *Fairfax* drew all his Army together, and his Cannon, and march'd over *London* Bridge to meet the Men of *Kent* at *Black-Heath*, and to ſtop their march to *London*. The Earl was now advanced ſo far, and *Fairfax* advanced too faſt to put the former Counſel in practice, of breaking down the Bridges, and keeping the Paſſes, and they who had oppoſed Fairfax *againſt the* Kentiſh *Men.*

that

that Counsel, and were so forward to advance, thought they were now too far. The Country-men were weary of being all night in the Field, though it was the warmest Season of the Year, and many withdrew themselves every day; so that they who remain'd, had no reason to believe themselves equal to the power that march'd towards them, and yet there were more left than could hope to preserve themselves by flying, and by concealment. And therefore, as *Fairfax* advanced, the *Kentish* Forces drew back; made several stands; but, being hard pressed, they divided, some retiring to *Rochester*, others to *Maidstone*. Those at *Maidstone* had a sharp Encounter with the General's whole strength, and Fought very bravely, but were at last Defeated. In the mean time the Earl of *Norwich*, and divers other Officers who were with the Party at *Rochester*, quitting that place, march'd back towards *London*, in hope still of the City's joyning with them. But that failing, and apprehending *Fairfax* would be soon in their Rear, the Earl and those who remain'd, and design'd to run the utmost hazard, resolv'd to pass themselves and their Horses by such Boats as they had ready about *Greenwich*, and down the River, over into *Essex*, where they knew they had many Friends, and where *Fairfax* and his Army could not visit them in some days. So they made a shift to transport themselves to the number of near a thousand Men, Horse and Foot; whereof many were Officers and Soldiers who had serv'd the King, and young Gentlemen grown up in Loyal Families, who had been too young to appear before.

The Earl of Norwich, *and some Forces, transport themselves into* Essex; *and fix in* Colchester.

They found many Persons in *Essex* ready to joyn with them, who came sooner together than they intended, upon the Alarm of *Kent*; and who had purposed to have passed over into *Kent* to have joyn'd with, and assisted those who had so frankly appear'd for the King, if they had not been prevented by their unexpected coming to them. There was the brave Lord *Capel*, Sr *William Compton*, Sr *Charles Lucas*, Sr *George Lisle*, all excellent Officers. There was Sr *Bernard Gascoign*, and many other Gentlemen, and Officers of Name, who had drawn together many Soldiers. To these joyn'd Colonel *Farr*; who had serv'd the Parliament, and was a known Creature and Confident of the Earl of *Warwick's*, and had at that time the Command of *Languard Point*, a Fort of importance upon the Sea; so that when they were all come together, with those who came from *Kent*, they made a Body of above three thousand Horse and Foot, with Officers enough to have form'd and commanded a very good Army.

They well knew *Fairfax* would quickly visit them, and therefore they chose to post themselves in *Colchester*, a great and

and populous Town, which though unfortified, they caſt up ſuch works before the Avenues, that they did not much fear to be forced by any Aſſault; and reſolv'd to expect a Conjunction with other of their Friends; and were in great hopes that the *Scotiſh* Army, which they heard was upon its march, would be with them before they could be diſtreſſed.

THEY had ſcarce put themſelves and the Town, which was not glad of their company, into any order, before *Fairfax* came upon them; who made no ſtay in *Kent*, after he heard what was become of the Earl of *Norwich* and his Friends; but left two or three Troops of Horſe to ſettle that County with the aſſiſtance of their Committees, who had been driven from thence, and returning now Victorious, knew well enough how to deal with thoſe who had revolted from them. When he came firſt before *Colcheſter*, and ſaw it without any Fortifications, he thought preſently to have enter'd the Town with his Army; but he found ſo rude reſiſtance, that by the advice of *Ireton*, who was left by *Cromwell* to watch the General as well as the Army, he reſolv'd to encompaſs it with his Troops, and without hazarding the loſs of Men to block them up, till Famine ſhould reduce them; and diſpoſed his Army accordingly; which quickly ſtopped up all Paſſages by which either Men or Proviſions ſhould get into the Town; though by many brave Sallies from within, their Quarters were often beaten up, and many Valiant Men were loſt on both ſides.

Fairfax beſieges them.

THE Fleet, after it had, with all imaginable chearfulneſs, ſubmitted to the Command of the Prince, was not ſo active as it was expected it ſhould be; and was very much the worſe for the Factions, and Diviſions, which were amongſt thoſe who attended upon the Prince; who according to their ſeveral humours, endeavour'd to work upon the Sea-men; a People capable of any impreſſion, but not very retentive of it. Prince *Rupert*, to whom the Prince was very kind, did not, upon many old conteſts in the late War, love the Lord *Colepepper*, who was not of a temper that cared to court him: and there was one, who had the greateſt influence on Prince *Rupert*, *Herbert* the Atturney General, that of all Men living was moſt diſpoſed to make diſcord and diſagreement between Men; all his faculties being reſolv'd into a ſpirit of contradicting, diſputing, and wrangling upon any thing that was propoſed. He having no title or pretence to interpoſe in Councils, and yet there being no ſecret in the Debates there, found it eaſy to infuſe into Prince *Rupert*, who totally reſign'd himſelf to his Advice, ſuch Arguments as might diſturb any Reſolution: and there were ſo many who were angry that they were not admitted into the Council, as the Lords *Piercy*, *Wilmot*,

Factions in the Prince's Fleet.

Wilmot, and *Wentworth*, that it was no hard matter to get any thing disliked that was resolv'd there. They had all that admission and countenance from the Prince, that they had as much confidence to speak to, and before him, as any where else. Prince *Rupert* had a great mind that somewhat should be attempted upon the Coast, which might have caused some Sea Towns, and the parts adjacent, to have declared for the King; which seem'd not a design that would bear a reasonable discourse. But Action was a very grateful word to the Sea-men, and they who opposed any thing that tended toward it, were look'd upon with great jealousy and prejudice. But the Prince was obliged, as hath been said, by his Instructions at *Paris*, not to engage himself in any thing that might divert him from being ready at the minute when the *Scots* should call for his presence; and they expected the first intimation of that from *London*; from whence they had the assurance already, that Duke *Hamilton* was enter'd into the Kingdom with an Army of above thirty thousand Men; which was then generally thought true, though they fell far short of the number.

It enters the River of Thames; *takes several Ships.*

When the Prince came with the Fleet into the Sea from *Helvoet Sluce*, he met a Ship of *London* bound for *Rotterdam*, and laden with Cloth by the Company of Merchant Adventurers, who did not think that the Fleet could have been so soon ready for Sea. This Ship was taken, and the Decks being Seal'd up, was kept under Guard with the Fleet; which, at their Enterance into the River of *Thames*, took many other Ships of great value outward bound, and intercepted all Vessels homeward bound, and amongst those an East India Ship richly laden, and the more welcome because the Ship it self was a very strong Ship, and would make an excellent Man of War, and the Captain thereof was a Sea-man of Courage, and *Experience*, and was very well inclined to serve the King: and, without doubt, if all the Ships which were then taken, had been sent into some secure Ports, the value of the Goods would have mounted to so great a Sum, as might have countervailed a very great Expence at Sea and Land. But as it would have been very difficult to have found such a secure Port, where that Treasure might have been deposited, so it was not suitable to those measures which had been taken, and were still pursued, for his Royal Highness's proceedings. The City of *London* was to be courted by all the Artifices imaginable, and that was so alarm'd by the Fleet's being in the River, and by the Seizure of so many of their Ships, especially the Cloth Ship, that there was a general consternation amongst the People: and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen applied themselves to the Parliament, for leave to send down some Agents to the Fleet

Fleet to procure a releaſe of that Ship; and if that could not be brought to paſs, that they might buy it at as good rate as they could get it. Which was the introducing ſuch a Commerce and Correſpondence between the Fleet and the City, in ſuch a conjuncture of jealouſy, that moſt Men believ'd the Parliament would never have hearken'd to it; and concluded, from their granting it, that there was another ſort of Treaſure incloſed in that Ship, than what belonged to the Merchant Adventurers; and that many of thoſe who granted that indulgence to that City, had more Money on board that Veſſel than the Cloath was worth, though the value thereof amounted to no leſs than forty thouſand pounds.

Commiſſioners ſent to the Prince from the City with a Petition.

UPON this liberty granted by the Parliament, a Committee was ſent from the City with a Petition to the Prince of *Wales*, "That he would reſtore the Ship which belonged to his Fa-"ther's good Subjects. With theſe Men came Letters from ſome of thoſe who were well known to be very ſollicitous at that time for the advancement of the King's Service, and privy to the Treaty with the *Scots*, and whatever was intended by the Earl of *Holland*: The Counteſs of *Carliſle*, who was truſted by all that People, and had gotten again confidence with the Queen, truſted Mr *Lowe*, who was imployed by the City in this Negotiation, to ſay many things to the Prince of the good inclinations of the City, and how neceſſary it was not to irritate it. And he brought other Letters, and Teſtimonies to give him credit, as a Man truſted by all who intended to ſerve the King, who had with wonderful Addreſs got him to be one of thoſe imployed by the City, that he might, under that ſecurity, give ſuch Animadverſions to the Prince, and to his Council, as was neceſſary. He was a Man intelligent enough of the ſpirit and humour of the City, and very converſant with the Nobility and Gentry about the Town; and though he was truſted by the Presbyterian Party, as a Man entirely addicted to Them, he took pains to inſinuate himſelf into many of the King's Party, which did believe him fit to be truſted in any thing that might concern them. But he was a Man of ſo voluble a Tongue, and ſo everlaſting a Talker, and ſo undertaking and vain, that no ſober Man could be impoſed upon by him.

The Prince writes to the City.

UPON the receipt of this Petition, the Prince writ a long Letter to the City, and incloſed in it a Declaration, for the publiſhing of both which in Print care was taken, the ſubſtance of which was, "The great affection he bore to the City, "and the proſperity thereof; the whole being in ſuch a Style as might beſt pleaſe the Presbyterians, with leſs care than ſhould have been uſed to preſerve the Zeal of the King's Party; and deſiring "That they would joyn with him for the delivery

"of

"of the King his Father out of Prison, and to make a good "understanding between his Majesty and the Parliament, "which his Highness desired with all imaginable concern- "ment. The Citizens quickly found, that there was no hope to have their Ship released without a good Sum of Money, which the Prince told them "Was absolutely necessary for the "payment of the Sea-men, and he would receive it as a loan "from them, and repay it when a Peace should be made. So some of them return'd to *London*, and the rest remain'd with the Fleet, coming and going for a Month, and driving many bargains for other Ships. By this means the Prince receiv'd Advertisement of the *Scots* continuing their march, and that those who were inclosed in *Colchester*, were in a very good condition, and willing to expect relief; which they would be sure to receive in due time, the Earl of *Holland* being ready to declare assoon as their pressures should require it. After near a Months negotiation, there was about twelve thousand pounds paid to the Prince, and thereupon that Cloth Ship was deliver'd to the Merchants, with a general opinion, as hath been said, that there was somewhat else besides Cloth in the Body of it; for which there was not any Search suffer'd to be made.

WHILST the Prince lay in the *Downs*, there was an Enterprise necessary to be made on Shore, which did not succeed to wish. Upon the first revolt of the Fleet from the Parliament, and before it set sail for *Holland*, it had taken one or two of those Block-Houses, or Castles, which are neareſt the *Downs*, and had left some Sea-men in them, with sufficient Provisions to defend themselves till the Fleet should return. The Prince found these Block-Houses besieged, and receiv'd Intelligence out of them, that their Provisions were so near spent, that they could not hold out above so many days. The strength that lay before them, consisted more in Horse than Foot; and at high Tyde the Boats might go so near, that there seem'd little difficulty of putting in relief, or to compel the Besiegers to rise: and the Sea-men, having nothing else to do, offer'd to undertake the Service for the redemption of their Fellows; many Land Officers being likewise on board, and some Foot Soldiers, the Prince sent some of those with the Sea-men to undertake the business, but it had no good issue; the Tyde was too far spent before it begun; whereby they had more ground to march between their Landing and the Castle than they imagined, and the Horse charged them with such resolution, that many of the Men were killed, and more taken Prisoners, and the rest forced to their Boats with more disorder than became them. And some other attempts being afterwards made with no better success, the Block-Houses at

last

last came into the hands of the Enemy; which, though of little inconvenience to the Prince, those Forts being of very small importance to do any prejudice, yet there were some disreputation in it; and it discredited the designs, which had not yet appear'd very prosperous in any place; and any access of good Fortune raised the Spirits of the Parliament's Party, who easily were perswaded to think it greater than it was, in a time when they lay under some Mortification.

The Parliament prepares a Fleet against the revolted Fleet, under Command of the Earl of Warwick.

By this time another Fleet was prepared by the Parliament of more and better Ships than had revolted, and the Command thereof given to the Earl of *Warwick*; who very frankly accepted it; and was already on board, and with the Tyde was come within sight of the Prince; and there dropped Anchor. So that both Fleets lay within that distance of each other, that there was now nothing thought of but a Battle; to which there seem'd all alacrity in the Prince's Fleet; and, it may be, the more upon the Intelligence that the other was not well mann'd, and that many were put on board who had more affection for the King; which they would manifest when they came within distance: but whether that fancy was from Imagination or Intelligence, it seem'd to have no foundation in truth.

The Prince writes to the Earl of Warwick. His Answer.

The Earl of *Warwick* and his Fleet appear'd resolute and prepared enough for an Engagement: yet it was well known, that the Earl was privy to the Engagement of his Brother the Earl of *Holland*, and had promised to joyn with him. And therefore it was thought fit, that the Prince should write to the Earl to summon, or invite him to return to his Allegiance. This was sent by *Harry Seymour*, who quickly return'd with an Answer from the Earl, which, in terms of Duty enough, humbly besought his Highness "To put himself into the hands "of the Parliament; and that the Fleet with him might sub- "mit to their Obedience; upon which they should be par- "doned for their Revolt.

Though this might well have satisfied concerning the Earl's inclination, yet the Prince was prevail'd with, that Mr *Crofts* might give the Earl a visit; who, having more acquaintance with him, having Married his Aunt, might be able to get a private Audience of the Earl; which *Seymour* endeavour'd, but could not obtain. But *Crofts* return'd as the other did; and now there wanted only a Wind to bring them together, which coming fair for the Prince, he resolv'd to attack them. All Anchors were weigh'd, and preparations made to advance to the Assault, the whole Fleet being under Sail towards the other; which seem'd equally resolv'd and disposed, though the Wind, which drove the Prince upon them, compell'd them a little to retire, where the River was somewhat narrower.

narrower. In an inſtant the Wind ceaſed, and there was a Calm; ſo that the Prince could not advance; and ſome doubts aroſe, upon the narrowing of the River, as if ſome of his Ships might want Water in the Engagement. In this deliberation the Wind roſe again, but from another Quarter, which was directly in the Prince's face; and would not ſuffer him to move towards the Enemy, but drove him back, and would carry him out of the River. Hereupon were new conſultations; great want of Proviſions was diſcover'd to be in the Fleet, inſomuch as that they ſhould not be able to ſtay at Sea above ten days, and many Ships would want ſooner, and therefore ſince the Earl of *Warwick*, as the Wind ſtood, could not be compell'd to Fight, and they were in danger to be diſtreſſed for Proviſions, it was thought moſt Counſellable to put to Sea; where they could more commodiouſly engage in a Battle, if the Earl of *Warwick* would advance; and if he did not, there was great reaſon to hope, that the Prince might meet with thoſe Ships which were coming from *Portſmouth* to joyn with the Earl, and which might eaſily be ſurpriſed or taken by the Prince's Fleet; which was much ſuperior to them in ſtrength.

The Prince went to Sea towards Holland, *after having attempted to Fight the Earl of* Warwick.

The Earl of Warwick *follows him towards* Holland.

Duke Hamilton *enters* England *about the middle of* July.

The Duke's march.

At this time the Earl of *Lautherdale* arriv'd in a Ship from *Scotland*; and having left Duke *Hamilton* upon his march towards *Berwick*, he was ſent to demand the performance of the Treaty, and that the Prince would immediately repair to that Army. This confirm'd the Prince in the purpoſe of putting out to Sea, ſince it was abſolutely neceſſary to carry the Fleet firſt into *Holland*, before he could tranſport him into the Northern parts. So the whole Fleet went to Sea, and continued their courſe for *Holland*, with hope ſtill to meet with thoſe Ships which were coming from *Portſmouth*. And meet with them they did in the Night; which the Prince knew not till the Morning; when one put the fault upon another; and it was now neceſſary to make all poſſible haſte to *Holland*, ſince by the conjunction with theſe Ships, beſides all other Advantages, the Earl of *Warwick* was now become ſuperior in the number, as well as the ſtrength and goodneſs of his Ships; which appear'd by his coming before *Helvoet Sluce*, within few days after the Prince's arrival there.

It was near the middle of *July*, when Duke *Hamilton* enter'd into *England* with his Army, when he came to *Carliſle*, and immediately took that Government from Sr *Philip Muſgrave*, and drew out all the *Engliſh* Garriſon, and put *Scots* in their place. And after ſome few days ſtay there, the *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh* Forces met at a Rendezvous, in the way to that part of *Cumberland* where *Lambert* then Quarter'd: and if they had continued their March, as they ought to have done,

it

it is very probable they had broken that Body of *Lambert's*. But the Duke would Quarter that Night two Miles ſhort; and *Lambert*, in the ſame Night, marched from thence in great diſorder and confuſion to the edge of *York-ſhire*. The Duke reſted many days, that all his Forces might come up, which came ſlowly out of *Scotland*. Aſſoon as they were come up, he march'd to *Kendal*; where he reſted again ſeveral days; the reaſon whereof no body could imagine. It was ſuſpected it was, that thoſe Forces, which were up in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom for the King, might undergo ſome defeat, that they might not be ſo united, as to controul or obſtruct the Presbyterian deſign. For after that Army was enter'd into *England*, it moved, as hath been ſaid, by ſuch very ſlow Marches, and ſo negligently, and with ſo little apprehenſion of an Enemy, and it was Quarter'd at ſo great a diſtance, that the head Quarter was very often twenty Miles diſtant from ſome part of the Army; the Duke himſelf performing no part of the office of a General, but taking his eaſe, and being wholly govern'd by the Lieutenant General of the Army, and two or three other Officers.

Sr M. Langdale *a day before him.*

SIR *Marmaduke Langdale* marched, with his Body of *Engliſh*, conſiſting of near four thouſand Foot, and ſeven or eight hundred Horſe, always a day before the Army; by which they intended to have timely Advertiſement of the Enemies motion, and likewiſe meant that he ſhould bear the firſt brunt of them, deſiring to weaken him by all the ways they could. They had not marched many days, it being now near the middle of *Auguſt*, when Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* Advertiſed the Duke by an Expreſs, "That he had receiv'd unqueſtionable "Intelligence that *Cromwell* was within two or three days "march, and reſolv'd to engage his Army aſſoon as poſſibly he "could, and that he would not be diverted from it, by the "People's gathering together at any diſtance from him, in "what poſture ſoever; and therefore defir'd his Grace, "That "he would keep his Army cloſe together; for they could not "be far aſunder with any ſecurity; and declared; "That he "himſelf would reſt, and wait the advance of the Enemy, "and then retire back as he ſhould find it neceſſary.

Sr M. Langdale *gives him an Account of the* Engliſh *Army.*

THE Duke, notwithſtanding this Advertiſement, reformed not the Order of his march in any degree, but was perſwaded "That the Enemy could not be ſo near; and that, if "*Cromwell* was advanced to ſuch a diſtance, it was only with "ſuch a Party, as he would not preſume to engage with their "whole Army. In this confidence, he marched as he had done before. Sr *Marmaduke* ſent him every day advice that confirm'd the former, "And that his Horſe had encounter'd "ſome of the Enemy, and that their whole Body was at hand; but

"but that it was not a Body equal in number to "their Army, yet all that *Cromwell* expected was to joyn Bat-"tle with him. All this gain'd not credit, till Sr *Marmaduke* himself, making his retreat with very sharp Skirmishes, in which many Men fell on both sides, was pursued into the head Quarters of the Duke; whither he likewise brought with him some Prisoners, who averr'd, that the whole Body of the Army was within five or six Miles, and marched as fast as they were able.

The Duke was confounded with the Intelligence, and knew not what to do: the Army was not together; and that part that was about him, was without any order, and made no shew of any purpose to Fight. In this Amazement, the Duke stayed himself with some Officers at *Preston*; and caused his Foot to be drawn over a Bridge, that they might march towards *Wiggan*, a Town in *Lancashire*, where he should, as he thought, find some Regiments, and where they might make some stand till the rest should come up. In the mean time Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* return'd to his Troops, the Duke having promised to send him some Troops to assist, and that some Foot should be sent to keep a Lane, that would Flank his Men upon his retreat. Sr *Marmaduke* retired before the Enemy, and drew up his Troops in the Closes near *Preston*. The Enemy followed him close, and pressed him very hard; notwithstanding which he maintain'd the dispute for above six hours with great Courage, and with very great loss to the Enemy in Officers, and Common Soldiers; insomuch as they seem'd to retire, at least to make a stand. And in all this time the *Scots* sent him no Assistance, but concluded that it was not *Cromwell*s whole Army that Assaulted him, but only some Party, which he would himself be well enough able to disengage himself from. And Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* told me often afterwards, "That he verily believ'd, if one thousand Foot "had then been sent to him, he should have gained the day: and *Cromwell* himself acknowledged, that he never saw Foot Fight so desperately as They did.

Sr M. Langdale *Fights, and is beaten; and Duke* Hamilton *routed.*

The *Scots* continued their march over the Bridge, without taking care to secure the Lane, which he had recommended to them; by which *Cromwell*'s Horse came upon his Flank, whilst he was equally pressed in the Van. So that his excellent Body of Foot being broken, Sr *Marmaduke*, and such of his Horse as kept together, were driven into the Town; where the Duke remain'd yet with some Officers; who all retreated over a Ford to the Foot, who were in equal disorder. For assoon as the *English* Forces were broken, the *Scots* were presently beaten from the Bridge, and forced to a very disorderly march. However, the Duke had still a great part of his own Army

Army together; with which he continued to march two or three days to *Wiggan*; thence to *Warrington*; where *Baily* capitulated, and deliver'd up all the Foot; thence to *Nantwich*, and at last to *Uxeter*; and in all that time many of the *Scotish* Noblemen forsook him, and render'd themselves Prisoners to the Gentlemen of the Country; and *Cromwell*'s Troops under *Lambert*, pressed so hard upon the Rear, that they killed, and took as many Prisoners as they pleased, without hazarding their own Men. The Duke was scarce got into *Uxeter*, when his Troops, which made no resistance, were beaten in upon him, and so close pursued by *Cromwell*'s Horse under *Lambert*, that himself and all the principal Officers (some few excepted, who, lying concealed, or by the benefit of the swiftness of their Horses, made their escape) were taken Prisoners: the Duke neither behaving himself like a General, nor with that Courage which he was before never thought to want; but making all submissions, and all excuses to those who took him. *The Duke taken.*

THUS his whole Army was Routed, and Defeated; more killed out of contempt, than that they deserv'd it by any opposition; the rest taken Prisoners, all their Cannon and Baggage taken, and their Colours; only some of their Horse, which had been Quarter'd most backward, made haste to carry news to their Country of the ill success of their Arms. They who did not take the way for *Scotland*, were for the most part taken by the activity of the Country, or the Horse that pursued them; whereof Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, after he had made his way with some of his Officers and Soldiers, who stood with him till they found it safest to disperse themselves, had the ill Fortune to be discover'd; and so was taken Prisoner, and sent to the Castle of *Nottingham*. All this great Victory was got by *Cromwell* with an Army amounting to a third part of the *Scots* in Number, if they had been all together; and it was not diminished half a hundred in obtaining this Victory, after the *English* Forces under *Langdale* had been defeated. *Sr* M. Langdale *taken.*

IT may be proper now to mention, that the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had many misadventures; which detain'd them from attending upon the Prince in the Fleet. Assoon as they heard that his Highness had put himself on board a Ship at *Calais* to find the Fleet in *Holland*, they Embarked at *Diepe*, in a *French* Man of War that was bound for *Dunkirk*; where when they arriv'd, they found a Gentleman, a Servant of the Prince's, who inform'd them, "That the Prince was with the whole Fleet in the *Downs*, "and that he had sent him with a Letter to the Marshal *Ran*-"*zaw*, who was Governour of *Dunkirk*, to borrow a Frigat

"of him; which he had there, and had by ſome civil Meſſage offer'd to lend to his Highneſs; and the Marſhal, who receiv'd them with great civility, aſſured them that the Frigat ſhould be ready the next day, and if they pleaſed to make uſe of it, ſhould carry them to the Prince.

THEY look'd upon it as a good opportunity, which would deliver them much ſooner at the Fleet, than they had before expected to be; and ſo without weighing the Dangers which might accompany it, and might very naturally have been foreſeen, they embraced the occaſion; there being no hazard which they apprehended at Sea, but that they might be taken by the Parliament Ships; which, by the Prince's being with his Fleet in the *Downs*, and ſo being Maſter at Sea, was hardly poſſible. So they unwarily put themſelves into that Frigat, and ſet Sail in the Evening from *Dunkirk*; preſuming that they ſhould, the next Morning, find themſelves in the *Downs* with the Prince. But there was ſo dead a calm that Night, that they made very little way; and, the next Morning, they found that they were chaſed by ſix or ſeven Frigats of *Oſtend*. In ſhort, they were taken Priſoners, and plunder'd of all they had (which amounted to good value in Jewels and Money) and were carried into *Oſtend*, where, though they were preſently at liberty, they were compell'd to ſtay many days, not without ſome hope, raiſed by the civility of the *Spaniſh* Governour, and the Lords of the Admiralty there, who very liberally promiſed an entire reſtitution of all that they had loſt. But that being without any effect, that brutiſh People, the Free-booters, being ſubject to no Government, they found means to give notice to the Prince of all that happen'd, and that they would attend his Command at *Fluſhing*; whither they eaſily went. Within few days after, the Prince, out of the *Downs*, ſent a Frigat for them to *Fluſhing*; where they embark'd ſeveral times, and were at Sea the whole Night, and in the Morning driven back by high Winds, ſometimes into *Fluſhing*, ſometimes to *Ramikins*; and ſo were compelled to go to *Middleborough*, and after a Months ſtay in thoſe places, and many attempts to get to Sea, they receiv'd Order from the Prince to attend him in *Holland*, whither he had reſolv'd to go, aſſoon as the Earl of *Lautherdale* arriv'd from *Scotland* in the Fleet, and had deliver'd his imperious invitation for the Prince's immediate repair to the *Scotiſh* Army; which was then enter'd into *England*. By this means they came not to the Prince, till the next day after he came to the *Hague*, having left the Fleet before *Goree* and near *Helvoet Sluce*.

The Prince comes to the Hague.

THE Prince was receiv'd by the States with all outward reſpect, and treated by them for four or five days at their charge;

charge; his Royal Highneſs every Night lodging in the Palace, which belonged to the States too, where the Prince of *Orange* and the Princeſs lay, and where both his Royal Highneſs and the Duke of *York* had very good apartments; the Prince and Duke, after two or three days, always eating with the Princeſs Royal, the Prince of *Orange* himſelf keeping his own Table open, according to cuſtom for the reſort of ſuch of the States, or Officers of the Army, or other Noble Perſons, who frequently repaired thither.

Diviſions among the Prince of Wales's Court.

THE Prince of *Wales*'s Court was full of Faction, and Animoſity againſt each other, ſo that the new comers were not only very well receiv'd by the Prince, but very welcome to every Body, who being angry with the other Councellors there, believ'd that matters would be better carried now they were come. They had not been an hour in the *Hague*, when *Herbert* the Atturney General came to them, and congratulated their Arrival, and told them "How much they had been "wanted, and how much Prince *Rupert* longed for their Com-"pany. And within a very ſhort time after, Prince *Rupert* himſelf came to bid them welcome, with all poſſible grace, and profeſſion of great kindneſs and eſteem for them. They both inveighed bitterly againſt the whole adminiſtration of the Fleet, in which moſt part of the Court, which had been preſent, and who agreed in nothing elſe, concurr'd with them.

THE whole clamour was againſt the Lord *Colepepper*, and Sr *Robert Long* the Prince's Secretary, who, by the Queen's injunction, was wholely ſubſervient to the Lord *Colepepper*. They accuſed them of corruption, not only with reference to the Cloth Ship, but to the releaſe of very many other Ships, which they had diſcharged upon no other reaſon, but as it would be a very Popular thing, and make the Prince grateful to the City of *London*. Though there was much diſcourſe of Money brought to both their Cabins by Mr *Lowe* yet there was never any proof made of any corruption in the Lord *Colepepper*, who was not indeed to be wrought upon that way; but, having ſome infirmities, and a multitude of Enemies, he was never abſolv'd from any thing of which any Man accuſed him; and the other was ſo notoriouſly inclined to that way of Husbandry, that he was always thought guilty of more than he was charged with. It was true enough that great Riches were parted with, and had been releaſed for little or no Money; which being now exceedingly wanted, made it eaſily believ'd that ſuch unthrifty Counſel could not have been given, except by thoſe who were well rewarded for it; which ſtill fell upon thoſe two.

THERE was a general murmur that the Fleet had lain ſo

long idle at the mouth of the River, when it had been propoſed that it might go to the Iſle of *Wight*, where they might, in the conſternation the whole Kingdom was then in, probably have been able to have releaſed the King; *Carisbrooke* being near the Sea, a Caſtle not ſtrong in it ſelf, the Iſland well affected, and at that time under no ſuch power as could ſubdue them. And why ſuch an attempt, which, if unſucceſsful, could have been attended with no damage conſiderable, was not made, was never fully anſwer'd.

THEY were very angry with *Batten*, and would have it Treachery in him, that the two Fleets did not Fight with each other, when they were ſo near engaging in the River; which, they ſaid, they might well have done before the Wind changed, if he had not diſſwaded the Prince; and in this the clamour of the Sea-men joyn'd with them. But it was but clamour, for moſt diſpaſſionate Men gave him a good Teſtimony in that affair, and that he behaved himſelf like a skilful Officer, and was very forward to Fight whilſt there was reaſon to effect it. The other reproach upon him of paſſing by the Ships which came from *Portſmouth*, in the Night, was not ſo well anſwer'd: for it was known, though he ſaid that they were paſſed by, and out of reach before he was inform'd of them, that he had notice time enough to have engaged them, and did decline it; which might reaſonably enough have been done, out of apprehenſion, beſides the inconvenience of a Night Engagement, that the noiſe of the conflict might have called the Earl of *Warwick* out of the River to their Aſſiſtance, before they could have maſter'd them; there being two or three of the beſt Ships of the Royal Navy, which would have made a very notable reſiſtance. But this being never urged by himſelf, and what would have been too much for him to have taken upon himſelf, it was imputed to his cowardize, of which the Sea-men, as well as the Courtiers, accuſed him; though, as was generally thought, without reaſon, and only with prejudice to the Man for what he had done before, and becauſe he was a Man of a regular and orderly courſe of Life, and Command, and of very few words, and leſs paſſion than at that time raiſed Men to reputation in that Province. There was only one Man in the Council of whom no body ſpoke ill, nor laid any thing to his Charge; and that was the Lord *Hopton*. But there was then ſuch a combination, by the countenance of Prince *Rupert*, with all the other Lords of the Court, and the Atturney General, upon former grudges, to undervalue him, that they had drawn the Prince himſelf to have a leſs eſteem of him than his ſingular Virtue, and Fidelity, and his unqueſtionable Courage, and Induſtry (all which his Enemies could not deny that he excelled in) did deſerve.

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THIS State the Court was in, when the two lately mention'd Counſellors came; who quickly diſcern'd, by the unſteady humours, and ſtrong paſſions all Men were poſſeſſed with, that they ſhould not preſerve the Reputation they ſeem'd to have with every Body for the preſent, any long time, and foreſaw that neceſſity would preſently break in upon them like an Arm'd Man, that would diſturb and diſtract all their Counſels. And there was, even at the inſtant in which they arriv'd at the *Hague*, the fatal Advertiſement of that Defeat of the *Scotiſh* Army, which muſt break all their meaſures, and render the condition of the Prince, and of the whole Kingdom, very deplorable, and leave that of the King his Father in the utmoſt deſpair.

THE Rumour of this Defeat came to the *Hague* the next day after the Prince came thither, but not ſo particularly that the extent of it was known, or the Tragical effects yet throughly underſtood. And his Highneſs appointing his Council to meet together the next Morning after the Lord *Cottington* and the Chancellor of the Exchequer came thither, he inform'd them of the Lord *Lautherdale*'s Meſſage to him from the Parliament of *Scotland*, and that he very earneſtly preſſed him, even ſince the News of the Defeat, that he would forthwith repair to their Army; and his Highneſs thought fit, that the Earl ſhould give an Account of his Commiſſion at the Board; whereupon he was ſent for in; and, that all reſpect might be ſhew'd to the Parliament of *Scotland*, he had a Chair allow'd him to ſit upon.

The Letter of the Parliament of Scotland to the Prince.

HE firſt read his Commiſſion from the Parliament, and then the Letter which the Parliament, had writ to the Prince; in which, having at large magnified the great Affection of the Parliament, "That out of their native, and conſtant Af-"fection and Duty to their King, and finding that, contrary "to the Duty of Subjects, his Majeſty was impriſon'd by the "Traiterous and Rebellious Army in *England*, they had "raiſed an Army in that Kingdom, that, ſince their Advice, "Counſel, and Entreaty in an amicable way, could not pre-"vail, might by force redeem his Majeſty's Perſon from that "captivity; which they held themſelves obliged by their ſo-"lemn League and Covenant to endeavour to do, with the "hazard of their Lives and Fortunes: That this Army was "already enter'd into *England*, under the Command of *James* "Duke *Hamilton*, whom, in reſpect of his known and emi-"nent fidelity to his Majeſty, they had made General thereof; "and having now done all that was in their power to do for "the preſent, and having taken due care for the ſeaſonable "ſupply and recruit of that Army, they now ſent to his High-"neſs, that he would with all poſſible ſpeed, according to

"the promiſe which the King his Father had made, tranſport "his Royal Perſon, that he might himſelf be in the head of "that Army to obtain the Liberty of his Father; and they deſir'd him, "That for the circumſtances of his Journey he "would be adviſed by the Earl of *Lautherdale*, to whom they "had given full Inſtructions; and they beſought his Highneſs "to give credit to him in all things.

THE Earl likewiſe ſhew'd his Inſtructions, by which none of the Prince's Chaplains were to be admitted to attend him, and great care to be taken, that none but *Godly* Men ſhould be ſuffer'd to be about the Perſon of his Highneſs; and particularly that neither Prince *Rupert*, nor the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor ſome other Perſons ſhould be admitted to go with the Prince. And after all theſe things were read and enlarged upon, he preſſed the Prince, with all imaginable inſtance, and without taking notice of any thing that was befallen their Army in *England*, of which he could not but have had particular relation, that he would loſe no time from entring upon his Journey; and all this with as inſolent, and ſupercilious behaviour, as if their Army had been triumphant.

Deliberation in the Prince's Council about it.

WHEN he had ſaid all he meant to ſay, he ſate ſtill, as if he expected to hear what the Prince or any Body elſe would ſay to what he propoſed. It was then moved, "That, if he "had no more to ſay, he would withdraw, to the end that "the Council might Debate the matter, before they gave "their Advice to the Prince. He took this motion very ill, and ſaid "He was a Privy Counceller to the King in *Scotland*, "and being likewiſe a Commiſſioner from the Parliament, "he ought not to be excluded from any Debate that con-"cern'd the Affair upon which he was imployed. This he urged in ſo imperious, and offenſive a manner, that drew on much ſharpneſs; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who knew him very well ſince the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, where they had often differ'd in matters of the higheſt importance, treated him with the ſame liberty they had then been accuſtom'd to. He told him, "He meant not to ſay any thing "in that Debate, when he ſhould be withdrawn, that he deſir'd ſhould be conceal'd from him, or unheard by him; "and that he was ready to ſay, that in his judgment, all "he had propoſed was very unreaſonable; but he would not "that the Dignity of the Board ſhould be proſtituted to his "Demand, nor that he ſhould be preſent there at any Debate. The Earl replied, "That he was ſent by the Parliament, and "Kingdom of *Scotland*, to the Prince of *Wales*, and that he "did proteſt againſt having any thing he propoſed to be "treated, and debated by, or before the *Engliſh* Board; nor "did he conſider what was, or ſhould be ſaid, by any Man

"but

"but the Prince himself. The Prince told him, "It was ne-
"ceſſary that he himſelf ſhould hear, and know what the
"opinion of the Council ſhould be; and that it was as un-
"reaſonable that He ſhould be preſent; and thereupon com-
manded him to withdraw; which he preſently ſubmitted to
with indecency enough. The Prince then told them, "That
"there were ſome Perſons come to the Town, the laſt night,
"who came out of *England* after the News of the Victory
"over the *Scots* came to *London*, with all the circumſtances
"thereof; and of the Duke's being taken Priſoner; and that
the Prince of *Orange* had told him, "That the States had re-
"ceiv'd Intelligence of it from their Embaſſadour *Newport*,
"who reſided in *London*. Upon the whole matter, the Prince
reſolv'd "To meet again the next Morning to conſult farther
"what he was to do, and that probably, in the mean time,
"the Intelligence would be more perfect, and unqueſtionable,
"and they ſhould ſee whether *Lautherdale* would take any
"notice of it.

But the Night made no alteration in him; he appear'd the next morning with the ſame confidence, and the ſame importunity for the Prince to remove, and begin his Journey. He was ask'd, "Whether he had receiv'd no Information of
"ſome ill Fortune, that had befallen that Army, which might
"ſo change the caſe ſince he left *Scotland*, that what might
"Then have been fit, would be Now unfit and uncounſel-
"able? The Earl ſaid, "He knew well what the News was
"from *England*; and whatever he hoped, that he was not con-
"fident it was not true; however he hoped, that would not
"change the Prince's purpoſe, but that it would more con-
"cern him to purſue the reſolution he was formerly obliged
"to; that if any misfortune had befallen that Army, the Prince
"had the more reaſon to endeavour to repair it; which could
"be done no other way, than by his making all poſſible haſte
"into *Scotland*; which remain'd ſtill a Kingdom entire, whole-
"ly devoted to his Service; and that, by the benefit of his
"preſence, might quickly draw together another Army, to-
"wards which there was a good beginning already by the pre-
"ſervation of that Body under *Monroe*: That if his Highneſs
"ſhould decline this only probable way to preſerve Himſelf,
"and to recover his other two Kingdoms, it would be thought
"he had little zeal for the Liberty of his Father, and as little
"for his own Intereſt, and for the preſervation of the Crown;
"he therefore beſought his Highneſs, that he would cauſe
"ſome of his Ships to be forthwith made ready, and would
"therein immediately Tranſport himſelf into *Scotland*; where-
"by the late wound would, in a ſhort time, be healed; which
"would otherwiſe prove incurable.

But

BUT *Scotland* was so well known, and the power of *Argyle* (which must be now greater than ever by the total defeat of the contrary Party) that his proposition was by all dispassionate Men thought to be very extravagant, and not to be hearken'd to: and the News from *London*, that *Cromwell* was march'd into *Scotland* with his whole Army, confirm'd every honest Man in that opinion. And within few days the Earl of *Lautherdale* seem'd rather to think of going thither himself, where his own Concernments were in great danger, than of pressing the Prince to so hazardous a Voyage; and after a few Weeks more stay at the *Hague*, upon the Intelligence from his Friends in *Scotland*, how Affairs went there, he return'd thither in the same Ship that Transported him from thence, with as much Rage and Malice against the Council about the Prince, as against *Cromwell* himself.

The Earl of Lauther-dale *returns into* Scotland.

THE Defeat of the *Scotish* Army at *Preston*, though it was not at first believ'd to be an entire Victory over their whole Body, there being double that number that was not there or that march'd from thence, broke or disappointed most of the designs which were on foot for raising Men, in those Northern Counties, for the King's Service, to have joyn'd and united under Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*. Sr *Thomas Tildesley*, a Gentleman of a fair Estate, who had serv'd the King from the beginning of the War with good Courage, was then with a Body of *English*, with which he had Besieged the Castle of *Lancaster*, and was upon the point of Reducing it, when the News of *Preston* arriv'd. It was then necessary to quit that design; and hearing that Major General *Monroe*, who, shortly after the Duke march'd out of *Scotland*, follow'd him with a Recruit of above six thousand Horse and Foot, was come to the skirts of *Lancashire*, he retired thither to him, having gather'd up many of Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*'s Men, who had been broken at *Preston*, and some others who had been newly Levied. Sr *Thomas Tildesley* moved *Monroe*, "That his Forces, "and some Regiments of *Scots*, who yet remain'd about *Ken*- "*dal*, might joyn with the *English* under his Command, and " march together towards *Preston*, and follow *Cromwell* in the "Rear, as He pursued the *Scots*: which they might very well have done, being a Body, when in conjunction, of above eight thousand Men; which was equal in number to the Army under *Cromwell*. But the Major General would not consent to the Motion, but retired to the farther part of *Westmoreland*; and the *English* follow'd them in the Rear: presuming, that though they would not be perswaded to advance after *Cromwell*, yet that they would choose some other more convenient Post to make a stand in, if the Enemy follow'd them; and then that they would be glad to joyn with them:

Sir Tho. Tildesley *retires to* Monroe.

to

to which he was preſſed again the next day, but continued ſtill faſt in his Sullen Reſolution, without declaring what he meant to do; and retired through *Cumberland*, where he had left a ſad remembrance of his having paſſed that way a few days before, having then raiſed vaſt ſums of Money upon the poor People, and now in his retreat plunder'd almoſt all they had left.

THE *Engliſh* march'd into the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, to joyn with ſuch new Levies as were then raiſing there; and their number being encreaſed by the addition of thoſe Troops which were under the Command of Sr *Henry Bellingham*, they met again Major General *Monroe* in *Northumberland*, and deſir'd him "That they might unite together againſt the "Common Enemy, who equally deſir'd the deſtruction of "them both. But he reſolutely refuſed, and told them plainly, "that he would march directly into *Scotland* and expect Or- "ders there; which he did, with all poſſible Expedition.

Monroe having enter'd England *upon* Hamilton's *Defeat retreats towards* Scotland.

SIR *Philip Muſgrave* believ'd that he and his Foot might be welcome to *Carliſle*; and went thither; and ſent Sr *Henry Bellingham*, Sr *Robert Strickland*, and Colonel *Chater*, to the Earl of *Lanrick*, and offer'd that they ſhould carry their Troops into *Scotland* to joyn with him; who he knew well would ſtand in need of help. But he durſt not accept their Motion, ſaying, "If he ſhould, *Argyle* would from thence take an ex- "cuſe to invite *Cromwell*; who they heard was then upon his march towards *Berwick*, to bring his Army into *Scotland*: upon which Sr *Henry Bellingham* return'd with the Party he Commanded into *Cumberland*, paying for all they had through that part of *Scotland* it was neceſſary for them to paſs through.

Sr Philip Muſgrave *to* Carliſle.

SIR *Philip Muſgrave* had no better ſucceſs with Sr *William Levingſton*, the Governour of *Carliſle*; for though he receiv'd him very civilly, and enter'd into a Treaty with him (for he knew well enough that he was not able to Victual, or Defend the place without the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, and therefore deſir'd the aſſiſtance of Sr *Philip* in both) yet when Articles were agreed upon, and ſign'd by Sr *Philip Muſgrave*, the Governour fell back, and refuſed to engage himſelf "Not to "deliver up the Garriſon without the conſent of Sr *Philip* "*Muſgrave*; who was contented that none of his Men ſhould come within the Walls, until it ſhould be moſt apparent, that they could no longer keep the Field.

WITHIN a ſhort time after, Orders was ſent out of *Scotland* for the delivery of *Berwick* and *Carliſle* to the Parliament; in which Orders there was not the leaſt mention of making Conditions for the *Engliſh*. Sr *Philip Muſgrave* had yet *Apleby* Caſtle in his own poſſeſſion, having taken it after he had deliver'd *Carliſle* to Duke *Hamilton*, and after he was march'd from

Berwick *and* Carliſle *deliver'd to the Parliament.*

from thence. By this good accident, upon the delivery of it up, which could not long have made any defence, he made Conditions for himself, and one hundred and fifty Officers, many of them Gentlemen of Quality who liv'd again to venture, and some, to loose their Lives for the King: after which, he soon Transported himself into *Holland*.

Cromwell resolv'd to lose no advantage he had got, but assoon as he had perfected his Defeat of Duke *Hamilton*, by gathering up as many Prisoners, as he could, of the dispersed Troops, he march'd directly towards *Scotland*, to pull up the Roots there, from which any farther trouble might spring hereafter; though he was very earnestly called upon from *York-shire* to reduce those at *Pontfret* Castle; which grew very troublesome to all their Neighbours; and not satisfied with drawing Contributions from all the parts adjacent, they made Excursions into places at a great distance, and took divers substantial Men Prisoners, and carried them to the Castle; where they remain'd till they redeem'd themselves by great Ransoms. However, he would not defer his Northern march; but believing, that he should be in a short time capable to take Vengeance upon those Affronts, he satisfied himself in sending Colonel *Rainsborough*, with some Troops of Horse and Foot, to restrain their adventures, and to keep them block'd up; and himself, with the rest of his Army, continued their march for *Scotland*, it being about the end of *August*, or beginning of *September*, before the Harvest of that Country was yet ripe; and so capable of being destroy'd.

Cromwell *marches into* Scotland.

It was generally believ'd, that the Marquis of *Argyle* earnestly invited him to this Progress; for the Defeat of the *Scotish* Army in *England* had not yet enough made him Master of *Scotland*. There was still a Committee of Parliament sitting at *Edenborough*, in which, and in the Council, the Earl of *Lanrick* sway'd without a Rival; and the Troops which had been raised under *Monroe* for the Recruit of the Duke's Army, were still together, and at the Earl's devotion; so that the Marquis was still upon his good behaviour. If he did not invite *Cromwell*, he was very glad of his coming; and made all possible haste to bid him welcome upon his entring into the Kingdom. They made great shews of being mutually glad to see each other, being linked together by many promises, and professions, and by an entire conjunction in guilt.

There was no Act of Hostility committed; *Cromwell* declaring, "That he came with his Army to preserve the Godly "Party, and to free the Kingdom from a force, which it was "under, of Malignant Men, who had forced the Nation to "break the Friendship with their Brethren of *England*, who "had been so faithful to them: That it having pleased God "to

« to Defeat that Army under Duke *Hamilton*, who endeavour'd « to engage the two Nations in each others Blood, he was « come thither to prevent any farther miſchief, and to remove « thoſe from Authority who had uſed their Power ſo ill; « and that he hoped he ſhould, in very few days, return with « an aſſurance of the Brotherly Affection of that Kingdom to « the Parliament of *England*; which did not deſire in any de- « gree to invade their Liberties, or infringe their Privileges. He was conducted to *Edenborough* by the Marquis of *Argyle*, where he was receiv'd with all ſolemnity, and the reſpect due to the Deliverer of their Country, and his Army Quarter'd about, and ſupplied with all Proviſions the Country could yield.

Is receiv'd at Edenborough.

THE Earl of *Lanrick*, and all the *Hamiltonian* Faction (that is all who had a mind to continue of it) were withdrawn, and out of reach; and they who remain'd at *Edenborough* were reſolv'd to obey *Argyle*; who they ſaw could protect them. There were then enough left of the Committee of Parliament to take care of the Safety and Good of the Kingdom, without putting *Cromwell* to help them by the Power of the *Engliſh*; which would have been a great diſcredit to their Government. Whilſt he remain'd their Gueſt (whom they entertain'd magnificently) *Argyle* thought himſelf able by the Laws of *Scotland*, to reform all that was amiſs, and preſerve the Government upon the true foundation. So the Committee of Parliament ſent to *Monroe* an Order and Command to Disband his Troops; which when he ſeem'd reſolv'd not to do, he quickly diſcern'd that *Cromwell* muſt be Arbitrator; and thereupon he obſerv'd the Orders of the Committee very punctually: ſo that there was no Power in *Scotland* that could oppoſe the Command of *Argyle*; the Committee of Parliament, the Council, all the Magiſtrates of *Edenborough*, were at his devotion; and whoever were not ſo, were either in Priſon, or fled. The Pulpits were full of Invectives againſt the Sinfulneſs of the late Engagement, and ſolemn Faſts enjoyn'd by the Aſſembly to implore God's pardon and forgiveneſs for that heinous Tranſgreſſion; the Chancellor *Lowden* giving the good example, by making his Recantation and humble Submiſſion with many Tears. *Cromwell* had reaſon to believe that it would henceforward prove as peaceable a Kingdom as he could wiſh; and having thus concerted all things with his boſome Friend *Argyle* (who reſolv'd aſſoon, as he was withdrawn a diſtance from *Edenborough*, that he and his Army might not be thought to have an influence upon the Councils, to call the Parliament to confirm all he ſhould think fit to do) he return'd for *England*; where he thought his Preſence was like to be wanted.

The Committee of the Scotiſh *Parliament order* Monroe *to Diſband.*

Cromwell *returns for* England.

THE

THE Committee of Parliament at *Edenborough* (who had Authority to Convene the Parliament when the Major part of them ſhould pleaſe; care being taken in the nomination of them, that they were ſuch as were thought moſt like to purſue the way they were enter'd into) ſent out their Summons to call the Parliament. They who appear'd, were of another mind from what they had been formerly, and with the ſame Paſſion and Zeal with which they had enter'd into the Engagement, they now declared it unlawful, and ungodly; and the Aſſembly joyning with them, they Excommunicated all who had the moſt eminent Parts in the promoting it; and made them incapable of bearing any Office in the State, or of ſitting in Council, or in Parliament; ſubjecting thoſe who had ſinned in a leſs degree, to ſuch penalties as would for ever make them ſubject to their Government. By theſe judgments, amongſt others, the Earl of *Lanrick* was depriv'd of being Secretary of State, and that Office was conferr'd upon the Earl of *Lothian*; who, in the beginning of the Rebellion, had been employ'd by the Conſpirators into *France*, and coming afterwards into *England* was Impriſon'd thereupon, and being after ſet at liberty, continued amongſt thoſe who, upon all occaſions, carried the Rebellion higheſt, and ſhewed the moſt implacable malice to the Perſon of the King. And by this time *Argyle* was become ſo much more Maſter of *Scotland* than *Cromwell* was of *England*, that he had not ſo much as the ſhadow of a Parliament to contend, or to comply with, or a neceſſity to exerciſe his known great Talent of diſſimulation, all Men doing as he enjoyn'd them, without asking the reaſon of his direction.

The Scotiſh Parliament, being called, condemn Duke Hamilton's Engagement.

TO return to the State of the King's Affairs in *England*: when the Earl of *Norwich* and the Lord *Capel* with the *Kentiſh* and *Eſſex* Troops were incloſed in *Colcheſter*, their Friends could not reaſonably hope that the *Scotiſh* Army, which had ſo long deferr'd their March into *England*, contrary to their promiſe, would, though they were now come in, march faſt enough to relieve *Colcheſter* before they ſhould be reduced by Famine. The Earl of *Holland* thought it neceſſary, ſince many who were in *Colcheſter*, had engaged themſelves upon His promiſes and Authority, now to begin his Enterpriſe; to which the youth and warmth of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was General of the Horſe, the Lord *Francis Villiers* his Brother, and divers other young Noblemen, ſpurr'd him on. And he might have the better opinion of his Intereſt and Party, in that his purpoſe of riſing, and putting himſelf into Arms for the relief of *Colcheſter*, was ſo far from being a ſecret, that it was the common diſcourſe of the Town. There was a great appearance every Morning, at his Lodging, of thoſe

The Earl of Holland riſes; goes to Kingſton.

thoſe Officers who were known to have ſerv'd the King; his Commiſſions ſhew'd in many hands; no queſtion being more commonly asked, than "When doth my Lord *Holland* go out? and the Anſwer was, "Such and ſuch a day; and the hour he did take Horſe, when he was accompanied by an hundred Horſe from his Houſe, was publickly talked of two or three days before.

His firſt Rendezvous was at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*; where he ſtayed two Nights, and one whole Day, expecting a great reſort to him, not only of Officers, but of Common Men, who had promiſed, and liſted themſelves under ſeveral Officers; and he imputed the ſecurity he had enjoyed ſo long, notwithſtanding his purpoſe was ſo generally known, to the Apprehenſion both the Parliament and the Army had of the Affections of the City to joyn with him; and he believ'd, that he ſhould not only remain ſecure at *Kingſton*, as long as he ſhould think fit to ſtay there, but that ſome entire Regiments of the City would march out with him for the Relief of *Colcheſter*.

During the ſhort ſtay he made at *Kingſton*, ſome Officers and Soldiers, both of Horſe and Foot, came thither, and many Perſons of Honour and Quality, in their Coaches, came to viſit him and his Company from *London*; and return'd thither again to provide what was ſtill wanting, and reſolv'd to be with him ſoon enough. The principal Officer the Earl relied upon (though he had better) was *Dalbeer* a *Dutch*-man of Name and reputation, and good experience in War; who had ſerv'd the Parliament as Commiſſary General of the Horſe under the Earl of *Eſſex*, and having been left out in the new model, was amongſt thoſe diſcontented Officers who looked for an opportunity to be revenged of the Army; which they deſpiſed for their ill breeding, and much preaching. Thus *Dalbeer* was glad to depend upon the Earl of *Holland*, who thought himſelf likewiſe happy in ſuch an Officer. The keeping good Guards, and ſending out Parties towards the *Kentiſh* parts, where it was known ſome Troops remain'd ſince the laſt Commotion there, was committed to His care. But he diſcharged it ſo ill, or his orders were ſo ill obſerv'd, that the ſecond or third Morning after their coming to *Kingſton*, ſome of the Parliament's Foot, with two or three Troops of Colonel *Rich*'s Horſe, fell upon a Party of the Earl's about *Nonſuch*; and beat, and purſued them into *Kingſton*, before thoſe within had notice to be ready to receive them; the Earl and moſt of the reſt making too much haſte out of Town, and never offering to Charge thoſe Troops. In this confuſion the Lord *Francis Villiers*, a youth of rare Beauty and comelineſs of Perſon, endeavouring to make reſiſtance, was unfortunately killed,

Is routed there:

kill'd, with one or two more but of little note. Moſt of the Foot made a ſhift to conceal themſelves, and ſome Officers, until they found means to retire to their cloſe Manſions in *London*. The Earl with near an hundred Horſe (the reſt wiſely taking the way to *London*, where they were never inquired after) wander'd without purpoſe, or deſign, and was, two or three days after, beſet in an Inn at St *Neots* in *Huntington-ſhire*, by thoſe few Horſe who purſued him, being joyn'd with ſome Troops of Colonel *Scroop's*; where the Earl deliver'd himſelf Priſoner to the Officer without reſiſtance; yet at the ſame time *Dalbeer* and *Kenelm Digby*, the eldeſt Son of Sr *Kenelm* were killed upon the place; whether out of former grudges, or that they offer'd to defend themſelves, was not known; and the Duke of *Buckingham* eſcaped, and happily found a way into *London*; where he lay conceal'd, till he had an opportunity to ſecure himſelf by being Tranſported into *Holland*; where the Prince was; who receiv'd him with great grace and kindneſs. The Earl of *Holland* remain'd Priſoner in the place where he was taken, till by Order from the Parliament he was ſent to *Warwick* Caſtle, where he was kept Priſoner with great ſtrictneſs.

Eſcapes to St Neots, where he is taken.

THE totall defeat of the *Scotiſh* Army lately mention'd ſucceeded this, and when thoſe Noble Perſons within *Colcheſter* were advertiſed of both, they knew well that there was no poſſibility of relief, nor could they ſubſiſt longer to expect it, being preſſed with want of all kind of Victual, and having eaten near all their Horſes. They ſent therefore to *Fairfax*, to treat about the delivery of the Town upon reaſonable conditions, but he refuſed to treat, or give any conditions, if they would not render to mercy all the Officers, and Gentlemen; the Common Soldiers he was contented to diſmiſs. A day or two was ſpent in deliberation. They within, propoſed "To make a briſk Sally; and thereby to ſhift for themſelves, "as many as could. But they had too few Horſe, and the few that were left uneaten were too weak for that Enterpriſe. Then, "That they ſhould open a Port, and every Man die "with their Arms in their hands; but that way they could only be ſure of being killed, without much hurting their Adverſaries, who had ways enough ſecurely to aſſault them. Hereupon, they were in the end obliged to deliver themſelves up Priſoners at mercy; and were, all the Officers and Gentlemen, led into the publick Hall of the Town; where they were locked up, and a ſtrong Guard ſet upon them. They were requir'd preſently to ſend a liſt of all their Names to the General; which they did; and, within a ſhort time after, a Guard was ſent to bring Sr *Charles Lucas*, and Sr *George Liſle*, and Sr *Bernard Gaſcoigne* to the General, being ſate with his Council

Colcheſter deliver'd.

Council of War. They were carried in, and in a very ſhort diſcourſe told, "That after ſo long and ſo obſtinate a defence "untill they found it neceſſary to deliver themſelves up to "mercy, it was neceſſary, for the example of others, and that "the Peace of the Kingdom might be no more diſturbed in "that manner, that ſome Military juſtice ſhould be executed; "and therefore, that Council had determin'd they three ſhould "be preſently ſhot to death; for which they were adviſed to prepare themſelves; and without conſidering, or hearing what they had a mind to ſay for themſelves, they were led into a Yard there by; where they found three Files of Muſqueteers ready for their diſpatch.

Sir *Bernard Gaſcoigne* was a Gentleman of *Florence*; and had ſerv'd the King in the War, and afterwards remain'd in *London* till the unhappy adventure of *Colcheſter*, and then accompanied his Friends thither; and had only *Engliſh* enough to make himſelf underſtood, that he deſired a Pen and Ink and Paper, that he might write a Letter to his Prince the Great Duke, that his Highneſs might know in what manner he loſt his Life, to the end his Heirs might poſſeſs his Eſtate. The Officer that attended the execution thought fit to acquaint the General and Council, without which he durſt not allow him Pen and Ink, which he thought he might reaſonably demand: When they were inform'd of it, they thought it a matter worthy ſome conſideration; they had choſen him out of the Liſt for his Quality, conceiving him to be an *Engliſh* Gentleman; and preferr'd him for being a Knight, that they might ſacrifice three of that Rank.

This delay brought the News of this bloody reſolution to the Priſoners in the Town; who were infinitely afflicted with it; and the Lord *Capel* prevailed with an Officer, or Soldier, of their Guard, to carry a Letter, ſign'd by the chief Perſons and Officers, and in the name of the reſt, to the General; in which they took notice of that Judgment, and deſir'd him "Either to forbear the execution of it, or that they might all, "who were equally guilty with thoſe three, undergo the ſame "Sentence with Them. The Letter was deliver'd, but had no other effect than the ſending to the Officer to diſpatch his Order, reſerving the *Italian* to the laſt. Sr *Charles Lucas* was their firſt work; who fell dead; upon which Sr *George Liſle* ran to him, embraced, and kiſſed him; and then ſtood up, and looked thoſe who were to execute him in the face; and thinking they ſtood at too great a diſtance, ſpake to them to come nearer; to which one of them ſaid, "I'le warrant you, "Sir, Wee'l hit you: he Anſwer'd ſmiling, "Friends, I have "been nearer you, when you have miſs'd me. Thereupon, they all fired upon him, and did their work home, ſo that he

Sr Ch. Lucas and Sr George Liſle ſhot to death.

fell down dead of many wounds without ſpeaking a word. Sr *Bernard Gaſcoign* had his doublet off, and expected the next turn; but the Officer told him "He had order to carry him "back to his Friends; which at that time was very indifferent to him. The Council of War had conſider'd, that if they ſhould in this manner have taken the Life of a Forreigner, who ſeem'd to be a Perſon of Quality, their Friends or Children who ſhould viſit *Italy*, might pay dear for many Generations; and therefore they commanded the Officer, "When the other "two ſhould be dead, to carry him back again to the other "Priſoners.

Their Character.

THE Two who were thus murder'd, were Men of great name and eſteem in the War; the one being held as good a Commander of Horſe, and the other of Foot, as the Nation had; but of very different tempers and humours. *Lucas* was the younger Brother of the Lord *Lucas*, and his Heir both to the Honour and Eſtate, and had a preſent Fortune of his own. He had been bred in the Low Countries under the Prince of *Orange*, and always amongſt the Horſe. He had little converſation in that Court, where great civility was practiced, and learned. He was very brave in his Perſon, and in a day of Battle a gallant Man to look upon, and follow; but at all other times and places, of a nature ſcarce to be liv'd with, of no good underſtanding, of a rough and proud humour, and very moroſe converſation; yet they all deſired to accompany him in his death. *Liſle* was a Gentleman who had had the ſame Education with the other, and at the ſame time an Officer of Foot; had all the Courage of the other, and led his Men to a Battle with ſuch an Alacrity, that no Man was ever better followed, his Soldiers never forſaking him; and the Party which he commanded, never left any thing undone which he led them upon. But then, to his fierceneſs of Courage he had the ſofteſt and moſt gentle nature imaginable; was kind to all, and belov'd of all, and without a Capacity to have an Enemy.

THE manner of taking the Lives of theſe worthy Men was new, and without Example, and concluded by moſt Men to be very barbarous; and was generally imputed to *Ireton*, who ſwayed the General, and was upon all occaſions of an unmerciful and bloody Nature. Aſſoon as this bloody Sacrifice was ended, *Fairfax*, with the Chief Officers, went to the Town-Houſe to viſit the Priſoners; and the General (who was an ill Orator on the moſt plauſible occaſion) applied with his civility to the Earl of *Norwich*, and the Lord *Capel*; and, ſeeming in ſome degree to excuſe the having done that, which he ſaid "The Military juſtice required, he told them, "That all "the Lives of the reſt were ſafe; and that they ſhould be well "treated,

"treated, and disposed of as the Parliament should direct. The Lord *Capel* had not so soon digested this so late barbarous proceeding, as to receive the visit of those who caused it, with such a return as his condition might have prompted to him; but said, "That they should do well to finish their work, and "execute the same rigour to the rest; upon which there were two or three such sharp and bitter replies between Him and *Ireton*, that cost him his Life in few Months after. When the General had given notice to the Parliament of his proceedings, he receiv'd order to send the Earl of *Norwich* and the Lord *Capel* to *Windsor* Castle; where they had afterwards the Society of Duke *Hamilton*, to lament each others misfortunes; and after some time they two were sent to the Tower.

THOUGH the City had undergone so many severe Mortifications, that it might very well have been discouraged from entring into any more dangerous Engagements, at least all other People might have been terrified from depending again upon such engagements, yet the present fright was no sooner over than they recoverd new spirits for new undertakings; and seem'd always to have observ'd somewhat in the last miscarriage which might be hereafter prevented, and no more obstruct their future proceedings; and many in the Parliament, as well as in the City, who were controlled and dispirited by the presence of the Army, when that was at a distance appear'd resolute, and brisk in any contradiction and opposition of their Counsels. So that *Cromwell* had no sooner begun his March towards the North, and *Fairfax* his into *Kent*, but the Common Council deliver'd a Petition to the Parliament, "That "they would entertain a Personal Treaty with the King, that "the Kingdom might be restored again to a happy Peace; "which could be hoped for no other way. This was the first presumption that had been offer'd, since their Vote of no more Addresses to be made to the King; which had been near half a year before; and this seem'd to be made with so universal a concurrence of the City, that the Parliament durst not give a positive refusal to it. And in truth the Major part thereof did really desire the same thing; which made Sr *Harry Vane*, and that Party in the Parliament to which the Army adher'd, or rather which adher'd to the Army, to contrive some specious way to defer and delay it, by seeming to consent to it, rather than to oppose the motion. And therefore they appointed a Committee of the House of Commons, to meet with such a Committee of the Common Council, as they should make choice of, to confer together of the ways and means to provide for the King's safety and security during the time of the Treaty: which Committee being met together, that of the House of Commons perplex'd the other with many

The behaviour of the City at this time.

They Petition for a personal Treaty.

A Committee of Parliament treats with them about it.

Queſtions, "What they meant by thoſe Expreſſions, they uſed "in their Petition (and had been the Common Expreſſions, long uſed both by the King and the Parliament, in all applications which had concern'd a Treaty) "That his Majeſty "might treat with honour, freedom, and ſafety? what they "intended by thoſe words? and whether the City would be "at the Charge in maintaining thoſe Guards, which were to "be kept for the ſecurity of the King during ſuch Treaty; "and if the King ſhould in that Treaty refuſe to give the Par-"liament ſatisfaction, how his Perſon ſhould be diſpoſed of? and many ſuch Queſtions, to which they well knew that the Committee it ſelf could make no Anſwer, but that there muſt be another Common Council called, to which they muſt repair for directions. And by this means, and adminiſtring new Queſtions at every meeting; much time was ſpent, and the delays they wiſhed could not be avoided. So that notwithſtanding all the City's earneſtneſs that the Treaty might be preſently enter'd upon, it was delayed till the Inſurrection in *Kent*, and the deſigns of the Earl of *Holland* (to both which they had promiſed another kind of Aſſiſtance) were both diſappointed, and expired. However, the Prince was ſtill in the *Downs* with his Fleet, and the Gentlemen in *Colcheſter* defended themſelves reſolutely, and the *Scotiſh* Army was enter'd the Kingdom, all which kept up their Courage; inſomuch as, after all the delays, the Parliament conſented, and declar'd, "That they would enter into a Perſonal Treaty with "the King for the ſettling the Peace of the Kingdom; but "that the Treaty ſhould be in the Iſle of *Wight*, where his "Majeſty ſhould enjoy honour, freedom, and ſafety.

The Parliament declares for a perſonal Treaty.

THE City had offer'd before to the Committee upon ſome of the Queſtions which had been adminiſter'd to them, "That "if the Treaty might be in *London*, they would be at the "Charge of maintaining thoſe Guards which ſhould be neceſ-"ſary for the ſafety and ſecurity of the King; and therefore they were very much troubled, that the Treaty ſhould be now in the Iſle of *Wight*, upon which they could have no influence; yet they thought not fit to make any new Inſtances for change of the place, leſt the Parliament might recede from their Vote, that there ſhould be a Treaty enter'd upon. So they only renew'd their importunity, that all expedition might be uſed; and in ſpight of all delays, in the beginning of *Auguſt*, a Committee was ſent from both Houſes to the King to *Carisbrooke* Caſtle, where he had been cloſe ſhut up about half a year, without being ſuffer'd to ſpeak with any but ſuch who were appointed by them to attend, and watch him.

A Committee of both Houſes ſent to the King for that purpoſe in the beginning of Auguſt.

THE Meſſage the Committee deliver'd was, "That the Houſes did deſire a Treaty with his Majeſty, in what place "of

The ſubſtance of their Meſſage to the King.

"of the Isle of *Wight* he would appoint, upon the Propositions tender'd to him at *Hampton* Court, and such other Propositions, as they should cause to be presented to him; and "that his Majesty should enjoy honour, freedom, and safety to "his Person. The Messengers, who were one of the House of Peers and two Commoners, were to return within ten days, no body being very strict in the limitation of time to a day, because the Treaty was so much the longer kept off, which they hoped still would by some accident be prevented.

THE King receiv'd them very graciously, and told them, "They could not believe that any Man could desire a Peace "more heartily than Himself, because no Man suffer'd so much "by the want of it: that, though he was without any Man "to consult with, and without a Secretary to write what he "should dictate, yet they should not be put to stay long for "an Answer; which he gave them within two or three days, all written in his own hand; in which, after he had lamented his present Condition, and the extreme restraint he was under, he said, "He did very chearfully embrace their motion, and "accepted a Treaty they promised should be with Honour, "Freedom, and Safety; which he hoped they did really intend should be perform'd; for that, in the Condition he was "in, he was so totally ignorant, and uninform'd of the present State of all his Dominions, that a blind Man was as fit "to judge of Colours, as He was to treat concerning the "Peace of the Kingdom, except they would first revoke their "Votes, and Orders, by which all Men were prohibited, and "forbid to come, write, or speak to him. For the place, "he could have wish'd, for the expedition that would have "resulted from thence, that it might have been in or near "*London*, to the end that the Parliament's resolution and determination might have been sooner known upon any emergent occasion that might have grown in the Treaty, than it "could be at such a distance: however, since they had resolv'd that it should be in the Isle of *Wight*, he would not "except against it, but named the Town of *Newport* for the "place of the Treaty. He said, "Though desir'd all expedition might be used towards the beginning and ending "the Treaty, yet he should not think himself in any freedom "to Treat, except, before the Treaty begun, all such Persons "might have liberty to repair to him, whose advice and assistance he should stand in need of in the Treaty. He sent a List of the Names of those his Servants which he desir'd might be admitted to come to him, and attend upon him; whereof the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Southampton*, and *Lindsey*, were the chief; all four Gentlemen of his Bed-Chamber, and of his Privy-Council.

The King's Answer.

He named likewiſe all the other Servants, whoſe attendance he deſir'd in their ſeveral Offices. He ſent a liſt of the Names of ſeveral Biſhops, and of ſuch of his Chaplains, as he deſir'd to confer with, and of many Common Lawyers, and ſome Civilians, whoſe advice he might have occaſion to uſe; and deſir'd, "That he might be in the ſame State of "freedom, as he enjoyed whilſt he had been at *Hampton* "Court.

By the time that the Commiſſioners return'd from the Iſle of *Wight*, and deliver'd this Anſwer to the Parliament, news was brought of the Defeat of the *Scotiſh* Army, and *Cromwell* had written to his Friends, "What a perpetual Ignominy it "would be to the Parliament, that no body abroad or at "home would ever give Credit to them, if they ſhould recede "from their former Vote, and Declaration of no farther Ad- "dreſſes to the King, and conjured them to continue firm in "that Reſolution. But they had gone too far now to recede, and ſince the firſt Motion and Petition from the Common Council for a Treaty, very many Members, who had oppoſed the Vote and Declaration of no more Addreſſes, and from the time that had paſſed, had forborne ever to be preſent in the Parliament, upon the firſt mention of a Treaty, flock'd again to the Houſe, and advanced that Overture; ſo that they were much ſuperior in Number to thoſe who endeavour'd firſt to obſtruct and delay, and now hoped abſolutely to fruſtrate all that had been propoſed towards a Treaty. And the great victory which had been obtain'd againſt the *Scots*, and which they concluded muſt ſpeedily reduce *Colcheſter*, and put a quick period to all other attempts againſt the Parliament, made them more earneſt and ſollicitous for a Treaty; which was all the hope left to prevent that Confuſion they diſcern'd was the purpoſe of the Army to bring upon the Kingdom: And ſo with the more Vigour they preſſed "That ſatisfaction might be given to the King, in all that he "had propoſed in his Anſwer; and, notwithſtanding all oppoſition, it was declar'd, "That the Vote for no more Ad- "dreſſes ſhould ſtand repealed: That the Treaty ſhould be at "*Newport*; and that his Majeſty ſhould be there in the ſame "freedom in which he was at *Hampton*-Court; that the In- "ſtructions to Colonel *Hammond*, by which the King had "been in that manner reſtrain'd, and all Perſons forbid from "going to him, ſhould be recalled; that all thoſe Perſons "who were named by the King, ſhould have free liberty to "repair to him, and to remain with him without being que- "ſtion'd, or troubled. And having proceeded thus far, they nominated five Lords, and ten Commoners to be the Commiſſioners who ſhould Treat with the King, and who were

The Vote of no more Addreſſes repeal'd; and the Treaty to be at Newport.

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enjoyn'd to prepare all things to be in a readineſs for the Treaty with all poſſible expedition; but Sr *Harry Vane*, being one of thoſe Commiſſioners, uſed all his Arts to obſtruct and delay it, in hope that *Cromwell* would diſpatch his Affairs in *Scotland* time enough to return, and to uſe more effectual and powerful Arguments againſt it, than He was furniſh'd withall.

ALL theſe occurrences were very well known to *Cromwell*, and were the motives which perſwaded him to believe, that his preſence at the Parliament was ſo neceſſary to ſuppreſs the Presbyterians, who ceaſed not to vex him at any diſtance, that he would not be prevailed with to ſtay and finiſh that only work of difficulty that remain'd to be done, which was the reducing *Pontfret* Caſtle; but left *Lambert* to make an end of it, and to revenge the death of *Rainsborough*, who had loſt his Life by that Garriſon, with ſome circumſtances which deſerve to be remember'd; as in truth all that Adventure in the taking, and defending that place, ſhould be preſerv'd by a very particular relation, for the honour of all the Perſons who were engaged in it.

An account of the taking of Pontfret *Caſtle for the King.*

WHEN the firſt War had been brought to an end by the Reduction of all Places, and Perſons, which had held for the King, and all Men's hopes had been render'd deſperate, by the Impriſonment of his Majeſty in the Iſle of *Wight*, thoſe Officers and Gentlemen who had ſerv'd, whilſt there was any Service, betook themſelves generally to the habitations they had in the ſeveral Counties; where they liv'd quietly and privately, under the Inſolence of thoſe Neighbours who had formerly, by the inferiority of their Conditions, ſubmitted to them. When the Parliament had finiſh'd the War, they reduced and ſlighted moſt of the Inland Garriſons, the Maintenance whereof was very chargeable: yet by the Intereſt of ſome Perſon who Commanded it, or out of the conſideration of the ſtrength and importance of the place, they kept ſtill a Garriſon in *Pontfret* Caſtle; a Noble Royalty and Palace belonging to the Crown, and then part of the Queen's Joynture. The Situation in it ſelf was very ſtrong; no part whereof was commanded by any other ground: the Houſe very large, with all Offices ſuitable to a Princely Seat, and though built very near the top of a Hill, ſo that it had the proſpect of a great part of the Weſt Riding of *York-ſhire*, and of *Lincoln-ſhire*, and *Nottingham-ſhire*, yet it was plentifully ſupplied with Water. Colonel *Cotterell*, the Governour of this Caſtle, exerciſed a very ſevere Juriſdiction over his Neighbours of thoſe parts; which were inhabited by many Gentlemen, and Soldiers, who had ſerv'd the King throughout the War, and who were known to retain their old Affections, though they liv'd quietly under the preſent Government. Upon the leaſt

Jealouſy or Humour, theſe Men were frequently ſent for, reproached, and ſometimes Impriſon'd by the Governour in this Garriſon; which did not render them the more devoted to him. When there appear'd ſome hopes that the *Scots* would raiſe an Army for the Relief and Releaſe of the King, Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, in his way for *Scotland*, had viſited and conferr'd with ſome of his old Friends and Country-men, who now liv'd quietly within ſome diſtance of *Pontfret*, who inform'd him of that Garriſon, the place whereof was well known to him. And he acquainting them with the Aſſurance he had of the Reſolution of the Principal Perſons of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that they had invited him to joyn with them, in order to which he was then going thither, they agreed, "That, when it ſhould appear that an Army was raiſed "in *Scotland* upon that account, which muſt draw down the "Parliament's Army into the other Northern Counties, and "that there ſhould be Riſings in other parts of the Kingdom (which the general indiſpoſition and diſcontent, beſides ſome particular deſigns, made like to fall out) "that then thoſe "Gentlemen ſhould endeavour the ſurpriſe of that Caſtle, and "after they had made themſelves ſtrong in it, and furniſh'd it "with Proviſions to endure ſome reſtraint, they ſhould draw "as good a Body to them as thoſe Countries would yield: And having thus adjuſted that deſign, they ſettled ſuch a way of Correſpondence with Sr *Marmaduke*, that they frequently gave him an account, and receiv'd his directions for their proceeding. In this diſpoſition they continued quiet, as they had always been, and the Governour of the Caſtle liv'd towards them with leſs Jealouſy, and more Humanity, than he had been accuſtom'd to.

THERE was one Colonel *Morrice*, who being a very young Man, had, in the beginning of the War, been an Officer in ſome Regiments of the King's; and out of the folly and impatience of his Youth, had quitted that Service, and engaged himſelf in the Parliament Army with ſome circumſtances not very commendable; and by the clearneſs of his Courage, and pleaſantneſs of his Humour, made himſelf not only very acceptable, but was preferr'd to the Command of a Colonel, and perform'd many notable Services for them, being a ſtout and bold Undertaker in Attempts of the greateſt Danger; wherein he had uſually Succeſs. After the new Modelling of the Army, and the introducing of a ſtricter diſcipline, his Life of great Licenſe kept not his Reputation with the new Officers; and being a free Speaker and Cenſurer of their affected behaviour, they left him out in their compounding their new Army, but with many profeſſions of kindneſs, and reſpect to his eminent Courage, which they would find

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ſome occaſion to Imploy, and Reward. He was a Gentleman of a competent Eſtate in thoſe parts in *York-ſhire*; and as he had grown Elder, he had heartily deteſted himſelf for having quitted the King's Service, and had reſolv'd to take ſome ſeaſonable opportunity to wipe off that blemiſh by a Service that would redeem him; and ſo was not troubled to be ſet aſide by the new General, but betook himſelf to his Eſtate; enjoy'd his old Humour, which was chearful and pleaſant; and made himſelf moſt acceptable to thoſe who were moſt truſted by the Parliament; who thought that they had diſmiſſed one of the beſt Officers they had, and were ſorry for it.

He now, as a Country Gentleman, frequented the Fairs and Markets, and converſed with equal freedom with all his Neighbours, of what Party ſoever they had been, and renewed the Friendſhip he had formerly held with ſome of thoſe Gentlemen who had ſerv'd the King. But no Friendſhip was ſo dear to him, as that of the Governour of *Pontfret* Caſtle, who lov'd him above all Men, and delighted ſo much in his Company, that he got him to be with him ſome times a week and more at a time in the Caſtle, when they always lay together in one Bed. He declar'd to one of thoſe Gentlemen, who were united together to make that Attempt, "That he "would ſurpriſe that Caſtle, whenever they ſhould think the "Seaſon ripe for it; and that Gentleman, who knew him very well, believ'd him ſo entirely, that he told his Companions, "That they ſhould not trouble themſelves with con-"triving the means to ſurpriſe the place; which, by truſting "too many, would be lyable to diſcovery; but that he would "take that Charge upon himſelf, by a way they need not "enquire into; which he aſſured them ſhould not fail: And they all very willingly acquieſced in his undertaking; to which they knew well he was not inclined without good grounds. *Morrice* was more frequently with the Governour, who never thought himſelf well without him; and always told him "He "muſt have a great care of his Garriſon, that he had none "but faithful Men in the Caſtle; for that he was confident "there were ſome Men who liv'd not far off, and who many "times came to viſit him, had ſome deſign upon the place; and would then in confidence name many Perſons to him, ſome whereof were thoſe very Men with whom he communicated, and others were Men of another Temper, and were moſt devoted to the Parliament, all his particular Friends and Companions; "But that he ſhould not be troubled; for he "had a falſe Brother amongſt them, from whom he was ſure "to have ſeaſonable Advertiſement; and promiſed him, "That "he would, within few hours notice, bring him at any time "forty or fifty good Men into the Caſtle to reinforce his Gar-

"riſon,

"riſon, when there ſhould be occaſion; and he would ſhew him the liſt of ſuch Men, as would be always ready, and would ſometimes bring ſome of thoſe Men with him, and tell the Governour before them, "That thoſe were in the liſt he "had given him of the honeſt fellows, who would ſtick to "him when there ſhould be need; and others would acci-dentally tell the Governour, "That they had liſted themſelves "with Colonel *Morrice* to come to the Caſtle, whenever he "ſhould call or ſend to them. And all theſe Men thus liſted, were fellows very notorious for the bitterneſs and malice which they had always againſt the King, not one of which he ever intended to make uſe of.

He made himſelf very familiar with all the Soldiers in the Caſtle, and uſed to play and drink with them; and when he lay there, would often riſe in the Night, and viſit the Guards; and by that means would ſometimes make the Governour diſmiſs, and diſcharge a Soldier whom he did not like, under pretence "That he found him always aſleep, or ſome other fault which was not to be examin'd; and then he would com-mend ſome other to him as very fit to be truſted and relied upon, and by this means he had very much power in the Garriſon. The Governour receiv'd ſeveral Letters from his Friends in the Parliament, and in the Country, "That he "ſhould take care of Colonel *Morrice*, who reſolv'd to betray "him; and inform'd him, "That he had been in ſuch and "ſuch Company of Men, who were generally eſteem'd moſt "Malignant, and had great Intrigues with them; all which was well known to the Governour; for the other was never in any of that Company, though with all the ſhew of ſecrecy, in the Night, or in places remote from any Houſe, but he always told the Governour of it, and of many particular paſſages in thoſe Meetings; ſo that when theſe Letters came to him, he ſhew'd them ſtill to the other; and then both of them laugh'd at the Intelligence; after which *Morrice* fre-quently called for his Horſe, and went home to his Houſe, telling his Friend "That though he had, he knew, no miſtruſt "of his Friendſhip, and knew him too well to think him ca-"pable of ſuch baſeneſs, yet he ought not for his own ſake be "thought to ſlight the information; which would make his "Friends the leſs careful of him: that they had reaſon to give "him warning of thoſe meetings, which, if he had not known "himſelf, had been very worthy of his ſuſpicion; therefore "he would forbear coming to the Caſtle again, till his jea-"louſy of his Friends ſhould be over; who would know of "this, and be ſatisfied with it: and no power of the Gover-nour could prevail with him, at ſuch times, to ſtay; but he would be gone, and ſtay away till he was, after ſome time,

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ſent for again with great importunity, the Governour deſiring his Counſel and Aſſiſtance as much as his Company.

It fell out, as it uſually doth in Affairs of that nature, when many Men are engaged, that there is an impatience to execute what is projected before the time be throughly ripe. The buſineſs of the Fleet, and in *Kent*, and other places, and the daily Alarms from *Scotland*, as if that Army had been entring the Kingdom, made the Gentlemen who were engaged for this Enterpriſe, imagine that they deferr'd it too long, and that though they had receiv'd no Orders from Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*, which they were to expect, yet they had been ſent, and miſcarried. Hereupon they called upon the Gentleman who had undertaken, and He upon *Morrice*, for the Execution of the deſign. The time agreed upon was ſuch a Night, when the Surpriſers were to be ready upon ſuch a part of the Wall, and to have Ladders to mount in two places, where two Soldiers were to be appointed for Sentinels who were privy to the attempt. *Morrice* was in the Caſtle, and in Bed with the Governour, and, according to his cuſtom, roſe about the hour he thought all would be ready. They without, made the Sign agreed upon, and were Anſwer'd by one of the Sentinels from the Wall; upon which they run to both places where they were to mount their Ladders. By ſome Accident, the other Sentinel who was deſign'd, was not upon the other part of the Wall; but when the Ladder was mounted there, the Sentinel called out; and finding that there were Men under the Wall, run towards the Court of Guard to call for help; which gave an Alarm to the Garriſon: ſo that, for that time, the deſign was diſappointed. But, ſhortly after, *Morrice*, and ſome of the ſame Gentlemen ſurpriſed the Caſtle, under the diſguiſe of Country-men coming in with Carts of Proviſion; and preſently ſeiſed on and maſter'd the main Guard, and made way for their Friends, Horſe and Foot, to enter. Then two or three of them went to the Governour's Chamber, whom they found in his Bed, and told him "The Caſtle was ſurpriſed, and himſelf a Pri-"ſoner. He betook himſelf to his Arms for his defence, but quickly found that his Friend had betray'd it, and the other Gentlemen appearing, of whom he had been before warn'd, his defence was to no purpoſe, yet he receiv'd ſome wounds. *Morrice* afterwards comforted him with aſſurance "Of good "uſage, and that he would procure his Pardon from the King "for his Rebellion.

They put the Garriſon in good order, and ſo many came to them from *York-ſhire*, *Nottingham*, and *Lincoln*, that they could not in a ſhort time be reſtrain'd, and had leiſure to fetch in all ſorts of Proviſions for their ſupport, and to make

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and renew such Fortifications as might be necessary for their defence. From *Nottingham* there came Sr *John Digby*, Sr *Hugh Cartwright*, and a Son and Nephew of his, who had been good Officers in the Army, with many Soldiers who had been under their Command; many other Gentlemen of the three Counties were present, and deserve to have their Names recorded, since it was an Action throughout of great Courage and Conduct.

CROMWELL's marching towards the *Scots* with the neglect of these Men after the first appearance, and only appointing some County Troops to inclose them from increasing their strength, gave them great opportunity to grow; so that driving those Troops to a greater distance, they drew Contribution from all the parts about them, and made Incursions much farther, and render'd themselves so terrible, that, as was said before, after the *Scotish* defeat, those of *York-shire* sent very earnestly to *Cromwell*, "That he would make it the "business of his Army to reduce *Pontfret*. But he, resolving upon his *Scotish* Expedition, thought it enough to send *Rainsborough* to perform that Service, with a Regiment of Horse, and one or two of Foot, belonging to the Army; which, with a conjunction of the Country Forces under the same Command, he doubted not would be sufficient to perform a greater work. Assoon as the Castle had been reduced, they who were possessed of it were very willing to be under the Command of *Morrice*; who declar'd he would not accept the Charge, nor be Governour of the place, knowing well what jealousies he might be liable to, at least upon any change of Fortune, but under the direction of Sr *John Digby*; who was Colonel General of those parts, and was a Man rather cordial in the Service, than equal to the Command; which made him refer all things still to the Counsel, and Conduct of those Officers who were under him; by whose activity, as much was done as could be expected from such a knot of resolute Persons.

Part of the Garrison's attempt upon Rainsborough.

THE total defeat of the *Scotish* Army being now generally known, and that their Friends in all other places, were defeated, they in the Castle well knew what they were presently to expect, and that they should be shortly shut up from making farther excursions. They heard that *Rainsborough* was upon his march towards them, and had already sent some Troops to be Quarter'd near them, himself yet keeping his Head Quarters at *Doncaster*, ten Miles from the Castle. They resolv'd, whilst they yet enjoy'd this liberty, to make a noble attempt. They had been inform'd, that Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* (whom they still called their General) after the overthrow of the *Scotish* Army, had been taken Prisoner, and remained

mained in *Nottingham* Caſtle under a moſt ſtrict cuſtody, as a Man the Parliament declared, "They would make an exam-"ple of their Juſtice. A Party of about twenty Horſe, but picked and choice Men, went out of the Caſtle, in the begin-ning of the Night, with a Reſolution to take *Rainsborough* Priſoner, and thereby to ranſom their General. They were all good Guides, and underſtood the ways, private and pub-lick, very exactly; and went ſo far, that about the break of day or little after, in the end of *Auguſt*, they put themſelves into the Common Road that led from *York*; by which ways the Guards expected no Enemy; and ſo ſlightly asked them, "Whence they came? who negligently Anſwer'd; and asked again, "Where their General was? ſaying, "They had a Letter "for him from *Cromwell*. They ſent one to ſhew them where the General was; which they knew well enough; and that he lay at the beſt Inn of the Town. And when the Gate of the Inn was opened to them, three of them only enter'd into the Inn, the other rode to the other end of the Town to the Bridge, over which they were to paſs towards *Pontfret*; where they expected, and did find a Guard of Horſe and Foot, with whom they entertain'd themſelves in diſcourſe, ſaying, "That "they ſtayed for their Officer, who went only in to ſpeak "with the General; and called for ſome drink. The Guards making no queſtion of their being Friends, ſent for drink, and talked negligently with them of News; and, it being broad day, ſome of the Horſe alighted, and the Foot went to the Court of Guard, conceiving that Morning's work to be over. They who went into the Inn, where no body was awake but the Fellow who opened the Gate, asked in which Cham-ber the General (for ſo all the Soldiers called *Rainsborough*) lay; and the Fellow ſhewing them from below the Chamber door, two of them went up, and the other ſtay'd below, and held the Horſes, and talked with the Soldier who had walked with them from the Guard. The two who went up, open'd the Chamber door, found *Rainsborough* in his Bed, but awaked with the little noiſe they had made. They told him in ſhort "that he was their Priſoner, and that it was in his power to "chooſe whether he would be preſently killed (for which work he ſaw they were very well prepar'd) "or quietly, with-"out making reſiſtance, or delay, to put on his Cloaths and "be mounted upon a Horſe, that was ready below for him, "and accompany them to *Pontfret*. The preſent danger awaken'd him out of the amazement he was in, ſo that he told them he would wait upon them, and made the haſte that was neceſſary to put on his Cloaths. One of them took his Sword, and ſo they led him down ſtairs. He that held the Horſes, had ſent the Soldier away to thoſe who were gone before

before, to ſpeak to them to get ſome drink, and any thing elſe, that could be made ready in the Houſe, againſt they came. When *Rainsborough* came into the Street, which he expected to find full of Horſe, and ſaw only one Man, who held the others Horſes, and preſently mounted that he might be bound behind him, he begun to ſtruggle, and to cry out. Whereupon, when they ſaw no hope of carrying him away, they immediately run him through with their Swords, and leaving him dead upon the ground, they got upon their Horſes, and rode towards their Fellows, before any in the Inn could be ready to follow them. When thoſe at the Bridge ſaw their Companions coming, which was their ſign, being well prepared, and knowing what they were to do, they turn'd upon the Guard, and made them fly in diſtraction; ſo that the way was clear and free; and though they miſſed carrying home the prize for which they had made ſo luſty an adventure, they joyn'd together, and marched, with the Expedition that was neceſſary, a ſhorter way than they had come, to their Garriſon; leaving the Town and Soldiers behind in ſuch a conſternation, that, not being able to receive any information from their General, whom they found dead upon the ground without any Body in view, they thought the Devil had been there; and could not recollect themſelves, which way they were to purſue an Enemy they had not ſeen. The Gallant Party came ſafe home without the leaſt damage to Horſe or Man, hoping to make ſome other attempt more ſuccesfully, by which they might redeem Sr *Marmaduke Langdale*. There was not an Officer in the Army whom *Cromwell* would not as willingly have loſt as this Man; who was bold and barbarous to his wiſh, and fit to be entruſted in the moſt deſperate Intereſt, and was the Man whom that Party always intended to commit the Maritine Affairs to, when it ſhould be time to diſmiſs the Earl of *Warwick*; he having been bred in that Element, and knowing the duty of it very well, though he had that misfortune ſpoken of in the beginning of the Summer.

And now to finiſh this buſineſs of *Pontfret* altogether, which laſted near to the end of this year, when *Lambert* came to this Charge (inſtructed by *Cromwell* to take full Vengeance for the loſs of *Rainsborough*, to whoſe Ghoſt he deſign'd an ample Sacrifice) and kept what Body of Men he thought fit for that purpoſe, he reduced them in a ſhort time within their own Circuit, making good Works round about the Caſtle, that they might at laſt yield to Hunger, if nothing elſe would reclaim them. Nor did they quietly ſuffer themſelves to be cooped up without bold and frequent Sallies, in which many of the Beſiegers, as well as the others, loſt their Lives. They diſcover'd

diſcover'd many of the Country who held correſpondence with, and gave Intelligence to the Caſtle, whom they apprehended, whereof there were two Divines, and ſome Women of Note, Friends and Allies to the beſieged. After frequent Mortifications of this kind, and no human hope of Relief, they were content to offer to Treat for the Delivery of the Caſtle, if they might have honourable Conditions; if not, they ſent word "That they had Proviſions yet for a good "time; that they durſt die, and would ſell their Lives at as "dear a price as they could. *Lambert* Anſwer'd, that he knew "they were gallant Men, and that he deſir'd to preſerve as "many of them, as was in his power to do, but he muſt re-"quire ſix of them to be given up to him, whoſe Lives he "could not ſave; which he was ſorry for, ſince they were "brave men; but his hands were bound. The ſix excepted by him were Colonel *Morrice*, and five more whoſe Names he found to have been amongſt thoſe who were in the Party that had deſtroy'd *Rainsborough*; which was an Enterpriſe no brave Enemy would have revenged in that manner: nor did *Lambert* deſire it, but *Cromwell* had enjoyn'd it him: all the reſt he "Was content to releaſe, that they might return to "their Houſes, and apply themſelves to the Parliament for "their Compoſitions, towards which he would do them all "the good Offices he could. They from within acknowledg'd "his Civility in that particular, and would be glad to em-"brace it, but they would never be guilty of ſo baſe a thing, "as to deliver up any of their Companions; and therefore they deſir'd "They might have ſix days allow'd them, that "thoſe ſix might do the beſt they could to deliver themſelves; "in which it ſhould be lawful for the reſt to aſſiſt them; to which *Lambert* generouſly conſented, "So that the reſt would "Surrender at the end of that time; which was agreed to. Upon the firſt day the Garriſon appear'd twice or thrice, as if they were reſolv'd to make a Sally, but retired every time without Charging; but the ſecond day they made a very ſtrong and brisk Sally upon another place than where they had appear'd the day before, and beat the Enemy from their Poſt, with the loſs of Men on both ſides; and though the Party of the Caſtle was beaten back, two of the ſix (whereof *Morrice* was one) made their eſcape, the other four being forced to retire with the reſt. And all was quiet for two whole days; but in the beginning of the Night of the fourth day, they made another attempt ſo proſperouſly, that two of the other four likewiſe eſcaped: and the next day they made great ſhews of joy, and ſent *Lambert* word, "That their ſix Friends were "gone (though there were two ſtill remaining) and there-"fore they would be ready the next day to Surrender.

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THE other two thought it to no purpoſe to make another attempt, but deviſed another way to ſecure themſelves, with a leſs dangerous Aſſiſtance from their Friends, who had loſt ſome of their own lives in the two former Sallies to ſave theirs. The buildings of the Caſtle were very large and ſpacious, and there were great ſtore of waſte Stones from ſome Walls, which were fallen down. They found a convenient place, which was like to be leaſt viſited, where they walled up their two Friends in ſuch a manner that they had Air to ſuſtain them, and Victual enough to feed them a Month, in which time they hoped they might be able to eſcape. And this being done, at the hour appointed they open'd their Ports, and after *Lambert* had cauſed a ſtrict inquiſition to be made for thoſe ſix, none of which he did believe had in truth eſcaped, and was ſatisfied that none of them were amongſt thoſe who were come out, he receiv'd the reſt very civilly, and obſerv'd his promiſe made to them very punctually, and did not ſeem ſorry that the ſix Gallant Men (as he called them) were eſcaped.

Pontfret deliver'd up to Lambert.

AND now they heard, which very much reliev'd their broken Spirits, that Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* had made an eſcape out of the Caſtle of *Nottingham*; who ſhortly after Tranſported himſelf beyond the Seas. *Lambert* preſently took care ſo to diſmantle the Caſtle, that there ſhould be no more uſe of it for a Garriſon, leaving the vaſt ruins ſtill ſtanding: and then drew off all his Troops to new Quarters; ſo that, within ten days after the Surrender, the two who were left walled up, threw down their incloſure, and ſecurely provided for themſelves. Sr *John Digby* liv'd many years after the King's Return, and was often with his Majeſty. Poor *Morrice* was afterwards taken in *Lancaſhire*, and happen'd to be put to death in the ſame place where he had committed a fault againſt the King, and where he firſt perform'd a great Service to the Parliament.

The Conditions of the Prince and the Duke of York *at the* Hague, *and the factions among their Followers.*

IN this deſperate Condition, that is before deſcribed, ſtood the King's Affairs when the Prince was at the *Hague*, his Fleet already mutinying for Pay, his own family factious and in neceſſity, and that of his Brother the Duke of *York* full of Intrigues, and Deſigns, between the reſtleſs unquiet Spirit of *Bampfield*, and the Ambitious and as unquiet Humour of Sr *John Berkley*. The Council, which was not numerous (for the Prince had not Authority to add any to thoſe who were his Father's Councellors) wanted not Unity in it ſelf, ſo much as ſubmiſſion and reſpect from others, which had been loſt to thoſe who were in the Fleet, and the prejudire to thoſe ſtill remain'd, and ſo abated much of the reverence which moſt Men were willing to pay to the two who came laſt. And

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the great animosity which Prince *Rupert* had against the Lord *Colepepper* infinitely disturbed the Counsels, and perplexed the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had credit enough with the other two. But *Colepepper* had some Passions and Infirmities, which no Friends could restrain; and though Prince *Rupert* was very well inclined to the Chancellor, and would in many things be advised by him, yet his prejudice to *Colepepper* was so rooted in him, and that prejudice so industriously cultivated by *Herbert* the Atturney General, who had the absolute Ascendent over that Prince, and who did perfectly hate all the World that would not be govern'd by him, that every meeting in Council was full of bitterness and sharpness between them.

One day the Council met (as it used to do when they did not attend the Prince of *Wales* at his Lodgings) at the Lord Treasurer's Lodging (He and the Chancellor of the Exchequer being in one House) about giving direction for the sale of some Goods which had been taken at Sea, for the raising of Money toward the payment of the Fleet. In such services Merchants, and other proper Persons, were always necessary to be trusted. Prince *Rupert* proposed "That one Sr *Robert* "*Walsh* (a Person too well known to be trusted) "might be "employ'd in that Affair: it was to sell a Ship of Sugar. No Man who was present would ever have consented that he should have been employ'd; but the Lord *Colepepper* spoke against him with some warmth, so that it might be thought to reflect a little upon Prince *Rupert*, who had proposed him. Upon which, he asking "What exceptions there were to Sr "*Robert Walsh*, why he might not be fit for it; *Colepepper* answer'd with some quickness, "That he was a known cheat; which, though notoriously true, the Prince seem'd to take very ill; and said, "He was his Friend, and a Gentleman; "and if he should come to hear of what had been said, he "knew not how the Lord *Colepepper* could avoid Fighting "with him. *Colepepper*, whose Courage no Man doubted, presently replied, "That he would not Fight with *Walsh*, but "he would Fight with his Highness; to which the Prince answer'd very quietly, "That it was well; and the Council rose in great perplexity.

Prince *Rupert* went out of the House, and the Chancellor led the Lord *Colepepper* into the Garden, hoping that he should so far have prevail'd with him, as to have made him sensible of the excess he had committed, and to have perswaded him presently to repair to the Prince, and to ask his Pardon, that no more notice might be taken of it. But he was yet too warm to conceive he had committed any fault, but seem'd to think only of making good what he had so im-

prudently ſaid. Prince *Rupert* quickly inform'd his Confident the Atturney General of all that had paſſed; who was the unfitteſt Man living to be truſted with ſuch a ſecret, having always about him ſtore of Oyl to through upon ſuch Fire. He ſoon found means to make it known to the Prince, who preſently ſent for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be inform'd of the whole matter; and when he underſtood it, was exceedingly troubled, and required him "To let *Colepepper* know, "that he ought to make a ſubmiſſion to Prince *Rupert*; with-"out which worſe would fall out.

He went firſt to Prince *Rupert*, that he might pacify him till he could convince the other of his fault; and he ſo far prevail'd with his Highneſs, who would have been more cholerick if he had had leſs Right of his ſide, that he was willing to receive a ſubmiſſion; and promiſed "That the other ſhould "receive no affront in the mean time. But he found more difficulty on the other ſide, the Lord *Colepepper*, continuing ſtill in rage, thought the provocation was ſo great, that he ought to be excuſed for the Reply, and that the Prince ought to acknowledge the one as well as He the other. But after ſome days recollection, finding no Body with whom he converſed of his mind, and underſtanding how much the Prince was diſpleaſed, and that he expected he ſhould ask Prince *Rupert* Pardon, and withal reflecting upon the place he was in, where he could expect no ſecurity from his Quality and Function, he reſolv'd to do what he ought to have done at firſt; and ſo he went with the Chancellor to Prince *Rupert*'s Lodging; where he behaved himſelf very well; and the Prince receiv'd him with all the Grace could be expected; ſo that ſo ill a buſineſs ſeem'd to be as well concluded as the nature of it would admit. But the worſt was to come: the Atturney General had done all he could to diſſwade that Prince from accepting ſo ſmall, and ſo private a ſatisfaction; but, not prevailing, he inflamed Sr *Robert Walſh*, who had been inform'd of all that had paſſed at the Council concerning himſelf, to take his own revenge; in which many Men thought, that he was aſſured Prince *Rupert* would not be offended. And the next Morning after his Highneſs had receiv'd ſatisfaction, as the Lord *Colepepper* was walking to the Council without a Sword, *Walſh*, coming to him, ſeem'd quietly to expoſtulate with him, for having mention'd him ſo unkindly. To the which the other anſwer'd, "That he would give him ſatiſ-"faction in any way he would require; though he ought not "to be call'd in queſtion for any thing he had ſaid in that "place. On a ſuddain, whilſt they were in this calm diſcourſe, *Walſh* ſtruck him with all his force one blow in the Face with his Fiſt; and then ſtepped back, and drew his Sword;

Sword; but seeing the other had none, walked away; and the Lord *Colepepper*, with his Nose and Face all bloody, went back to his Chamber, from whence he could not go abroad in many days by the effect and disfiguring of the blow. This outrage was committed about ten of the Clock in the Morning in the sight of the Town; which troubled the Prince exceedingly; who immediately sent to the States to demand Justice; and they, according to their method and slow proceedings in matters which they do not take to heart, caused *Walsh* to be Summon'd, and after so many days, for want of Appearance, he was by the sound of a Bell publickly banished from the *Hague*; and so he made his residence in *Amsterdam*, or what other place he pleased. And this was the reparation the States gave the Prince for so Ruffianly a transgression; and both the beginning and the end of this unhappy business exposed the Prince himself, as well as his Council, to more disadvantage, and less reverence, than ought to have been paid to either.

The ill condition of the Prince's Fleet in Holland.

THE improvidence that had been used in the Fleet, besides its unactivity, by the dismissing so many great Prizes, was now too apparent, when there was neither Money to pay the Sea-men, who were not modest in requiring it, nor to new Victual the Ships, which was as important; since it was easy to be foreseen, that they could not remain long in the Station where they were for the present, and the extreme license which all Men took to censure and reproach that improvidence, disturbed all Counsels, and made Conversation it self very uneasy. Nor was it possible to suppress that License; every Man believing that his particular necessities, with which all Men abounded, might easily have been reliev'd, and provided for, if it had not been for that ill husbandry; which they therefore called Treachery and Corruption. It cannot be denied but there was so great a Treasure taken, which turn'd to no account, and so much more might have been taken, if the several Ships had been applied to that end, that a full provision might have been made, both for the support of the Fleet, and supply of the Prince, and of all who depended upon him for a good time, if the same had been well managed, and could have been deposited in some secure place, till all might have been sold at good Markets. And no body was satisfied with the Reasons which were given for the discharging, and dismissing so many Ships to gratify the City of *London*, and the Presbyterian Party throughout the Kingdom. For, besides that the value of what was so given away and lost, was generally believ'd to be worth more than all they would have done, if they had been able, those Bounties were not the natural motives which were to be applied to that Peo-

ple; whose Affections had been long dead, and could be revived by nothing but their sharp sufferings, and their insupportable losses; the obstruction and destruction of their Trade, and the seising upon their Estates, being, at that time, thought by many the most proper Application to the City of *London*, and the best Arguments to make them in love with Peace, and to extort it from them in whose power it was to give it. And if the Fleet had applied it self to that, and visited all those Maritime Parts which were in Counties well affected, and where some places had declared for the King (as *Scarborough* in *York-shire* did) if it had not been possible to have set the King at liberty in the Isle of *Wight*, or to have reliev'd *Colchester*, (both which many Men believ'd, how unskilfully soever, to be practicable) it would have spent the time much more advantageously and honourably than it did.

But let the ill consequence be never so great, if it had proceeded from any corruption, it would probably have been discover'd by the examination and inquisition that was made; and therefore it may be well concluded that there was none. And the truth is, the Queen was so fully possess'd of the purpose and the power of the *Scots* to do the King's business, before the Insurrections in the several parts in *England*, and the revolt of the Fleet appear'd, that she did not enough weigh the good use that might have been made of those when they did happen, but kept her mind then so fixed upon *Scotland*, as the sole foundation of the King's hopes, that she looked upon the benefit of the Fleet's returning to their Allegiance, only as an opportunity offer'd by Providence to transport the Prince with security thither. And her Instructions to those she trusted about the Prince, were so positive, "That they should not "give consent to any thing that might divert or delay that "Expedition, that, if the Earl of *Lautherdale* had been arriv'd when the Prince came to the Fleet, it would have been immediately engaged to have Transported the Prince into *Scotland*, what other conveniencies soever, preferable to that, had offer'd themselves. And the very next day after that Lord's coming to the Prince in the *Downs*, his injunctions and behaviour were so imperious for the Prince's present departure, that nothing but a direct Mutiny among the Sea-men prevented it. His Highness's own Ship was under Sail for *Holland*, that he might from thence have prosecuted his other Voyage: nor would he at that time have taken *Holland*, in his way, if there had been any quantity of Provision in the Fleet for such a Peregrination. This Expedition for *Scotland* was the more grievous to all Men, because it was evident that the Prince himself was much more inclined to have pursued other occasions which were offer'd, and only resign'd himself implicitly to the pleasure of his Mother.

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THE preſent ill condition of the Fleet, and the unſteady Humour of the Common Sea-men was the more notorious, and unſeaſonable, by the Earl of *Warwick*'s coming with another Fleet from the Parliament upon the Coaſt of *Holland*, within few days after the Prince came to the *Hague*, and Anchoring within view of the King's Fleet. And it is probable he would have made ſome Hoſtile Attempt upon it, well knowing that many Officers and Sea-men were on Shore, if the State had not in the very Inſtant, ſent ſome of their Ships of War to preſerve the Peace in Their Port. However, according to the Inſolence of his Maſters, and of moſt of thoſe imploy'd by them, the Earl ſent a Summons of a ſtrange Nature to the King's Ships, in which he took notice, "That a "Fleet of Ships, which were part of the Navy Royal of the "Kingdom of *England*, was then Riding at Anchor off *Hel-*"*voet Sluce*, and bearing a Standard: That he did therefore "by the Parliament's Authority, by which he was conſti-"tuted Lord High Admiral of *England*, require the Admiral, "or Commander in chief of that Fleet, to take down the "Standard; and the Captains and Mariners belonging to the "Ships, to render themſelves and the Ships to him, as High "Admiral of *England*, and for the uſe of the King and Par-"liament; And he did, by the like Authority, offer an in-"demnity to all thoſe who ſhould ſubmit to him.

The Earl of Warwick *with his Fleet comes upon the Coaſt of* Holland.

AFTER which Summons, though receiv'd by the Lord *Willoughby*, who remain'd on Board the Fleet in the Command of Vice-Admiral, with that indignation that was due to it, and though it made no impreſſion upon the Officers, nor viſibly, at that time, upon the Common Men, yet, during the time the Earl continued in ſo near a Neighbourhood, he did find means by private Inſinuations, and by ſending many of his Sea-men on Shore at *Helvoet Sluce* (where they enter'd into Converſation with their old Companions) ſo to work upon and corrupt many of the Sea-men, that it afterwards appear'd many were debauch'd; ſome whereof went on Board his Ships, others ſtay'd to do more miſchief. But that ill Neighbourhood continued not long; for the Seaſon of the Year, and the Winds which uſually rage on that Coaſt in the Month of *September*, removed him from that Station, and carried him back to the *Downs* to attend new Orders.

ALL theſe diſturbances were attended with a worſe, which fell out at the ſame time, and that was the ſickneſs of the Prince; who, after ſome days indiſpoſition, appear'd to have the ſmall Pox; which almoſt diſtracted all who were about him, who knew how much depended upon his precious Life: And therefore the conſternation was very univerſal whilſt that was thought in danger. But, by the goodneſs and mercy

The Prince of Wales *has the ſmall Pox.*

of God, he recover'd in few days the peril of that diſtemper; and, within a Month, was reſtored to ſo perfect Health, that he was able to take an account himſelf of his Melancholick and perplexed Affairs.

THERE were two points which were chiefly to be conſider'd, and provided for by the Prince; neither of which would bear delay for the conſultation, and reſolution; the firſt, How to make proviſion to Pay, and Victual the Fleet, and to compoſe the Mutinous Spirits of the Sea-men; who paid no reverence to their Officers, inſomuch as, in the ſhort ſtay which the Earl of *Warwick* had made before *Helvoet Sluce*, as hath been ſaid, many of the Sea-men had gone over to him, and the *Conſtant Warwick*, a Frigat of the beſt Account, had either voluntarily left the Prince's Fleet, or ſuffer'd it ſelf willingly to be taken, and carried away with the reſt into *England*. The other was, What he ſhould do with the Fleet, when it was both Payed and Victualled.

TOWARDS the firſt, there were ſome Ships brought in with the Fleet, laden with ſeveral Merchandize of value, that, if they could be ſold to the true worth, would amount to a Sum ſufficient to pay the Sea-men their Wages, and to put in Proviſions enough to ſerve four Months; and there were many Merchants from *London*, who were deſirous to buy their own Goods, which had been taken from them; and others had Commiſſions from thence to buy the reſt. But then they all knew, that they could not be carried to any other Market, but muſt be ſold in the place where they were; and therefore they were reſolv'd to have very good Penny-worths. And there were many Debts claim'd, which the Prince had promiſed, whilſt he was in the River, ſhould be paid out of the firſt Money that ſhould be raiſed upon the Sale of ſuch and ſuch Ships: particularly, the Prince believ'd that the Counteſs of *Carliſle*, who had committed faults enough to the King and Queen, had pawn'd her Necklace of Pearls for fifteen hundred pounds, which ſhe had totally diſburſed in ſupplying Officers, and making other Proviſions for the Expedition of the Earl of *Holland* (which Sum of fifteen hundred pounds the Prince had promiſed the Lord *Piercy* her Brother, who was a very importunate Sollicitor) ſhould be paid upon the Sale of a Ship that was laden with Sugar, and was then conceiv'd to be worth above ſix or ſeven thouſand pounds. Others had the like Engagements upon other Ships; ſo that when Money was to be raiſed upon the Sale of Merchandize, they who had ſuch Engagements, would be themſelves entruſted, or nominate thoſe who ſhould be, to make the bargain with Purchaſers, to the end that they might be ſure to receive what they claim'd, out of the firſt Monies that ſhould be

be raiſed. By this means, double the value was deliver'd, to ſatisfy a debt that was not above the half.

But that which was worſe than all this, the Prince of *Orange* advertiſed the Prince, that ſome Queſtions had been ſtarted in the States, "What they ſhould do, if the Parliament "of *England* (which had now a very dreadful name) ſhould "ſend over to them to demand the reſtitution of thoſe Mer-"chants Goods, which had been unjuſtly taken in the *Downs*, "and in the River of *Thames*, and had been brought into their "Ports, and were offer'd to Sale there, againſt the obligation "of that Amity which had been obſerv'd between the two "Nations, during the late War? What Anſwer they ſhould "be able to make, or how they could refuſe to permit the "owners of thoſe Goods to make their Arreſts, and to ſue in "their Admiralty for the ſame? Which firſt Proceſs would ſtop "the preſent Sale of whatever others pretended a Title to, till "the right ſhould be determin'd. The Prince of *Orange* ſaid, "That ſuch Queſtions uſed not to be ſtarted there with-"out deſign; and therefore adviſed the Prince "To loſe no "time in making compleat Sales of all that was to be ſold; "to the end that they who were engaged in the Purchaſe, "might likewiſe be engaged in the Defence of it. Upon this Ground, as well as the others which have been mention'd, haſty bargains were made with all who deſir'd to buy, and who would not buy except they were ſure to be good Gainers by all the bargains which they made. Nor could this be prevented by the caution or wiſdom of any who were upon the place, with no more Authority than they had. Mr *Long*, who was Secretary to the Prince, had been poſſeſſed of the Office of receiving and paying all Monies, whilſt the Prince was in the Fleet, and ſo could not well be removed from it when he came into *Holland*: though he was thought to love Money too well, yet no body who lov'd it leſs, would at that time have ſubmitted to the imployment, which expoſed him to the importunity and inſolence of all neceſſitous Perſons, when he could ſatisfy none; yet he liked it well with all its prejudice, and diſadvantage.

Assoon as the Money was raiſed, it was ſent to the Fleet to pay the Sea-men; and the Prince made a Journey to the Fleet to ſee, and keep up the Spirits of the Seamen, who were very mutinous, not without the infuſions of ſome who did not deſire they ſhould be too well pleaſed with their Officers. The Lord *Willoughby* ſtay'd on Board purely out of Duty to the King, though he liked neither the place he had, nor the People over whom he was to Command, who had yet more reſpect for Him than for any Body elſe. Sr *William Batten* likewiſe remain'd with them, not knowing well how

to refuse it, though he had too much reason to be weary of his Province, the Sea-men having contracted an implacable jealousy and malice against him, more than they were naturally inclined to. And the truth is, though there was not any evidence that he had any foul practices, he had an impatient desire to make his Peace, and to live in his own Country, as afterwards he did with the leave of the King; against whom he never after took imployment.

THE other point to be resolv'd was yet more difficult, "what should be done with the Fleet, and who should Com-"mand it? and though the Advertisement the Prince of *Orange* had given his Royal Highness, of the Question started in the States, concern'd only the Merchants Ships, which were made Prize, yet it was very easy to discern the Logick of that Question would extend as well, and be applied to those of the Royal Navy, as to Merchants Ships. And it was evident enough, that the United Provinces would not take upon them to determine whether they were in truth the Ships of the King, or of the Parliament. And it was only the differences which were yet kept up in the Houses, which kept them from being United in that demand. So that the Prince knew that nothing was more necessary than that they should be gone out of the Ports of those Provinces, and that the States wish'd it exceedingly.

WHILST *Bamfield* was about the Person of the Duke of *York*, he had infused into him a marvellous desire to be possessed of the Government of the Fleet: but the Duke was convinced with much ado, that it was neither safe for his Highness, nor for his Father's Service, that he should be embarked in it: and *Bamfield*, by an especial Command from the King, who had discover'd more of his foul practices than could be known to the Prince, was not suffer'd to come any more near the Person of the Duke. So he return'd into *England*; where he was never called in question for stealing the Duke away. From this time the Duke, who was not yet above fifteen years of Age, was so far from desiring to be with the Fleet, that, when there was once a Proposition, upon occasion of a suddain Mutiny amongst the Sea-men, "That he "should go to *Helvoet Sluce*, to appear amongst them, who professed great Duty to his Highness, he was so offended at it that he would not hear of it; and he had still some Servant about him who took pains to perswade him, "That the Coun-"cil had inclined the Prince to that designation, out of ill "will to his Highness, and that the Ships might deliver him "up to the Parliament. So unpleasant, and uncomfortable a Province had those Persons, who, being of the King's Council, serv'd both with great Fidelity; every Body who was unsatisfied

ſatisfied (and no Body was ſatisfied) aſperſing them, or ſome of them (for their prejudice was not equal to them all) in ſuch a manner as touch'd the honour of the reſt, and moſt reflected upon the King's own Honour, and Service.

PRINCE *Rupert* had a long deſire to have that Command of the Fleet put into his hands; and that deſire, though carried with all ſecrecy, had been the cauſe of ſo many Intrigues, either to inflame the Sea-men, or to cheriſh their froward inclinations, and encreaſe the prejudice they had to *Batten*. The Atturney mention'd this to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, ſhortly after his coming to the *Hague*, as a thing, he thought, that Prince might be induced to accept out of his Zeal to the King's Service, if he were invited to it; and thereupon was willing to debate, to what Perſon the Government of the Fleet could be committed, when it ſhould ſet Sail from the Port, and whither it ſhould go. The Chancellor made no other Anſwer to him, than "That it was like "to be a charge of much danger, and hazard; that he muſt "not believe that any Body would propoſe the undertaking it "to Prince *Rupert*, or that the Prince would Command him "to undertake it; and that he thought it neceſſary, that it "ſhould be firſt reſolv'd, what the Fleet ſhould do, and whi-"ther it ſhould go, before a Commander ſhould be appointed "over it.

The Affairs of the Marquis of Ormond *and the Lord* Inchiquin *in* Ireland.

WHEN the Marquis of *Ormond* had waited ſo many Months at *Paris* for the Performance of thoſe gaudy promiſes which the Cardinal had made, after he ſaw in what manner the Prince of *Wales* himſelf was treated by him, and that he would not ſuffer the leaſt aſſiſtance to be applied to the Affairs of *England*, in a conjuncture when very little would probably have done the work, upon the revolt of the Fleet, upon ſo powerful Inſurrections in *England*, and poſſeſſing ſo many places of importance on the King's behalf, and when the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* ſeem'd ſo united for his Majeſty's Service, and an Army of thirty thouſand Men were ſaid to be even ready to march; I ſay, after he diſcern'd that the Cardinal was ſo far from giving any countenance, or warmth to their blooming hopes, that he left nothing undone towards the deſtroying them, but the Impriſoning the Prince; he concluded that it was in vain for him to expect any relief for *Ireland*. And therefore he reſolv'd, though he had neither Men, nor Money, nor Arms, nor Ammunition, all which had been very liberally promiſed to tranſport with him, he would yet tranſport his own Perſon, to what evident danger ſoever he was to expoſe it. Upon the full aſſurance the Cardinal had given him of very ſubſtantial aid, he had aſſured the Lord *Inchiquin*, "That he would be preſent with him with "notable

"notable ſupply of Money, Arms, and Ammunition, and "good Officers, and ſome common Men (which were all in readineſs, if the Money had been paid to entertain them) and had likewiſe ſent to many, who had formerly ſerv'd the King, and liv'd now quietly in the Enemies Quarters, upon the Articles which had been formerly granted the Marquis of *Ormond*, "That they ſhould expect his ſpeedy arrival.

AND though he had, from time to time, ſent Advertiſements of the delays and obſtructions he met with in the *French* Court, ſo that he did almoſt deſpair of any Aſſiſtance from it, yet the Lord *Inchiquin* had advanced too far to retire; and the Lord *Liſle*, who had been ſufficiently provoked, and contemned by him, was gone into *England* with full malice, and ſuch information (which was not hard for him to be furniſh'd with) as would put *Cromwell* and the Army into ſuch fury, that his Friends in the Parliament, who had hitherto ſuſtain'd his Credit, would be very hardly able to ſupport him longer. So that, as he was to expect a ſtorm from thence, ſo he had a very ſharp War to maintain againſt the *Iriſh*, led and commanded by the Pope's Nuntio; which War had been always carried on in *Munſter* with wonderful animoſity, and with ſome circumſtances of bloodineſs, eſpecially againſt Prieſts, and others of the Roman Clergy, that it was very hard to hope that thoſe People would live well together. And indeed the *Iriſh* were near rooted out of the Province of *Munſter*, though they were powerful enough, and ſtrong in all the other Provinces. Hereupon the Lord *Inchiquin*, with all poſſible earneſtneſs, writ to the Lord of *Ormond*, "That, "though without any other Aſſiſtance, he would tranſport his "own Perſon: by whoſe Countenance and Authority he preſumed the *Iriſh* might be divided, and brought to reaſon; and deſir'd him, "In the mean time, to ſend to ſuch of the "*Iriſh* as had dependence upon him, and who, he knew, in "their Hearts did not wiſh well to the Nuntio, that they "would ſecretly correſpond with Him, and diſpoſe their "Friends and Dependents to concur in what might advance "the King's Service; to which they did not know that he was "inclined, but look'd upon him, as the ſame malicious and "irreconcilable Enemy to them, as he had always appear'd to "be to their Religion, more than to their Perſons.

An Account of the Affairs of the Iriſh *about this time.*

FROM the time that the *Iriſh* enter'd into that bloody, and fooliſh Rebellion, they had very different Affections, Intentions and Deſigns, which were every day improv'd in the carrying on the War. That part of them which inhabited the *Pale*, ſo called from a circuit of ground contain'd in it, was originally of *Engliſh* Extraction, ſince the firſt Plantation by the *Engliſh* many Ages paſt. And though they were degenerated

generated into the manners and barbarous Customs of the *Irish*, and were as stupidly transported with the highest Superstition of the Romish Religion, yet they had always steadily adher'd to the Crown, and perform'd the duty of good Subjects during all those Rebellions which the whole Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* was seldom without. And of that temper most of the Province of *Lemster* was: *Munster* was the most planted with *English* of all the Provinces of *Ireland*, and though there were many Noble Men of that Province, who were of the oldest *Irish* Extractions, and of those Families which had been Kings of *Munster*, yet many of them had intermarried with the best *English* Families, and so were better bred, and more civilized than the rest of the old *Irish*, and liv'd regularly in Obedience to the Government, and by connivance enjoy'd the exercise of their Religion, in which they were very zealous, with freedom and liberty enough.

The Seat of the old *Irish*, who retain'd the Rites, Customs, Manners, and ignorance of their Ancestors, without any kind of reformation in either, was the Province of *Ulster*; not the better cultivated by the Neighbourhood of the *Scots*, who were planted upon them in great Numbers, with circumstances of great Rigour. Here the Rebellion was first contriv'd, cherish'd, and enter'd upon with that horrid Barbarity, by the O *Neils*, the *Macguyres*, and the *Macmahoons*; and though it quickly spread it self, and was entertain'd in the other Provinces (many Persons of Honour and Quallity engaging themselves by degrees in it for their own security, as they pretended, to preserve themselves from the undistinguishing severity of the Lords Justices, who denounced the War against all *Irish* equally, if not against all Roman Catholicks; which kind of mixture and confusion was carefully declin'd in all the orders and directions sent to them out of *England*, but so unskilfully pursued by the Justices, and Council there, that as they found themselves without any employment or trust, to which they had chearfully offer'd their Service, they concluded, that the *English Irish* were as much in the jealousy of the State as the other, and so resolv'd to prevent the danger by as unwarrantable Courses as the rest had done) yet, I say, they were no sooner enter'd into the War, which was so generally embraced, but there appear'd a very great difference in the temper and purposes of those who prosecuted it. They of the more moderate Party, and whose main end was to obtain liberty for the exercise of their Religion, without any thought of declining their subjection to the King, or of invading his Prerogative, put themselves under the Command of General *Preston*: the other, of the fiercer and more savage Party, and who never meant to return to

their

their Obedience of the Crown of *England*, and look'd upon all the Eſtates which had ever been in the poſſeſſion of any of their Anceſtors, though forfeited by their Treaſon and Rebellion, as juſtly due to them, and raviſh'd from them by the Tyranny of the Crown, march'd under the Conduct of *Owen Roe O Neile*; both Generals of the *Iriſh* Nation; the one deſcended of *Engliſh* Extraction through many deſcents; the other purely *Iriſh*, and of the Family of *Tyrone*; both bred in the Wars of *Flanders*, and both Eminent Commanders there, and of perpetual jealouſy of each other: the one of the more frank and open Nature; the other darker, leſs polite, and the wiſer Man; but both of them then in the head of more numerous Armies apart, than all the King's power could bring into the Field againſt either of them.

The Characters of Preſton *and* O Neile *their chief Generals.*

THIS diſparity in the Temper and Humour of thoſe People, firſt diſpoſed thoſe of the moſt moderate to deſire a Peace ſhortly after the Rebellion was begun, and produced the Ceſſation that was firſt enter'd into, and the Peace, which did not ſoon enough enſue upon it; and which, upon the matter, did provide only for the exerciſe of the Roman Catholick Religion; but did that in ſo immoderate and extravagant a manner, as made it obnoxious to all the Proteſtants of the King's Dominions.

OWEN *Roe O Neile* refuſed to ſubmit to the Conditions and Articles of that Peace, though tranſacted and confirm'd by their Catholick Council at *Kilkenny*, which was the Repreſentative the *Iriſh* Nation had choſen for the Conduct of all the Counſels for Peace and War, and to which they all avowed, and had hitherto paid an entire Obedience. The Pope's Nuntio, who about that time came from *Rome*, and Tranſported himſelf into that Kingdom, applied himſelf to *Owen O Neil*, and took that Party into his Protection; and ſo wrought upon their Clergy, generally, that he broke that Peace, and proſecuted thoſe who had made it, with thoſe circumſtances which have been before remember'd, and which neceſſitated the Lord Lieutenant to quit the Kingdom, and to leave the City of *Dublin* in the hands of the Parliament; and Lord *Inchiquin* having likewiſe refuſed to conſent, and ſubmit to that Peace, and continued to make the War ſharply, and ſucceſsfully againſt the *Iriſh* in the Province of *Munſter*; whereof he was Preſident. But the Nuntio was no ſooner inveſted in the ſupreme Command of that Nation both by Sea and Land, as over a People ſubject to the Pope, and of a Dominion belonging to Him, than, being a Man of a fantaſtical Humour, and of an imperious and proud Nature, he behaved himſelf ſo inſolently towards all (and having brought no Aſſiſtance to them but the Pope's Bulls, endeavour'd by new

The Pope's Nuntio Commands the Iriſh.

new exactions to enrich himself) that even the Men of *Ulster* were weary of him; and they who had been the Instruments of the former Peace, were not wanting to foment those jealousies, and discontents, which had produced that application to the Queen and Prince at St *Germains*, and the Resolution of sending the Marquis of *Ormond* thither again, both which have been related before. And the Marquis now having given the Lord *Muskerry* (who had Married his Sister, and was the most powerful Person, and of the greatest Interest in *Munster* of all the *Irish*) and other of his Friends notice that the Lord *Inchiquin* would serve the King, and therefore required them to hold secret correspondence with him, and to concur with him in what he should desire for the advancement of his Service, they found means to hold such intercourse with him, that, before the Marquis of *Ormond* arriv'd there, against all the opposition the Nuntio could make, a Cessation of Arms was concluded between the Confederate Catholicks and the Lord *Inchiquin*; and the Nuntio was driven into *Waterford*; and, upon the matter, Besieged there by the Catholick *Irish*; and the Marquis arriving at the same time at *Kingsale*, and being receiv'd by the Lord *Inchiquin* with all imaginable duty as the King's Lieutenant, the forlorne and contemned Nuntio found it necessary to Transport himself into *Italy*, leaving the Kingdom of *Ireland* under an Excommunication, and Interdict, as an Apostate Nation; and all the Province of *Munster* (in which there are many excellent Ports) became immediately and entirely under the King's Obedience. All which being well known to the Prince, and the Council, it was easily concluded, "That it was the best, if not the only "place the Fleet could repair to; though the danger in Conducting it thither was visible enough; and therefore they were glad that Prince *Rupert* had made that advance towards the Command of it, and well satisfied with the wariness of the Answer the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave to the Attorney *Herbert*.

The Marquis of Ormond *arrives at* Kingsale, *and the Pope's Nuntio leaves* Ireland.

THERE was in truth no Body in view to whom the Charge of the Fleet could be committed but Prince *Rupert*: for it was well known that the Lord *Willoughby*, besides his being without much Experience of the *Sea*, was weary of it, and would by no means continue there; and the Seamen were too much broke loose from all kind of Order, to be reduced by a Commander of an Ordinary Rank. It was as true, that Prince *Rupert*, at that time, was generally very ungracious in *England*, having the misfortune not to be much belov'd by the King's Party, and hated by the Parliament. This was an exception that was foreseen: there was no other choice of a place to which the Fleet must be carried, but *Munster*; and the passage

ſage thither could not but be full of danger, in reſpect that the Parliament was without queſtion Maſter of the Sea (although the Iſland of *Silly* being then under the King's Authority, and Sr *John Greenvil* being the Governour thereof, made that paſſage ſomething the more ſecure) therefore this purpoſe was to be concealed as the laſt ſecret; there being great danger that the Sea-men would rather carry all the Ships back again to the Parliament, than into *Ireland*; againſt which People they had made a War at Sea with circumſtances very barbarous; for they had ſeldom given any Quarter, but the *Iriſh*, as well Merchants and Paſſengers, as Mariners, which fell into their Hands, as hath been ſaid before, were bound back to back and thrown into the Sea; ſo that they could have no inclination to go into a Country whoſe People had been handled ſo cruelly by them.

HERE again appear'd another objection againſt the Perſon of Prince *Rupert*, who would never endure to be ſubject to the Command of the Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom: and yet it ſeem'd moſt reaſonable that the Ships, whilſt they ſtay'd there, might be imploy'd towards the reducing of the other parts, which were in Rebellion: Beſides that there was cauſe to fear, that the Prince would not live with that Amity towards the Marquis of *Ormond*, as was neceſſary for the Publick Service. Notwithſtanding all this, when the little Stratagem of having Prince *Rupert* deſired to take the Command of the Fleet upon him, did not ſucceed, Prince *Rupert* himſelf made the Propoſition to the Prince to take the Command of it upon him, and to carry it whither his Royal Highneſs would be pleaſed to direct. And then, the whole matter being debated, neceſſity made that to be Counſellable, againſt which very many reaſonable objections might be made. So it was reſolv'd that Prince *Rupert* ſhould be Admiral of that Fleet, and that it ſhould Sail for *Ireland*. And the Charge, and Expedition appear'd to be the more hopeful by the preſence of good Officers, who had long Commanded in the Royal Navy: Sr *Thomas Kettleby*, whom the Prince made Captain of his own Ship the *Antelope*; Sr *John Mennes*, who had the Command of the *Swallow*, a Ship of which he had been Captain many years before; and Colonel *Richard Fielding*, who was made Captain of the *Conſtant Reformation*; all worthy and faithful Men to the King's Service, of long Expeperience in the Service at Sea, and well known and lov'd by the Sea-men. With theſe Officers, and ſome other Gentlemen, who were willing to ſpend their time in that Service, Prince *Rupert* went to *Helvoet Sluce*, where the Ships lay, and ſeem'd to be receiv'd by the Fleet with great joy. They all beſtirr'd themſelves in their ſeveral places to get the Ships ready

Prince Rupert *undertakes the Command of the Prince's Fleet.*

ready for Sea, and all those Provisions which were necessary, in making whereof there had not diligence enough been used.

When they took a strict Survey of the Ships, the Carpenters were all of opinion, "That the *Convertine*, a Ship of "the second Rank, that carried seventy Guns, was too old "and decay'd to be now set out in a Winter Voyage, and in "so rough Seas, and that when a great deal of Money should "be laid out to mend her, she would not be serviceable or safe. And it did appear, that when the Officers of the Navy had fitted her out at the beginning of the Summer, they had declared, "That, when she came in again, she would not be fit "for more use, but must be lay'd upon the Stocks. Whereupon the Ship was brought into *Helvoet Sluce*, upon the next Spring Tyde, and examined by the best *Dutch* Carpenters and Surveyors; and all being of the same mind, information was sent by Prince *Rupert* to the Prince of the whole, who thereupon gave direction for the Sale of the Ordnance, and whatsoever else would yield Money: all which was applied to the Victualling, and setting out the rest, without which no means could have been found to have done it; so much ill husbandry had been used, and so much direct cheating in the managing all the Money that had been raised upon the Prizes.

Prince *Rupert* remain'd all the time at *Helvoet Sluce*, till all was ready to set Sail, and had, with notable Vigour and Success, suppressed two or three Mutinies, in one of which he had been compell'd to throw two or three Sea-men over-board by the strength of his own Arms. All subordinate Officers were appointed, Commissioners for the Sale of all Prize Goods, and Ships that should be taken, Treasurers and Pay-masters for issuing and paying and receiving all Monies; and an establishment for the whole too regular and strict to be observ'd: and though all Persons imploy'd were well known, and approv'd by Prince *Rupert*, and most of them nominated by himself, yet he thought it fit after to change that Constitution, and by degrees brought the whole receipts, and issues under his own Management, and sole Government. When all was ready, he came to the *Hague*, to take leave of the Prince, and return'd, and about the beginning of *December* he set Sail for *Ireland*, met with good Prizes in the way, and arriv'd safely at *Kingsale*: nor had he been long gone out of *Holland*, when the Prince had a shrewd Evidence how unsecure a long abode would have been there, by some Parliament Ships coming into that Road, and sending their Men on Shore, who at noon day burnt the *Convertine* within the very Town of *Helvoet Sluce*, nor did the States make any expostulation, or do any justice for the Affront offer'd to themselves, and their Government.

Sets Sail for Ireland *in* December.

In

In this calamitous State of Affairs there ſeem'd to be no hope left, but that by Treaty the King might yet be reſtored to ſuch a condition, that there might be thoſe Roots left in the Crown, from whence its former Power, and Prerogative might ſprout out hereafter, and flouriſh. The Commiſſioners for the Treaty arriv'd in the Iſle of *Wight* upon the fifteenth day of *September*, whilſt *Cromwell* yet remain'd in his Northern Progreſs, and his Army divided into ſeveral parts for the finiſhing his Conqueſt; which was the reaſon that all they who wiſhed ill to the Treaty, and that it might prove ineffectual, had uſed and interpoſed all the delays they could, that he might return before it begun, as they who wiſhed it might ſucceed well, were as ſollicitous, that it might be concluded before that time; which made them the leſs to inſiſt upon many particulars both in the Propoſitions, and the Inſtructions, which they hoped might be more capable of remedies in the Treaty than before it.

The Commiſſioners arrive in the Iſle of Wight, Sept. 15.

They ſtayed three days in the Iſland before the Treaty begun, which was time little enough to prepare the Houſe for the King's reception at *Newport*, and adjuſting many circumſtances of the Treaty. In that time they waited ſeveral times on the King, with great ſhew of outward duty and reſpect; and though none of them durſt adventure to ſee the King in private, they Communicated freely with ſome of thoſe Lords, and others, who, with the Parliament's leave, were come to attend the King during the time of the Treaty. And ſo they found means to advertiſe his Majeſty of many particulars, which they thought neceſſary for him to know; which made different impreſſions upon him, as the information proceeded from Perſons better or worſe affected to him. And many of thoſe who had liberty to attend, were competent Conſiderers of the truth of what they ſaid.

The truth is, there were amongſt the Commiſſioners many who had been carried with the violence of the ſtream, and would be glad of thoſe conceſſions which the King would very chearfully have granted; an Act of Indemnity and Oblivion being what they were principally concern'd in. And of all the reſt, who were more paſſionate for the Militia, and againſt the Church, there was no Man, except Sr *Harry Vane*, who did not deſire that a Peace might be eſtabliſhed by that Treaty. For as all the other Lords deſir'd, in their own Natures and Affections, no more than that their Tranſgreſſions might never more be called to remembrance; ſo the Lord *Say* himſelf (who was as proud of his Quality, and of being diſtinguiſhed from other Men by his Title, as any Man alive) well foreſaw what would become of his Peerage, if the Treaty proved ineffectual, and the Army ſhould make their own model

model of the Government they would ſubmit to (as undoubtedly they reſolv'd ſhortly to do) and therefore he did all he could to work upon the King to yield to what was propoſed to him, and, afterwards, upon the Parliament, to be content with what his Majeſty had yielded. But the advice they all gave, of what inclinations or affections ſoever they were, was the ſame, "That his Majeſty ſhould, forthwith, and without "delaying it to the expiration of the Term aſſign'd by the "Parliament for the Treaty (which was forty days) "yield "to the full demands which were made in the Propoſitions. Their only Argument was, "That if he did not, or not do it "quickly, the Army would proceed their own way; and had "enough declared, that they would depoſe the King, change "the Government, and ſettle a Republick by their own Rules "and Invention. And this Advertiſement was as well believ'd by thoſe of the King's own Party, as by the Commiſſioners themſelves.

BEFORE the Treaty begun, the Commiſſioners made it known to the King "That they could not admit that any "Perſon ſhould be preſent in the Room where the Treaty "ſhould be in Debate: that they were Commiſſioners ſent "from the Parliament to treat with his Majeſty, and with Him "alone; and that they might not permit any particular and "private Perſons to oppoſe, or confer with them upon the de-"mands of the Parliament. So that albeit the Parliament had given leave to the ſeveral Biſhops, and other Divines, and to many Lawyers of eminency to wait on his Majeſty, upon his deſire, that they might inſtruct and inform him in all difficult caſes which related to Religion or the Law of the Land; they were like to be of little uſe to him now they were come, if they might not be preſent at the Debate, and offer ſuch advice to his Majeſty, as upon emergent occaſions he ſhould ſtand in need of, or require from them. At laſt they were contented, and his Majeſty was obliged to be contented too; that they might ſtand behind a Curtain, and hear all that was ſaid, and when any ſuch difficulty occurr'd as would require conſultation, his Majeſty might retire to his Chamber, and call thoſe to him, with whom he would adviſe, to attend him, and might then return again into the Room for the Treaty, and declare his own Reſolution. This was the unequal and unreaſonable Preliminary and Condition, to which the King was compelled to ſubmit before the Treaty could begin.

THEY who had not ſeen the King in a Years time (for it was little leſs from the time that he had left *Hampton* Court) found his Countenance extreamly alter'd. From the time that his own Servants had been taken from him, he would

never ſuffer his hair to be cut, nor cared to have any new Cloaths; ſo that his aſpect and appearance was very different from what it had uſed to be: otherwiſe, his health was good, and he was much more chearful in his diſcourſes towards all Men than could have been imagined, after ſuch mortification of all kinds. He was not at all dejected in his Spirits, but carried himſelf with the ſame Majeſty he had uſed to do. His hair was all gray, which making all others very ſad, made it thought that he had ſorrow in his countenance, which appear'd only by that ſhadow.

UPON *Monday* the 18th of *September*, the Treaty begun, and the Commiſſioners preſented their Commiſſion to his Majeſty, to treat with him Perſonally, upon the Propoſitions preſented formerly at *Hampton* Court, concerning the Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland* only, and upon ſuch Propoſitions as ſhould be offer'd either by his Majeſty, or the two Houſes of Parliament, according to their Inſtructions, *&c.* Though the King knew very well, that *Cromwell* had ſo totally ſubdued *Scotland*, that he had not left any Man there in the leaſt Authority or Power, who did ſo much as pretend to wiſh well to him, and that, in truth, *Cromwell* had as much the Command there as *Argyle* himſelf had, who was but his Creature, yet either to recover their broken Spirits, or to manifeſt his own Royal Compaſſion for them, he told the Commiſſioners, "That, when the Propoſitions had been deliver'd to him at "*Hampton* Court, the *Scotiſh* Intereſt was ſo involved in them, "that it could be hardly ſeparable from that of *England*: "that it concern'd him, as King of both Kingdoms, to be "juſt and equal between both; and that though they had no "Authority to treat for any thing but what related to *England*, yet He, who was to provide for the publick Peace "which could hardly be provided for, except the *Scots* were "comprehended in this Treaty) did deſire, that they would "ſend to the two Houſes of Parliament, to give a Paſs for one "of his Servants to go into *Scotland*, to invite the Council "there to ſend ſome Body authoriſed by that Kingdom, who "might treat with the Commiſſioners of Parliament: and to that purpoſe his Majeſty deliver'd them a Paper in writing to be ſent by them to the Parliament, telling them at the ſame time, "That it was never his deſire or meaning, that they "ſhould meddle in the Government of *England*, but only "ſhould treat concerning the Peace, to the end that that "might be durable. But the Commiſſioners alledged, "That "it was not in Their power to receive and tranſmit that, or "any other Paper, to the Parliament, that referr'd to that "Kingdom; and they beſought him to give them leave, as "an evidence of their Duty, to inform him what ill conſe-

"quence

"quence the tranſmiſſion of that Paper at that time might be "to the Treaty it ſelf. Whereupon he declin'd ſending it by a Meſſenger of his own for the preſent (which he intended to have done) being unwilling to give any occaſion of diſpute or jealouſy ſo early, and believing that after he ſhould have gotten a good underſtanding with the two Houſes, in what was of immediate concernment to *England*, he ſhould more effectually tranſmit that, or any other Paper, for the more eaſy compoſing the affairs of *Scotland*.

THEN they preſented their firſt propoſition to his Majeſty; "That he would revoke all Declarations, and Commiſ- "ſions granted heretofore by him againſt the Parliament. Whereupon his Majeſty deſired, "That he might ſee all the "Propoſitions, they had to make to him, together; that he "might the better conſider what ſatisfaction he could give "them upon the whole: which they would not yield to without much importunity, and at laſt deliver'd them with reluctancy, as a thing they were not ſure they ought to do. And though their Commiſſion referr'd to Inſtructions, and his Majeſty deſired that he might have a view of thoſe, they peremptorily refuſed to let him have a ſight of them; and only told him, "That they were directed by their Inſtructions, firſt "to treat upon the Propoſition they had already preſented to "him, concerning the revocation of the Declarations *&c.* "and in the next place, of the Church, then of the Militia, "and fourthly of *Ireland*, and afterwards of the reſt of the "Propoſitions in order; and they declared likewiſe that, "by their Inſtructions, they were not to enter upon any new "Propoſitions, before they ſhould have receiv'd his Majeſty's "final Anſwer to what was firſt propoſed.

The firſt Propoſition for revoking all his Majeſty's Declarations, &c.

HEREUPON the King demanded of them, "Whether "they had power and authority to recede from any particular "contained in their Propoſitions, or to conſent to any altera- "tions, if his Majeſty ſhould give them good reaſon ſo to do? To which they Anſwer'd very Magiſterially, "That they were "ready to Debate, to ſhew how reaſonable their deſires were, "and that there could be no reaſon why they ſhould alter or "recede from them; but if his Majeſty did ſatisfy them, they "ſhould do therein as they were warranted by their Inſtructi- "ons. Theſe limitations and reſtrictions in a matter of that importance, which contain'd a new frame of Government, and an alteration of all Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions, almoſt damped and ſtifled all the hope his Majeſty had entertain'd of good from this Treaty. However, he reſolv'd to try if conſenting to the ſubſtantial part of any Propoſition would give them ſatisfaction; and ſo, without taking notice of the Preamble of that Propoſition, which they had deliver'd to him,

His Majesty's Answer to it.

he declared in writing, which he deliver'd to them, "That he "was willing to grant the Body of their Propoſition, that was "to recall all Declarations, *&c.* But they immediately return'd another Paper to him, in which they ſaid, "His Majeſty had "left unanſwer'd the moſt eſſential part of their Propoſition, "repeating the words in the Preamble, which recited, "That "the two Houſes of Parliament had been neceſſitated to enter "into a War in their juſt and lawful defence; and that the "Kingdom of *England* had enter'd into a ſolemn League and "Covenant to proſecute the ſame; and ſo juſtifying all that had been done, *&c.* To all which they very vehemently preſſed "His Majeſty's approbation and conſent, as the moſt "neceſſary foundation of a laſting Peace, and the indiſpen- "ſable expectation of the two Houſes and of the whole King- "dom; and that the two Houſes, and the Kingdom, could "not decline this particular demand, without which they "could not believe themſelves to be in any ſecurity; ſince, "by the Letter of the Law, they who had adhered to the Par- "liament, might ſeem guilty of raiſing War againſt the "King, and ſo to be guilty of High Treaſon by the Statute "of the 25th year of King *Edward* the third: whereas by the "Conſtruction and Equity thereof they were juſtified; and "therefore that the conſenting to this Preamble was ſo eſſen- "tial, that without it the Parliament would be thought guil- "ty; which they hoped his Majeſty did not deſire it ſhould. And that this might make the deeper impreſſion upon him, the Lord *Say*, in the Debate of it, twice repeated with more paſſion than was natural to his Conſtitution, "That he did "tremble to think how ſad the conſequence would be, if what "they now preſſed ſhould be denied. And others ſaid, "That "it was no more than his Majeſty had heretofore granted in "the Act of Indemnity that he had paſſed in *Scotland*; and if "he ſhould now refuſe to do it in *England*, there would be a "ſpeedy end put to the Treaty, without entring upon any "of the other Propoſitions. The King was ſo much per- plexed, and offended with this haughty way of reaſoning, that he told thoſe with whom he conſulted, and writ the ſame to the Prince his Son, "That the long reſtraint he had endured "in the Caſtle of *Carisbrooke*, was not a greater evidence of "the Captivity of his Perſon, nor was he more ſenſible of it, "than this was of the Captivity of his Mind, by his being "forced to decline thoſe Anſwers and Arguments which "were proper to the ſupport of his Cauſe, and which muſt "have brought bluſhes over the Faces of the Commiſſioners, "and to frame others more ſeaſonable and fit to be offer'd to "Men in that condition from him who was to receive, and "not give conditions.

HOWEVER,

HOWEVER, this Propoſition was of ſo horrid and monſtrous a Nature, ſo contrary to the known truth, and ſo deſtructive to Juſtice and Government, that it ſeem'd to naturalize Rebellion, and to make it current in the Kingdom to all Poſterity, that his Majeſty could not forbear to tell them, "That no Act of Parliament could make that to be true which "was notoriouſly known to be falſe; that this Treaty muſt "be the foundation of the future Peace and Security, and "what was herein provided for both could never be called in "queſtion; that he was moſt willing, that it ſhould be made "very penal to every Man to reproach another for any thing "he had done during the late Troubles, upon what Provoca-"tion ſoever. He put them in mind, "That it was well known "to ſome of them, that the Act of Indemnity in *Scotland* was "paſſed when his Majeſty was not there, nor any Commiſ-"ſioner appointed by him; that it was prepared, and drawn "by his Atturney General of that Kingdom, who was then "of the Party that was againſt his Majeſty; and therefore it "was no wonder that he call'd thoſe of his own ſide, Loyal "Subjects, and good Chriſtians, in the Preamble of that Act; "which was never ſeen by his Majeſty, though it was con-"firm'd indeed, with the other Acts which had paſſed in that "diſorderly time, by his Majeſty upon the concluſion of the Peace, and their return to their Obedience; and that, when "that ſhould be the caſe here, he would give them all the "appellations they ſhould deſire, and as unqueſtionable ſecu-"rity as they could wiſh. To all which they made no other reply, and that unanimouſly, "But that they could not be-"lieve themſelves ſecure, if that Preamble was not entirely "conſented to.

Diſpute concerning the Preamble of it.

THIS refractory obſtinate adherence of the Commiſſioners to their own Will, without any ſhadow of reaſon, prevailed nothing upon the King; inſomuch as he was inclined to run the hazard of the preſent diſſolution of the Treaty, and to undergo all the inconveniencies and miſchiefs which probably might attend it, rather than to ſacrifice his Honour, and the Juſtice of his Cauſe, to their inſolent demand, until he had enter'd into a ſerious deliberation with thoſe Perſons who were about him, of whoſe affections to him he had all aſſurance, and of the great abilities, and underſtanding of moſt of them he had a very juſt eſteem. They all repreſented to him, from the Conference they had with ſuch of the Commiſſioners, who, they were confident, ſpoke to them as they thought and believ'd, "That if there were no expedient found "out to give more ſatisfaction upon this firſt Propoſition, "than his Majeſty had yet offer'd, aſſoon as the Commiſ-"ſioners ſhould give account of it to the two Houſes, they

"would be presently recall'd; and the Treaty be at an end: "And then it would be universally declar'd and believ'd, how "untrue soever the assertion was, that the King refused to se- "cure the Parliament, and all who had adher'd to them, from "a Prosecution by Law; upon which they thought it to no "purpose to proceed farther in the Treaty: whereas if his "Majesty had condescended to them in that particular, which "concern'd the Lives and Fortunes of their whole Party in "the Kingdom, they would have given him such satisfaction "in all other particulars, as a full and happy Peace must have "ensued.

THEN the Lawyers inform'd him, "That his giving way "to a recital in a new Law, which was not a Declaratory "Law of what the Law was formerly in being, concerning "the business in question, and only in a Preamble to a Law "for recalling Declarations, *&c.* did not make their Actions "lawful, if they were not so before; nor did it take away "from those who had adher'd to him, any defence or benefit "the former Laws had given to them; nor would his Party "be in a worse condition than they had always been: for his "Majesty had always offer'd in all his Declarations, that they "who follow'd him, and who were by them called Delin- "quents, should, at all times, submit to a Trial by the Laws "of the Land, and if they should be found guilty of any "Crime, they should not be protected by him. And it was "evident, by their not prosecuting any one, since they were "fallen into their hands, in any legal way, that they do not "think their Transgressions can be punish'd by Law.

UPON these reasons, and the joynt advice and importunity of all about him, as well the Divines as the Lawyers, the King first deliver'd a Paper in writing to the Commissioners, in which he declar'd, "That nothing that should be put "in writing concerning any Proposition, or part of any Pro- "position should be binding, prejudicial, or made use of, if "the Treaty should break off without effect: and the Commissioners presented another Paper in writing, in which they fully consented to that Declaration in the very terms of the said Declaration. Thereupon the King consented to pass the first Proposition, with the Preamble to it, albeit, he said, "That he well foresaw the aspersions it would expose him to; "yet he hoped his good Subjects would confess that it was "but a part of the price he had paid for their benefit, and the "Peace of his Dominions.

The King consents to it.

THE first Proposition being thus consented to as they could wish, they deliver'd their second concerning Religion and the Church; which comprehended, "The utter abolishing "Episcopacy, and all jurisdiction exercised by Arch-Bishops, Bishops,

The second Proposition concerning Religion and the Church.

"Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, and alienating their Lands, "which ſhould be ſold to the uſe and benefit of the Common-"wealth; the Covenant; which was preſented to his Ma-"jeſty to take himſelf, and to impoſe upon all others: The "Common-Prayer, and Publick Liturgy of the Church to be "aboliſh'd, and taken away; and that the Reformation of "Religion, according to the Covenant, in ſuch manner as "both Houſes had, or ſhould agree, after conſultation with "Divines, ſhould be ſettled by Act of Parliament: which, the King told them, "Exceeded the Implicit Faith of the Church "of *Rome*; which rather obliges her Proſelytes to what ſhe "Does hold, than to what ſhe Shall. It required "The "eſtabliſhing the Presbyterian Government, the Directory, "the Articles of Chriſtian Religion (a Body whereof they preſented) "the ſuppreſſing Innovations in Churches; for the "better advancement of Preaching, the obſervation of the "Lord's day, a Bill againſt Pluralities and Non-reſidence; "ſeveral Acts againſt Papiſts; and the taking and impoſing "the Covenant.

THIS pregnant Propoſition, containing ſo many monſtrous particulars, ſufficiently warn'd his Majeſty, how impoſſible it would be to give them ſatisfaction in all; and therefore having, by conſenting to the entire firſt Propoſition, put it out of their power to break off the Treaty, and to tell the People, "That the King, at the entrance into it, had denied to give "them any ſecurity for their Lives and Fortunes, he thought it now fit to offer to the Commiſſioners a Propoſition of his own, that both the Parliament, and the People, might clearly diſcern how much of his own Right and Dignity he would Sacrifice for their Peace; and which, he thought, might prevent the deſigns of thoſe who might endeavour, upon one ſingle Propoſition, or part of a Propoſition, to break the Treaty.

The King offers a Propoſition of his own; which the Commiſſioners refuſe to ſend to the Houſes.

HIS own Propoſitions contained, in very few words, but three particulars: I. "That he might enjoy his Liberty: "II. That his Revenue might be reſtored to him: III. That "an Act of Oblivion might paſs: Which, he very well knew, would be moſt grateful to thoſe who ſeem'd to value it leaſt, as it would exempt his own Friends from any illegal, and unjuſt vexations.

THE Commiſſioners abſolutely refuſed to ſend it to the Houſes, though they had no Authority to Anſwer it themſelves. They ſaid, "It rather contain'd an Anſwer to all their "Propoſitions, than was a ſingle Propoſition of his own; and "that the ſole end of making it, was to cajole the People; which, the King told them, "Better became Him to do than "any Body elſe. But when they peremptorily refuſed to tranſ-

The King sends it by Messengers of his own; but it is Voted unsatisfactory.

mit it to the Houſes, the King ſent an Expreſs of his own to deliver it; which being done, after ſome days deliberation, the Houſes return no other Anſwer to the King, "Than that "his Propoſition was not ſatisfactory. In the mean time the Commiſſioners preſs'd for his Anſwer to the firſt part of their Propoſition, for the aboliſhing of Biſhops. It would be very tedious and unneceſſary to ſet down at large the Diſpute, and Arguments which were uſed on both ſides upon this Subject. The Commiſſioners, who would not ſuffer any of the King's Servants to be ſo much as preſent when any thing of the Treaty was agitated, thought fit now to let looſe their own Clergy upon the King; who was much better verſed in the Argument than they were.

Their Miniſters diſpute with the King about the Biſhops.

THAT which they urged moſt, was the common Allegations "That Biſhop and Presbyter in the Scripture Language "ſignified one and the ſame thing: That, if the Apoſtles ex- "erciſed a larger Juriſdiction, it had been granted to them as "Apoſtles, and concern'd not their Succeſſors, to whom no "ſuch Authority had been granted, nor any Superiority over "other Presbyters, who were of the ſame Function with them. Then they inveigh'd vehemently againſt "Lords Biſhops; "their Pride, and Luſtre; and they all behaved themſelves with that rudeneſs, as if they meant to be no longer ſubject to a King, no more than to a Biſhop. And two of them very plainly and fiercely told the King, "That if he did not conſent "to the utter aboliſhing of Epiſcopacy, he would be damn'd; with which his Majeſty was not mov'd. The Men, *Jenkins*, and *Spurſtow*, liv'd after the return of King *Charles* the Second, and, according to the modeſty of that race of People, came to kiſs his Majeſty's hand, and continued the ſame Zeal in all Seditious Attempts.

THE King preſs'd them with thoſe Texts of Scripture which have been conſtantly urged by thoſe who maintain the *Jus Divinum* of Biſhops, the Authority of the Fathers, and the Government of all Chriſtian Churches for fifteen hundred years, and particularly of the Church of *England*, before and ſince the Reformation, by conſtant and uniform practice and uſage; which could not but be by themſelves acknowledged to have been by Biſhops. The Commiſſioners reliev'd their ill manner'd Clergy, and urged, "That whatſoever was not of "Divine Inſtitution might very lawfully be alter'd; for if it "had its Original from Men, it might by Men be changed, or "reverſed: That Epiſcopacy as it was eſtabliſh'd in the Church "by the Laws of *England*, was not that Epiſcopacy that was "mention'd or preſcribed in Scripture; and therefore the "Laws, which ſupported it, might be juſtly taken away; "which, they ſaid, was the reaſon that had induced many "Men

"Men who were not Enemies to Epiſcopacy, to take the Co-
"venant; which obliged them to take the preſent Hierarchy
"away.

In a word they urged, "The practice of other Reform'd
"Churches, and that his Majeſty inſiſting upon the preſerva-
"tion of Epiſcopacy, as eſſentially neceſſary, was to reproach
"and condemn Them. To which he Anſwer'd, "That both
"*Calvin* and *Beza*, and moſt Learned Men of the Reform'd
"Churches, had approv'd, and commended the Epiſcopal Go-
"vernment in *England*; and many of them had bewailed
"themſelves, that they were not permitted to retain that Go-
"vernment.

Besides all their Arguments in publick, which his Majeſty with wonderful acuteneſs fully Anſwer'd, and deliver'd his Anſwers in writing to them (which none of them ever after undertook to reply unto) they found means in private to advertiſe the King, that is, ſuch of them who were known to wiſh well to him, "That they were of his Majeſty's judgment
"with reference to the Government, which they hoped might
"yet be preſerv'd, but not by the method his Majeſty pur-
"ſued: that all the reaſonable hope of preſerving the Crown,
"was in dividing the Parliament from the Army; which
"could be only done by his giving ſatisfaction in what was
"demanded with reference to the Church; which would
"unite the Parliament in it ſelf, ſome few Perſons excepted,
"and the City to the Parliament; where the Presbyterians
"were moſt powerful; and this being done, the Parliament
"would immediately have power to reform their Army; and
"to disband thoſe who would not be reform'd: That then
"the King would be remov'd to *London*, to perfect that by
"his own preſence in Parliament, which ſhould be prepared
"by this Treaty; and then the wording thoſe Bills, and the
"formality of paſſing them, would give opportunity for ma-
"ny alterations; which being now attempted, would de-
"ſtroy all, and reconcile the Parliament to the Army; which
"would deſtroy the King: But then, what the King urged as
"matter of Conſcience in himſelf would find reſpect, reve-
"rence, and concurrence. No doubt they who did make
theſe Inſinuations, did in truth believe themſelves; and did
think, as well as wiſh, that the ſequel would be ſuch as they
foretold. But that which had more Authority with the King,
and which no body about him could put him in mind of, be-
cauſe none of them had been privy to it, was the remem-
brance of what he had promiſed concerning the Church to
the *Scots*, in the Engagement at the Iſle of *Wight*; which he
could not but conculde was well known to many of the Preſ-
byterians in *England*: and he thought that whatever he had
promiſed

promiſed to do then, upon the bare hope and probability of raiſing an Army, he might reaſonably now offer when that Army was deſtroy'd, and no hope left of raiſing another. And thereupon he did, with much reluctancy, offer the ſame he had then promiſed to do; which was, "To ſuſpend Epiſcopacy for three years, and then upon conſultation with Divines, amongſt which he would nominate twenty to be preſent, and to conſult with them, ſuch a Government of the Church as ſhould be agreed upon might be eſtabliſh'd: That he would not force any Man to take the Covenant, and would have the Privilege of his own Chappel to uſe the Common-Prayer, and obſerve the ſame Worſhip he had uſed to do; and that all Perſons, who deſired it, might have liberty to take the Covenant, and to uſe the Directory; in fine, he conſented to all that he had offer'd in that Engagement with reference to the Government of the Church; and likewiſe, "That Money ſhould be raiſed upon the ſale of the Church Lands, and only the old Rent ſhould be reſerv'd to the juſt owners and their Succeſſors. Theſe, with ſome other conceſſions of leſs importance, which related to other Branches of the ſame Propoſition, *magna inter ſuſpiria*, he deliver'd to the Commiſſioners as his final Anſwer; which the Major part of them, did then believe would have preſerv'd his Majeſty from farther importunity and vexation in that particular.

The King's Conceſſions on this point.

THE next Propoſition was concerning the Militia; which was their Darling; and diſtinguiſh'd the *Scots* from the *Engliſh* Presbyterians; the former never deſiring to invade that unqueſtionable Prerogative of the Crown; the latter being in truth as fond of it (and as refractory without it) as of Preſbytery it ſelf; and in that particular concurr'd even with *Cromwell*, and made little doubt of ſubduing him by it in a ſhort time. In this demand they exerciſed their uſual modeſty, and to abridge the ſubſtance of it in few words, they requir'd "a power to keep up the preſent Army, and to raiſe what other Armies they pleaſed for the future; which gave them "Authority over the Perſons of all Subjects, of what degree or quality ſoever. Secondly, a power to raiſe Money for the uſe and maintenance of thoſe Forces, in ſuch a manner, and by ſuch ways and means, as they ſhould think fit. And hereby they had had the diſpoſal of the Eſtates and Fortunes of all Men without reſtraint, or limitation. Thirdly, "All Forces by Land and Sea to be managed, and diſpoſed as They ſhould think fit, and not otherwiſe. All this modeſt Power and Authority "Muſt be granted to the Lords and Commons for twenty years. And, as if this had not been enough, they required farther, "That in all Caſes, when the "Lords

The third Propoſition concerning the Militia.

"Lords and Commons ſhall declare the Safety of the King-
"dom to be concern'd, unleſs the King give his Royal Aſſent
"to ſuch a Bill as ſhall be tender'd to him for raiſing Money,
"the Bill ſhall have the force of an Act of Parliament, as if he
"had given his Royal Aſſent.

THERE were other particulars included, of power to the City of *London* over the Militia, and for the Tower of *London*, of no importance to the King, if he once diſpoſed, and granted the other as was required, nor need he take care to whom the reſt belonged. Here the King was to conſider whether he would wholely grant it, or wholely deny it, or whether he might reaſonably hope ſo to limit it, that They might have Authority enough to pleaſe them, and He reſerve ſome to himſelf for his own ſecurity. The King had thought with himſelf, upon revolving all Expedients, which he had too long warning to ruminate upon, to propoſe "That the Inha-
"bitants of every County ſhould be the ſtanding Militia of
"the Kingdom to be drawn out of the Counties upon any
"occaſions which ſhould occur; which would prevent all ex-
ceſſive Taxes and Impoſitions, when they were to be paid by themſelves. But he quickly diſcern'd that ſuch a Propoſition would be preſently called a Conſpiracy againſt the Army, and ſo put an end to all other Expedients. Then he thought of limiting the extravagant Power in ſuch a manner, that it might not appear ſo monſtrous to all intents and purpoſes whatſo-ever; and therefore propoſed, "That none ſhould be com- *The King's Anſwer.*
"pell'd to ſerve in the War againſt their Wills, but in caſe of
"an Invaſion by Forreign Enemies: That the Power concern-
"ing the Land Forces ſhould be exerciſed to no other pur-
"poſes, than for the ſuppreſſing of Forces which might at any
"time be raiſed without the Authority and Conſent of the
"Lords and Commons, and for the keeping up, and main-
"taining the Forts and Garriſons, and the preſent Army, ſo
"long as it ſhould be thought fit by both Houſes of Parlia-
"ment: That what Monies ſhould at any time be thought
"neceſſary to be raiſed, ſhould be raiſed by general and equal
"Taxes, and Impoſitions; and laſtly, that all Patents and
"Commiſſions to the purpoſes aforeſaid might be made in the
"King's Name, by Warrant ſignified by the Lords and Com-
"mons, or ſuch other ſignification as they ſhould direct, and
"authoriſe.

THESE Limitations were ſent to the Parliament, who, ac- *This Voted by the Parliament unſatisfactory.*
cording to the method they had aſſumed, ſoon Voted "That
"the Meſſage was unſatisfactory. Hereupon, that he might at leaſt leave ſome Monument and Record of his care and tenderneſs of his People (for after his extorted Conceſſions to the ſo great Prejudice of the Church, he never conſider'd what might

might be dangerous to his own Perſon) he deliver'd his conſent to the Propoſition it ſelf to the Commiſſioners, with a Preamble to this purpoſe; "That whereas their Propoſition con-
"cerning the Militia, requir'd a far larger power over the Per-
"ſons and Eſtates of his Subjects, than had been ever hitherto
"warranted by the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, yet in
"regard the preſent diſtractions might require more, and truſt-
"ing in his two Houſes of Parliament, that they would make
"no farther uſe of the power therein mention'd, after the
"preſent diſtempers ſhould be ſettled, than ſhould be agree-
"able to the legal Exerciſe thereof in times paſt, and for the
"purpoſes particularly mention'd in their Propoſition, and to
"give ſatisfaction to his two Houſes of Parliament that he
"intends a full ſecurity to them, and to expreſs his real de-
"ſires to ſettle the Peace of the Kingdom, his Majeſty doth
"conſent to the Propoſition concerning the Militia as it was
"deſired. This the Commiſſioners did by no means like, nor would acquieſce in, and alledged, "That as the Conceſ-
"ſion muſt be the Subject of an Act of Parliament, ſo this
"Preamble muſt be a part of it, and would adminiſter occa-
"ſion of difference and diſpute upon the interpretation of it;
"which being ſo clearly foreſeen, ought not to be admitted
"in any Act of Parliament, much leſs in ſuch a one as is to
"be the principal Foundation of a laſting Peace of the King-
"dom. After much vexation of this kind, and importunity of Friends, as well as of Enemies, and being almoſt as weary of denying as of granting, he ſuffer'd the Preamble to be left out, and his conſent to be deliver'd without it.

The King conſents to it with a Preamble.

At laſt conſents to it without the Preamble.

It may be well wonder'd at, that, after having ſo far complied with theſe three Propoſitions, there ſhould be any pauſe or heſitation in the debate of the reſt. For in that concerning the Church, and the other concerning the Militia, both the Church and the Militia of *Ireland* follow'd the Fate of *England*, and were in effect comprehended in the ſame Propoſitions: ſo that there remain'd nothing more with reference to that Kingdom, "But declaring the Peace that was made
"there with the *Iriſh*, to be void; which they preſſed with the ſame paſſion, as if they had obtain'd nothing; although his Majeſty referr'd the carrying on the War to them, and told them, "That he knew nothing of the Peace, which had
"been made during his Impriſonment, when he could re-
"ceive no Advertiſement of what was doing, or done; and
"therefore he was content that it ſhould be broken, and the
"War be carried on in ſuch a manner as ſhould pleaſe Them; which was all one to their ends and purpoſes, as what they deſired. But this did by no means pleaſe them. If the Peace were not declared to be actually void, they could not ſo eaſily take

The fourth Propoſition concerning Ireland.

take that vengeance of the Marquis of *Ormond* as they reſolv'd to do. Yet after all theſe general conceſſions, which ſo much concern'd Himſelf, and the Publick, and when the neceſſity that had obliged him to that unwilling complyance, might well have excuſed him for ſatisfying them in all the reſt of their demands, when they preſſed his conſent to what only concern'd private and particular Perſons, as the revoking all Honours and Grants of Offices which he had conferr'd upon thoſe who had ſerv'd him faithfully, and to except many of them from Pardon, and leave them to the unmerciful cenſure of the two Houſes, both for their Lives and Fortunes; to ſubmit others to pay, for their Delinquency in obeying and ſerving him, a full moiety of all they were worth; to deprive others of their practice in their ſeveral Profeſſions, and Functions (which expoſed all the Lawyers and Divines, who had been faithful to him, to utter ruin) it cannot be expreſs'd with what grief, and trouble of mind he receiv'd thoſe importunities; and without doubt, he would at that time with much more willingneſs have died, than ſubmitted to it; but the Argument "That he had done ſo much, was now preſs'd upon him (by his Friends, and thoſe who were to receive as much prejudice as any by his doing it) "That he ſhould do more; "and ſince he had condeſcended to many things which gave "himſelf no ſatisfaction, he would give ſo full ſatisfaction to "the Parliament, that He might receive that benefit, and the "Kingdom that Peace and Security he deſired.

Some other particulars the King at firſt ſticks at.

MANY Advertiſements came from his Friends in *London*, and from other places, "That it was high time that the Treaty "were at an end, and that the Parliament had all his Majeſty's "Anſwers before them, to determine what they would do "upon them, before the Army drew nearer *London*, which, "infallibly, it would ſhortly do, aſſoon as thoſe in the North "had finiſh'd their work. It was now near the end of *October*, and the appointed time for the concluſion of the Treaty was the fourth of *November*; and ſo after all importunities, as well of thoſe who were to ſuffer, as thoſe who were to triumph in their ſufferings, his Majeſty's conſent was procured to moſt that was demanded in the reſt of the Propoſitions; the King, and all Men, conceiving the Treaty to be at an end.

But conſents at laſt.

THE King had, about the middle of *October*, again deliver'd his own Propoſition for his Liberty, his Revenue, and an Act of Oblivion, to the Commiſſioners; which they receiv'd. And though, at the beginning of the Treaty, they had refuſed to tranſmit it the Houſes, yet now, after ſo many conceſſions, they thought fit to ſend it; and did ſo aſſoon as they receiv'd it. But no anſwer was return'd. Hereupon, when the Treaty was within two days of expiring, his Majeſty

The Commiſſioners now ſend the King's own Propoſition to the Parliament.

Majesty demanded of them, "Whether they had receiv'd any "Instructions to treat upon, or to give an Answer to his own "Proposition, which he had deliver'd to them so long since? "or whether they had receiv'd any Order to prolong the "Treaty? To which they Answer'd, "They had not as to "either. And when he asked them the same Question, the very last hour of the limited time, they made the same Answer. So that the whole forty days assign'd for the Treaty were expired, before they vouchsafed to return any Answer to the single Proposition the King had made to them. However they told him, "They had receiv'd new Command to "make fresh instance to his Majesty, that he would forthwith "publish a Declaration against the Marquis of *Ormond*; who "had very lately declared, that he had Authority to make a "Peace with the *Irish* Rebels; and was then treating with "them to that purpose. To which his Majesty Answer'd, "that it was not reasonable to press him to publish any Declaration against the Marquis; since that if the Treaty should "end happily, the desires of the two Houses were satisfied by "the Concessions he had already made; and so adhered to his first Answer. And conceiving the Treaty to be closed, he desired the Commissioners, "That since He had departed "from so much of his own Right to give his two Houses satisfaction, They would be a means that he might be pressed "no farther; since the few things he had not satisfied them "in, had so near relation to his Conscience, that, with the "Peace of that, he could not yield farther; and desir'd them "to use the same eloquence, and abilities, by which they had "prevail'd with Him, in representing to the two Houses the "sad condition of the Kingdom, if it were not preserv'd by "this Treaty. And so concluded with many gracious expressions for their Personal civilities, and other kind expressions; which made impression upon all of them who had any Bowels.

They require a Declaration of the King against the Marquis of Ormond.

His Majesty's Answer.

ALL this being past, and the King believing and expecting that the Commissioners would take their leave of him the next Morning, they came the same Night to inform him, "That they had then receiv'd new Orders and Instructions for "the continuing and enlarging the Treaty for fourteen days "longer; for which his Majesty was nothing glad; nor did they in the Houses who wished well to him, desire that Prolongation. For it was easily discern'd, that it was moved and prosecuted only by them who did not intend that the Treaty it self should have any good effect; which they were not yet ready and prepared enough to prevent, the Army not having yet finished what they were to do in all places; and was consented to unskilfully, by those who thought the continuance

The Parliament enlarges the Treaty 14 days longer.

tinuance of the Treaty was the beſt ſign that both ſides deſired Peace: and it quickly appear'd, by the new inſtances they made, that delay was their only buſineſs. The Commiſſioners, with new importunity, and bitterneſs, begun upon their new inſtructions "That the King would immediately "publiſh the Declaration againſt the Marquis of *Ormond*, without any other reaſons than thoſe which he had Anſwer'd before. His Majeſty Anſwer'd "There was no other difference "between them but in point of time, whether preſently, or "at the concluſion of the Peace: upon the Peace, they had "the ſubſtance of their deſire already granted; and if there "were no Peace, they had reaſon to believe that no Declara-"tion he ſhould make would be believed or obeyed; and ſo adhered to what he had anſwer'd formerly.

The Commiſſioners renew their demand about Ormond.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

THEN they declar'd, "That the Parliament was not ſatiſ-"fied with his Conceſſions with reference to the Church; that "the Presbyterian Government could be exerciſed with lit-"tle profit, or comfort, if it ſhould appear to be ſo ſhort-liv'd "as to continue but for three years; and that they muſt there-"fore preſs the utter extirpating the Function of Biſhops. Then, the perfect and entire alienation of their Lands was inſiſted on; whereas by the King's Conceſſions, the old Rent was ſtill reſerv'd to them. They ſaid, "The Parliament "did not intend to force, but only to rectify his Conſcience; and to that end, they added more reaſons to convince him in the ſeveral points. They repeated their old diſtinction between the Scripture-Biſhop, and the Biſhop by Law. For the abſolute alienation of their Lands, they urged many Precedents of what had been done in former times upon convenience, or neceſſity, not ſo viſible and manifeſt as appear'd at preſent; and concluded with their uſual threat, "That the con-"ſequence of his denial would be the continuance of the pub-"lick diſturbances.

They urge farther about the Church.

TO all which his Majeſty anſwer'd, "That, for the Preſ-"byterian Government, they might remember that their own "firſt order for the ſettling it, was only for three years; "which they then thought a competent time for a Probatio-"nary Law, that contain'd ſuch an alteration in the State; and "therefore they ought to think the ſame now: and that it "might be longer lived than three years, if it would in that "time bear the teſt, and examination of it; and that nothing "could be a greater honour to that diſcipline, than its being "able to bear that teſt and examination. He ſaid, "He was "well pleaſed with their Expreſſion, that they did not intend "to force his Conſcience; yet the manner of preſſing him "looked very like it, after he had ſo ſolemnly declared that it "was againſt his Conſcience; that he did concur with them in

The King's Anſwer.

"in their distinction of Bishops, and if they would preserve "the Scripture-Bishop, he would take away the Bishop by "Law. He confessed, "That Necessity might justify, or ex- "cuse many things, but it could never warrant him to deprive "the Church of God of an Order instituted for continual use, "and for establishing a Succession of Lawful Ministers in the "Church. For the point of Sacrilege, he said, "The concur- "rent opinion of all Divines was a much better information "to his Conscience, what is Sacrilege, than any Precedents "or Law of the Land could be. Upon the whole matter, he adhered to his former Answer in all the particulars, and concluded, "That he could with more comfort cast himself upon "God's goodness to support him in, and defend him from all "Afflictions, how great soever, that might befall him, than "deprive himself of the inward tranquillity of his mind, for "any Politick consideration that might seem to be a means to "restore him.

The Parliament's Votes upon the King's former Proposition.

It must not be forgotten, that the last day, when the Treaty was to end, they deliver'd to the King the Votes which the two Houses had passed concerning and upon his own Message (which had lain so long in their hands unanswer'd) which were in effect, I. "That from and after such time as the "Agreements upon this Treaty should be ratified by Acts of "Parliament, all his Houses, Mannors, and Lands, with the "growing Rents and Profits thereof, and all other Legal Re- "venue of the Crown should be restored to him, liable to the "maintenance of those Ancient Forts, and Castles, and such "other Legal Charges as they were formerly charged withal, "or liable to. II. That he should be then likewise resettled "in a condition of Honour, Freedom, and Safety, agreeable to "the Laws of the Land. III. That an Act of Indemnity should "be then passed with such exceptions and limitations as should "be agreed upon, with this addition, that it should be de- "clared by Act of Parliament, that nothing contain'd in his "Majesty's Propositions should be understood or made use of "to abrogate, weaken, or in any degree to impair any Agree- "ment in this Treaty, or any Law, Grant, or Commission "agreed upon by his Majesty and the two Houses of Par- "liament, in pursuance thereof; in all which his Majesty ac- quiesced.

Another Prolongation of the Treaty till Nov. 25.

The time limited for the Prolongation of the Treaty was to end upon the one and twentieth of *November*, and the Commissioners believ'd it so absolutely concluded, that they took their leave of the King, and early the next Morning went to *Cows* Harbour to Embark themselves. But the Tyde not serving to Transport them out of the Island, that Night a Messenger arriv'd with Directions to them to continue the

Treaty

Treaty till the five and twentieth; which was four days more. So, the three and twentieth, they return'd and acquainted his Majeſty with it.

The Declaration of the Army.

At the ſame time, the thundring Declaration of the Army was publiſhed; which declar'd the full reſolution "To change "the whole frame of the Government, and that they would "be contented with no leſs an alteration; which, as it was an Argument to the King to endeavour all he could to unite the two Houſes, that they might be able to bear that ſhock, ſo it was expected that it would have been no leſs an Argument to have prevailed with them to adhere to the King, ſince their Intereſt was no leſs threaten'd than His.

The Commiſſioners new Propoſitions againſt Delinquents ſince Jan. 1647. *and others, eſpecially the Marquis of* Ormond.

The freſh inſtances the Commiſſioners made, were upon ſeveral Votes which had paſſed the two Houſes againſt Delinquents; and a new Propoſition concerning thoſe who had engaged themſelves againſt the Parliament ſince the laſt *January*, and particularly againſt the Marquis of *Ormond*. They propoſed, "That there ſhould be ſeven Perſons, the "Lord *New-Caſtle*, and ſix others (who were named) "Who "ſhould be excepted from pardon, and their Eſtates for- "feited: that the Delinquents, in the ſeveral Claſſes men- "tion'd in their Propoſition, ſhould pay for their Compoſi- "tion, ſome a Moiety, others a third part of their Eſtates, and "other Rates, as they were ſet down; and that all who had "been engaged in the Land or Sea-Service ſince *January* 1647, "ſhould pay a full years value of their whole Eſtates more "than the other Delinquents; and that none who had been "againſt the Parliament ſhould preſume to come within either "of the Courts belonging to the King, Queen, or Prince, or "be capable of any Office or Preferment, or of ſerving in Par- "liament, for the ſpace of three years; and that all Clergy Men "who had been againſt the Parliament, ſhould be deprived "of all their Preferments, Places, and Promotions; which "ſhould be all void as if they were naturally dead. To theſe the King Anſwer'd, that, "To the excepting the ſeven Per- "ſons named from Pardon, and the forfeiture of their Eſtates, "his Anſwer was, that, if they were proceeded againſt ac- "according to the ancient eſtabliſhed Laws, and could not ju- "ſtify and defend themſelves, he would not interpoſe on their "behalf; but he could not, in juſtice or honour, joyn him- "ſelf in any Act for taking away the Life or Eſtate of any that "had adhered to him. For the Rates which were to be paid "for Compoſition, he referr'd it to the two Houſes of Parlia- "ment, and to the Perſons themſelves, who would be con- "tented to pay it; and he did hope and deſire, that they "might be moderately dealt with. And for the Clergy Men, "whoſe Preferments he well knew were already diſpoſed of,

The King's Anſwer.

and in the hands of another kind of Clergy, who had deserv'd so well of the Parliament, that it would not be in his power to dispossess them, his Majesty desired, "That they might be "allowed a third part of what was taken from them, till such "time that they, or the present Incumbents, should be bet-"ter provided for. As to the Marquis of *Ormond*, against whom they pressed what they had before done with extraordinary Animosity, the King Answer'd, "That since what he "had said before (and which would bring all to pass that they desired) "Did not give them satisfaction, he had written "a Letter (which he deliver'd to them, to be sent, and read to them) "In which he directed him to desist; and said, if he "refused to submit to his Command, he would then publish "such a Declaration against his power and his proceedings, as "they desired.

Another Prolongation of the Treaty for a day, wherein they present two Propositions more.

AND now the second limitation of time for the Treaty was at an end. But that Night came another Vote; which continued it for a day longer, with a Command to the Commissioners to return on *Thursday* Morning; which was the eight and twentieth of *November*: and thereupon they presented two Propositions to his Majesty, which were to be dispatched that day.

One concerning Scotland.

THE Two Propositions they sent for one days work, were, the first, concerning *Scotland*; the other, concerning the Church; which they did not think they had yet destroyed enough. For *Scotland*, they demanded "The King's consent, "to confirm by Act of Parliament such Agreements as should "be made by both Houses with that Kingdom, in the security "of such thereof who had assisted or adhered to those of the "Parliament of *England*, and for the settling and preserving a "happy and durable Peace between the two Nations, and for "the mutual defence of each other. The King put them in mind, "That at the beginning of the Treaty they had inform'd "him, that their Commission was only to treat concerning "*England*, and *Ireland*; and that they had no Authority to "meddle in any thing that related to *Scotland*; and that they "had thereupon refused to receive a Paper from him, which "was to preserve the Interest of that Kingdom; and demand-"ed of them, whether their Commission was enlarged? which they confess'd "Was not; and that they had presented that "Paper only in obedience to the Order they had receiv'd. So that the King easily understood that the end was only that they might have occasion to publish, "That the King had re-"jected whatsoever was tender'd to him on the behalf of the "Kingdom of *Scotland*. To prevent which, he Answer'd, "that as he would joyn in any Agreement, to be confirm'd "by Act of Parliament, for the settling and preserving a happy

To that the King's Answer.

"and

"and durable Peace between the two Nations, and for their "mutual defence of each other under him as King of both; "so he would secure all who had been formerly engaged with "them; but for any new Engagement, or confederacy, which "they would make hereafter, he would first know what it was, "and be advised with in the making it, before he would pro- "mise to confirm it. The other business with reference to the Church gave him much more trouble. The Commis- sioners pressed him "To consider the Exigence of time, and that "there was not a whole day left to determine the Fate of the "Kingdom; and that nothing could unite the Counsels of "those who wished and desired Peace, and to live happily un- "der his Subjection and Obedience, against the bold attempts "of the Army, which had enough declared and manifested "what their intention was, but satisfying the Houses fully in "what they demanded in that particular. His own Council, and the Divines, besought him "To consider the safety of his "own Person, even for the Church's and his People's sakes, "who had some hope still left whilst he should be preserv'd, "which could not but be attended with many Blessings; "whereas, if He were destroyed, there was scarce a possibility "to preserve them: that the moral and unavoidable necessity "that lay upon him, obliged him to do any thing that was "not Sin; and that, upon the most prudential thoughts which "occur'd to them, the Order which He, with so much Piety "and Zeal, endeavour'd to preserve, was much more like to "be destroy'd by his not complying, than by his suspending "it till his Majesty and his two Houses should agree upon a "future Government; which, they said, much differ'd from "an abolition of it.

The other touching the Church.

HEREUPON he gave them his final Answer, "That after "such condescensions, and weighed resolutions in the busines "of the Church, he had expected not to be farther press'd "therein; it being his judgment, and his conscience. He said, "he could not, as he was then inform'd, abolish Episcopacy "out of the Church; yet because he apprehended how fatal "new distractions might be to the Kingdom, and that he be- "liev'd his two Houses would yield to truth, if it were made "manifest to them, as he had always declared that he would "comply with their Demands, if he were convinced in his "Conscience, he did therefore again desire a Consultation "with Divines, in the manner he had before proposed, and "would in the mean time suspend the Episcopal power, as "well in point of Ordination of Ministers, as of Jurisdiction, "till He and the two Houses should agree what Government "should be establish'd for the future. For Bishop's Lands, he "could not consent to the absolute alienation of them from the

The King's final Answer.

"Church, but would conſent that Leaſes for Lives, or Years, "not exceeding ninety nine, ſhould be made for the ſatiſ- "faction of Purchaſers or Contractors; little differing from the Anſwer he had formerly given to this laſt particular: and in all the reſt he adhered to his former Anſwers. And the Commiſſioners, having receiv'd this his final Anſwer, took their leaves, and the next Morning begun their Journey towards *London*.

The Sum of the King's Letter to his Son concerning the whole Treaty.

THE King had begun a Letter to the Prince his Son before the firſt forty days were expired, and continued it, as the Treaty was lengthen'd, even to the hour it was concluded, and finiſhed it the nine and twentieth of *November* after the Commiſſioners were departed, and with it ſent a very exact Copy of all the Papers which had paſſed in the Treaty, in the order in which they were paſſed, fairly engroſſed by one of the Clerks who attended. But the Letter it ſelf was all in his own hand, and contain'd above ſix Sheets of Paper; in which he made a very particular relation of all the motives and reaſons which had prevailed with him, or over him, to make thoſe Conceſſions; out of which moſt of this relation is extracted. And it is almoſt evident, that the Major part of both Houſes of Parliament was, at that time, ſo far from deſiring the execution of all thoſe conceſſions, that, if they had been able to have reſiſted the wild fury of the Army, they would have been themſelves Suitors to have declined the greateſt part of them. That which ſeem'd to afflict him moſt, next what referr'd to the Church and Religion, and which, he ſaid, "Had a large ſhare in his conſcientious conſiderations, was the hard meaſure his Friends were ſubjected to; for whoſe Intereſt he did verily believe he ſhould better provide in the execution of the Treaty, than he had been able to do in the Preliminaries. For, he ſaid, "He could not but think, "that all who were willing that he ſhould continue their "King, and to live under his Government, would be far "from deſiring in the concluſion to leave ſo foul a Brand "upon his Party, of which they would all deſire to be ac- "counted for the time to come. However, he hoped that "all his Friends would conſider, not what he had ſubmitted "to, but how much he had endeavour'd to relieve them from; and conjured the Prince his Son, "That the leſs he had been "able himſelf to do for them, the more, if God bleſſed him, "He ſhould acknowledge and ſupply. He ſaid, "He would "willingly forget in how high degree ſome Subjects had been "diſloyal, but never had Prince a Teſtimony in others of "more Loyalty than He had had; and however that God, "for their, and his puniſhment, had not bleſſed ſome of their "Endeavours, yet, he ſaid, more miſguided Perſons were at "laſt

"laſt reduced to their Loyalty, than could in any ſtory be "exampled; and that, by that, Subjects might learn how "dangerous the neglect of ſeaſonable duty is; and that Men "cannot eaſily fix when they pleaſe what they have unneceſ-"ſarily ſhaken. The concluſion of the Letter, as it was dated, the five and twentieth of *November* (what was added to it after, till the nine and twentieth, was but the additional paſſages upon the enlargement of time) deſerves to be preſerv'd in Letters of Gold, and gives the beſt Character of that excellent Prince; and was in theſe words.

The Concluſion of that Letter in the King's own words.

"By what hath been ſaid, you ſee how long We have la-"bour'd in the ſearch of Peace: do not You be diſhearten'd "to tread in the ſame ſteps. Uſe all worthy ways to reſtore "your ſelf to your Right, but prefer the way of Peace: ſhew "the greatneſs of your mind, if God bleſs you (and let Us "comfort you with that which is our own Comfort, that "though Affliction may make us paſs under the cenſures of "Men, yet we look upon it ſo, as if it procure not, by "God's Mercy, to Us a Deliverance, it will to You a bleſſing) "rather to conquer your Enemies by pardoning, than puniſh-"ing. If You ſaw how unmanly and unchriſtian the im-"placable diſpoſition is in our ill-Willers, you would avoid "that Spirit. Cenſure Us not for having parted with ſo much "of our own Right; the price was great, but the commodity "was ſecurity to Us, Peace to our People: and we were con-"fident, another Parliament would remember how uſeful a "King's power is to a People's liberty; of how much thereof "We deveſted Our ſelf, that We and They might meet once "again in a due Parliamentary way, to agree the bounds of "Prince and People. And in this give belief to our Expe-"rience, never to affect more Greatneſs or Prerogative, than "that which is really and intrinſically for the Good of Sub-"jects, not the ſatisfaction of Favourites. If you thus uſe it, "you will never want means to be a Father to all, and a boun-"tiful Prince to any you would be extraordinary gracious to. "You may perceive all Men entruſt their Treaſure where it re-"turns them Intereſt; and if Princes, like the Sea, receive, and "repay all the freſh ſtreams the River entruſts with them, they "will not grudge, but pride themſelves to make them up an "Ocean. Theſe conſiderations may make You as great a Prince, "as your Father is now a low one; and Your State may be ſo "much the more eſtabliſh'd, as Mine hath been ſhaken. For "our Subjects have learn'd (we dare ſay) that Victories over "their Princes are but Triumphs over themſelves; and ſo will "be more unwilling to hearken to changes hereafter. The *Eng-*"*liſh* Nation are a ſober People, however at preſent infatuated.

"We know not but this may be the last time We may "speak to you, or the World, publickly: We are sensible "into what hands We are fallen; and yet, We bless God, "We have those inward refreshments the Malice of our Ene- "mies cannot perturb. We have learn'd to busy Our self by "retiring into Our self; and therefore can the better digest "what befalls Us; not doubting but God's Providence will "restrain Our Enemies power, and turn their Fierceness to "his Praise.

"To conclude, If God gives you Success, use it humbly "and far from Revenge. If He restore you to your Right "upon hard Conditions, whatever you promise, keep. These "Men, who have forced Laws, which they were bound to "preserve, will find their Triumphs full of Troubles. Do not "think any thing in this World worth the obtaining by foul "and unjust means.

"You are the Son of our Love, and as We direct you to "weigh what We here recommend to you, so We assure "you, We do not more affectionately pray for you (to whom "We are a natural Parent) than We do, that the ancient "Glory and Renown of this Nation be not buried in Irreli- "gion and Phanatick Humour; and that all our Subjects (to "whom We are a Politick Parent) may have such sober "thoughts, as to seek their Peace in the Orthodox profession "of the Christian Religion, as was establish'd since the Re- "formation in this Kingdom, and not in new Revelations; "and that the ancient Laws, with the interpretation according "to the known practice, may once again be a hedge about "Them: that You may in due time govern, and They be "govern'd, as in the fear of God; which is the prayer of

"Your very loving Father *C. R.*

Newport 25th *Nov.* 1648.

While the Treaty lasted, it was believ'd that his Majesty might have made his escape; which most Men who wish'd him well, thought in all respects ought to have been attempted; and before the Treaty, he himself was inclined to it, thinking any Liberty preferable to the restraint he had endured. But he did receive some discouragement from pursuing that purpose, which both diverted him from it, and gave him great trouble of mind. It cannot be imagin'd how wonderfully fearful some Persons in *France* were that he should have made his Escape, and the dread they had of his coming thither; which, without doubt, was not from want of tenderness of his safety, but from the apprehension they had, that the little respect they would have shew'd him there, would have been a greater mortification to him than all that he could suffer

ſuffer by the cloſeſt impriſonment. And ſure there was, at that time, no Court in *Chriſtendom* ſo honourably, or generouſly conſtituted, that it would have been glad to have ſeen him; and it might be ſome reaſon that they who wiſh'd him very well, did not wiſh his Eſcape, becauſe they believ'd Impriſonment was the worſt his worſt Enemies intended towards him; ſince they might that way more reaſonably found, and ſettle their Republican Government; which Men could not ſo prudently propoſe to bring to paſs by a Murder; which, in the inſtant, gave the juſt Title to another who was at liberty to claim his Right, and to diſpute it: I ſay, before the Treaty, and after the Votes and Declarations of no more Addreſſes, when his Treatment was ſo barbarous, his Majeſty had propoſed to himſelf to make an Eſcape, and was very near the perfecting it. He had none about him but ſuch Perſons who were placed by thoſe who wiſh'd worſt to his Safety; and therefore choſe ſuch Inſtruments as they thought to be of their own Principles. Amongſt thoſe there was a young Man, one *Osborne*, by extraction a Gentleman; who was recommended by the Lord *Wharton* (one who deſerv'd not to be ſuſpected by *Cromwell* himſelf) to Colonel *Hammond*, to be placed in ſome near attendance about the King; and he, from the recommendation, never doubting the fitneſs of the Man, immediately appointed him to wait as Gentleman Uſher; which gave him opportunity to be almoſt always in the preſence of the King. This young Man, after ſome Months attendance, was wrought upon by the dignity of the King's Carriage, and the great Affability he uſed towards thoſe who were always about him, to have a tenderneſs and loyal Senſe of his Sufferings; and did really deſire to do him any Service that might be acceptable. By his Office of Gentleman Uſher he uſually held the King's Gloves when he was at Meat, and firſt took that opportunity to put a little Billet, in which he expreſs'd his Devotion, into one of the fingers of his Glove. The King was not forward to be credulous of the Profeſſions of a Perſon he knew ſo little, and who, he knew, would not be ſuffer'd to be about him, if he were thought to have thoſe Inclinations. However, after longer obſervation, and ſometimes ſpeaking to him whilſt he was walking amongſt others in the Garden allow'd for that purpoſe, his Majeſty begun to believe that there was ſincerity in him; and ſo frequently put ſome Memorial into fingers of his Glove, and by the ſame expedient receiv'd advertiſement from him.

THERE was in the Garriſon one *Rolph*, a Captain of a Foot Company, whom *Cromwell* placed there as a prime Confident, a Fellow of a low Extraction, and very ordinary parts;

who, from a Common Soldier, had been truſted in all the intrigues of the Army, and was one of the Agitators inſpired by *Cromwell* to put any thing into the Soldiers minds, upon whom he had a wonderful Influence, and could not contain himſelf from ſpeaking maliciouſly and wickedly againſt the King, when diſſimulation was at the higheſt amongſt the great Officers. This Man grew into great familiarity with *Osborne*, and knowing from what Perſon he came recommended to that Truſt, could not doubt but that he was well inclined to any thing that might advance him; and ſo, according to his cuſtom of reviling the King, he wiſh'd "He "were out of the World; for they ſhould never make any "Settlement whilſt he was alive. He ſaid, he was ſure the "Army wiſh'd him dead, and that *Hammond* had receiv'd "many Letters from the Army to take Him away by Poyſon, "or any other way; but he ſaw it would never be done in "that Place; and therefore, if he would joyn with him, they "would get Him from thence; and then the work would eaſily be done. *Osborne* ask'd him, "How it could be poſſi-"ble to remove Him from thence, without *Hammond*'s, or "the King's own conſent? *Rolph* Anſwer'd, "That the King "might be decoy'd from thence, as he was from *Hampton* "Court, by ſome Letters from his Friends, of ſome danger "that threaten'd him, upon which he would be willing to "make an Eſcape; and then he might eaſily be diſpatched. *Osborne* ſhortly found an opportunity to inform the King of all this.

An Attempt for the King's Eſcape.

THE King bid him "Continue his familiarity with *Rolph*, "and to promiſe to joyn with him in contriving how his Ma-"jeſty ſhould make an Eſcape; and he hoped thereby to make *Rolph*'s Villany the means of getting away. He recommended one of the Common Soldiers to *Osborne*, "Who, he ſaid, he thought, might be truſted; and wiſh'd him "To truſt "one *Doucet*; whom the King had known before, and who was then placed to wait upon him at his back ſtairs, and was indeed an honeſt Man; for it was impoſſible for him to make an Eſcape, without the privity of ſuch Perſons, who might provide for him, when he was got out of the Caſtle, as well as help him from thence. *Osborne* told *Rolph*, "He was confident "he ſhould in the end perſwade the King to attempt an "Eſcape, though he yet ſeem'd jealous and apprehenſive of be-"ing diſcover'd, and taken again. *Doucet* concurr'd very willingly in it, and the Soldier who was choſen by the King, prov'd likewiſe very honeſt, and wrought upon one or two of his Companions who uſed to ſtand Sentinels at the place where the King intended to get out. All things were provided; and the King had a File, and Saw; with which he had, with

with wonderful trouble, ſaw'd an Iron Bar in the Window, by which he could be able to get out; and being in this readineſs, the Night was appointed, and *Osborne* at the place where he was to receive the King. But one of the Soldiers inform'd *Rolph* of more particulars than *Osborne* had done, by which he concluded that he was falſe, and directed the Soldier to proceed, and ſtand Sentinel in the ſame place to which he had been aſſign'd; and he, and ſome others truſted by him, were Arm'd, and ſtood very near with their Piſtols. At midnight the King came to the Window, reſolving to go out; but as he was putting himſelf out, he diſcern'd more Perſons to ſtand thereabout than uſed to do, and thereupon ſuſpected that there was ſome diſcovery made; and ſo ſhut the Window, and retired to his Bed. And this was all the ground of a diſcourſe, which then flew abroad, as if the King had got half out at the Window, and could neither draw his Body after, nor get his Head back, and ſo was compell'd to call out for help; which was a meer fiction.

ROLPH acquainted *Hammond* with what the King had deſign'd; who preſently went into his Chamber, and found the King in his Bed, but the Bar of the Window cut in two, and taken out; by which he concluded his information to be true; and preſently ſeiſed upon *Doucet*, but could not apprehend *Osborne*; who was either fled out of the Iſland, or conceal'd in it that he could not be found. *Rolph* could not forbear to inſult upon *Doucet* in Priſon, and ſcornfully ask'd him, "Why his King came not forth when he was at the Win-"dow? and ſaid, "He was ready with a good Piſtol charg'd "to have receiv'd him. When *Osborne* had got into a place of preſent ſafety, he writ a Letter to his Patron the Lord *Wharton*, informing him of the whole matter; and deſired him, "To acquaint the Houſe of Peers of the deſign upon the "King's Life, and that he would be ready to appear and ju-"ſtify the Conſpiracy. That Lord, after he had kept the Letter ſome time, ſent it to *Hammond*, as the fitteſt Perſon to examine the truth of the Relation. *Osborne* was not diſcouraged with all this; but ſent two Letters to the Speakers of both Houſes, and incloſed the Letter he had formerly writ to the Lord *Wharton*. In the Houſe of Commons the information was ſlighted, and laid aſide; but it made more impreſſion upon the Houſe of Peers; who ſent, with more than ordinary earneſtneſs, to the Commons, "That *Rolph* might "be ſent for, and a Safe-guard for forty days to *Osborne* to ap-"pear, and proſecute.

Osborne accuſes Rolph *for a deſign upon the King's Life*

ROLPH brought with him a large Teſtimonial from *Hammond* of "His Integrity, and of the many good Services he 'had done to the State. *Osborne* appear'd likewiſe at the Lords

Lords Bar, and made good upon Oath all that is before ſet down, and undertook to produce other Evidence. The Houſe of Commons had no mind to have it examin'd farther, but the clamour of the People was ſo great, that, after many delays, they Voted "That it ſhould be try'd at the General Aſ-"ſizes at *Wincheſter*. And thither they ſent their well try'd Serjeant *Wild*, to be the ſole Judge of that Circuit: before whom the Major part of the ſame Jury that had found Captain *Burley* guilty, was impannell'd for the Tryal of *Rolph. Osborne*, and *Doucet*, who upon Bail had liberty to be there, appear'd to make good the Indictment; and, upon their Oaths, declar'd all that *Rolph* had ſaid to them, as is ſet down before. The Priſoner, if he may be call'd a Priſoner who was under no reſtraint, had two Lawyers aſſign'd to be of Council with him, contrary to the Law and Cuſtom in thoſe Caſes; but he needed not to have had any Council but the Judge himſelf; who told the Jury, "That it was a buſineſs of great im-"portance that was before them; and therefore that they "ſhould take heed what they did in it: that there Was a "time indeed when Intentions and Words were Treaſon, but "God forbid it ſhould be ſo now: how did any body know "but that thoſe two Men, *Osborne* and *Doucet*, would have "made away the King, and that *Rolph* charg'd his Piſtol to "preſerve him? or, perhaps they would have carried him "away to have engaged them in a ſecond War. He told them, "They were miſtaken who did believe the King in "Priſon; the Parliament did only keep him ſafe to ſave the "ſhedding of more Blood. Upon theſe good directions, the Grand Jury found an *Ignoramus* upon the Bill; and this was ſome little time before the Treaty.

The Commiſſioners report of the Treaty to the Parliament.

WHEN the Commiſſioners who had treated with the King at the Iſle of *Wight*, were return'd to the Parliament, their report took up many days in the Houſe of Commons, where the Reſolution was firſt to be taken; which commonly was final, the Lords rarely preſuming to contradict what the others thought fit to determine. The Queſtion upon the whole was, "Whether the Anſwer that the King had made to their Pro-"poſitions, was ſatisfactory? which was debated with all the Virulence, and Acrimony towards each other, that can fall from Men ſo poſſeſſed as both ſides were.

A long and ſharp Debate upon it.

Sr Harry Vane's *Speech concerning it.*

YOUNG Sr *Harry Vane* had begun the Debate with the higheſt Inſolence, and Provocation; telling them, "That they "ſhould that day know and diſcover, who were their Friends, "and who were their Foes; or, that he might ſpeak more "plainly, who were the King's Party in the Houſe, and who "were for the People; and ſo proceeded with his uſual grave bitterneſs againſt the Perſon of the King, and the Govern-

ment

ment that had been too long Settled; put them in mind, "that they had been diverted from their old ſettled Reſolu-"tion and Declaration, that they would make no more Ad-"dreſſes to the King; after which the Kingdom had been "govern'd in great Peace, and begun to taſte the ſweet of that "Republican Government which they intended and begun to "eſtabliſh, when by a Combination between the City of "*London* and an ill affected Party in *Scotland*, with ſome "ſmall contemptible Inſurrections in *England*, all which were "fomented by the City, the Houſes had, by clamour and "noiſe, been induced and compell'd to reverſe their former "Votes and Reſolution, and enter into a Perſonal Treaty "with the King; with whom they had not been able to pre-"vail, notwithſtanding the low Condition he was in, to "give them any ſecurity; but he had ſtill reſerv'd a power in "himſelf, or at leaſt to his Poſterity, to exerciſe as Tyran-"nical a Government as he had done: that all the Inſurre-"ctions, which had ſo terrified them, were now totally ſub-"dued; and the principal Authors and Abettors of them in "their Cuſtody, and ready to be brought to Juſtice, if they "pleaſed to direct, and appoint it: that their Enemies in *Scot-*"*land* were reduced, and that Kingdom entirely devoted to "a firm and good correſpondence with their Brethren, the "Parliament of *England*; ſo that there was nothing wanting, "but their own Conſent and Reſolution, to make themſelves "the happieſt Nation and People in the World; and to that "purpoſe deſir'd, that they might without any more loſs of "time, return to their former Reſolution of making no more "Addreſſes to the King; but proceed to the ſettling the Go-"vernment without him, and to the ſevere puniſhment of thoſe "who had diſturbed their peace and quiet, in ſuch an exem-"plary manner, as might terrify all other Men for the future "from making the like bold attempts: which, he told them, "they might ſee would be moſt grateful to their Army, which "had merited ſo much from them by the Remonſtrance they "had ſo lately publiſh'd.

THIS diſcourſe appear'd to be exceedingly diſliked, by that kind of Murmur which uſually ſhews how the Houſe ſtands inclined, and by which Men make their judgments there, of the ſucceſs that is like to be. And his Preface, and Entrance into the Debate, were taken notice of with equal ſharpneſs; and, "His preſumption in taking upon himſelf to divide the "Houſe, and to cenſure their Affections to the Publick, as "their ſenſe and judgment ſhould agree, or diſagree with his "own. One ſaid, "That ſince he had, without Example, "taken ſo much upon him, he was not to take it ill, if the "contrary was aſſumed by other Men; and that it was as law-

"ful

"full for another Man, who ſaid he was no gainer by the "Troubles, to make another Diviſion of the Houſe, and to "ſay, that they ſhould find in the Debate of that day that "there were ſome who were deſirous of Peace; and that They "were all loſers, or, at leaſt, no gainers by the War; and "that others were againſt Peace; and that They by the War "had gained large Revenues, and great Sums of Money, and "much Wealth; and therefore his Motion was, that the "Gainers might contribute to the Loſers, if they would not "conſent that the one might enjoy what was left, and the "other poſſeſs what they had got, by a Peace that might be "happy for both.

The large Remonſtrance of the Army brought to the Houſe by ſix Officers.

WHILST this was debating in the Houſe, which continued ſeveral days, ſix Officers, from the head Quarters at *Windſor*, whither the Army had been brought before, or at the time when the Treaty ended at the Iſle of *Wight*, brought their large Remonſtrance to the Houſe; in which they deſir'd, "That there might be no farther proceedings upon the "Treaty; but that they would return to their former determi-"nation of no farther Addreſſes, and make what haſte they "could in ſettling the Government: that the bargaining Pro-"poſition on the behalf of Delinquents, which was only upon "a Contract with the King, and not in any Judicial way, "might be laid aſide; and that publick Juſtice might be done "upon the principal Actors in the late Trouble, and that "others, upon a true ſubmiſſion, might find Mercy: that a "peremptory day might be ſet, when the Prince of *Wales*, and "the Duke of *York*, ſhould be requir'd to appear; which if "they ſhould not do, they ſhould ſtand exiled as Traitors; "and if they ſhould appear, yet they ſhould be bound to make "ſome ſatisfaction: that an end might be put to this Parlia-"ment, and a new Repreſentative choſen of the People, for "the governing and preſerving the whole Body of the Na-"tion. That no King might be hereafter admitted but upon "Election of the People, and as upon truſt for the People, "who ſhould be likewiſe limitted and reſtrain'd by the Re-"preſentative, with many other impracticable Particulars, which troubled the Parliamant the leſs for their incohorence, and impoſſibility to be reduced into practice.

The King taken from Carisbrooke Caſtle and carried to Hurſt *Caſtle.*

BUT that which troubled moſt, and indeed which awaken'd them to the moſt diſmall apprehenſions, was, that they were advertiſed, that the King was taken away from *Carisbrooke* Caſtle by an Officer of the Army, and carried to *Hurſt* Caſtle, not far from the other, but Situated on the main Land, and in ſo vile and unwholeſome an Air, that the Common Guards there uſed to be frequently changed for the preſervation of their health. Colonel *Hammond* had, before the expiration of the

the Treaty writ many Letters to the Parliament, to be discharged from that Government, and from the care of the King's Person; and the Officers of the Army seem'd wonderfully offended with him for making the demand; and he got himself looked upon as under a Cloud. But the Treaty was no sooner ended (and before the Commissioners begun their Report to the Houses) but he was discharged of the Trust of the Person of the King, and another Colonel sent to take the Person of the King, and to carry him to *Hurst* Castle.

THIS News being brought when they were in the heat of the Debate upon the King's Answer, they gave over that contest, and immediately Voted, "That the seising upon the King's "Person, and carrying him Prisoner to *Hurst* Castle, was with- "out Their advice and consent: which Vote had little contradiction, because no Man would own the Advice. Then they caused a Letter to be written to the General, "That the "Orders and Instructions to Colonel *Ewre* (the Officer who had seised the King) "were contrary to their Resolutions, "and Instructions to Colonel *Hammond*; and therefore, that "it was the pleasure of the House, that he should recal those "Orders; and that Colonel *Hammond* should again resume "the care of the King's Person. But the General, without taking any notice of their Complaint, or of their Command, demanded the payment of the Arrears due to the Army; and told them, "That unless there were present Money sent to "that purpose, he should be forced to remove the Army, and "to draw them nearer to *London*. And at the same time a new Declaration was sent to the House from the Army, in pursuance of their late Remonstrance; which the House refused to take into consideration; and some sturdy Members moved, "That the Army might be declared Traitors, if they "presumed to march nearer *London* than they were at pre- "sent; and that an impeachment of High Treason might be "drawn up against the principal Officers of it. Hereupon, the General marches directly for *London*, and Quarters at *White-Hall*; the other Officers, with their Troops, in *Durham* House, the *Mues*, *Covent* Garden, *Westminster*, and St *James's*; and for the present necessity, that no inconvenience might fall out, they sent to the City without delay to supply forty thousand pounds, to be immediately issued out to satisfy the Army. Notwithstanding all which monstrous proceeding, the House of Commons retained it's Courage, and were resolute "To assert the Treaty; and that the King's Answers "were satisfactory; or if they were not fully satisfactory, that "the House might, and ought to accept thereof, and pro- "ceed to the settlement of Peace in Church and State, rather "than

Vote of the House of Commons thereupon.

Another Declaration of the Army sent to the House.

The General marches for London.

"than to reject them as unsatisfactory, and thereby continue "the Kingdom in War and Distraction.

THEY who vehemently pressed this Conclusion, and would be thought to be for the King, to make themselves popular, took upon them to make all the Invectives both against the King, and all the time of his Government, that his bittereſt Enemies could do, only that they might shew how much the concessions he had now granted, had provided Remedies for all those Evils, and made all the foundation of their future hope of happiness and peace, to be in the no-power they had left him in: so that if he should have a mind to continue the Distractions to morrow, he would find no Body ready ever to joyn with him, having at this time sacrificed all his Friends to the Mercy of their mortal Enemies. In conclusion, and when they had prosecuted the Debate most part of the Night, till almost five of the Clock in the Morning, on *Monday* Night, they had first put the Question, "Whether the Que-"stion should be put? and carried it by a hundred and forty Voices against one hundred and four: the main Question, "That the Answer of the King to the Propositions of both "Houses was a ground for the Houses to proceed upon for the "settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom, was so clearly Voted, that the House was not divided; and that there might be no after-claps, they appointed a Committee "To confer "with the General, for the better procuring a good Intelli-"gence and Correspondence between the Army and the Par-"liament; and then they Adjourn'd the House to *Wednesday* Morning, it being then near the Morning of *Tuesday*.

Vote "That "the King's "Answer "was a "ground for "Peace.

THE Committee that was appointed to confer with the General, waited, that Afternoon upon him in his Lodging at *White-Hall*, that they might be able to give some Account to the House the next Morning. But they were forced to attend full three hours, before they could be admitted to his presence; and then he told them sullenly and superciliously, "That the way to correspond with the Army, was to com-"ply with their Remonstrance: and, the next Morning there was a Guard of Musqueteers placed at the entry into, and door of the House, and the Officers thereof having a List in their hands of the Names of those who should be restrain'd from going into the House, all Those were stopped, one by one, as they came, and sent into the Court of Wards, where they were kept together for many hours, under a Guard, to the number of near one hundred. Notwithstanding which there were so many of the same opinion got into the House, through the inadvertency of the Guard, or because they meant only to sequester the most notorious and refractory Persons, that the Debate, upon resuming the same Question, continued very long;

Many of the Members entring into the House seised upon by the Soldiers.

long; ſeveral Members who obſerv'd the force at the entrance of the Houſe, and ſaw their Companions not ſuffer'd to come in, complain'd loudly of the Violence and Breach of Privilege, and demanded remedy; but, in vain; the Houſe would take no notice of it. In the concluſion, after a very long Debate, the Major part of thoſe who were preſent in the Houſe, Voted the Negative to what had been ſettled in the former Debate, and "That the Anſwer the King had given to their "Propoſitions was not ſatisfactory.

The remaining Members Vote the contrary to former Votes.

THOSE Gentlemen who for ſome hours had been reſtrain'd in the Court of Wards, were afterwards led in Triumph through *Weſtminſter*-Hall (except ſome few, who were ſuffer'd for affection, or by negligence, to go away) by a ſtrong Guard, to that place under the Exchequer which is commonly called *Hell*; where they might eat and drink, at their own charge, what they pleaſed. And here they were kept in one Room, till after twelve of the Clock in the Night: after which hour, in reſpect of the extreme cold Weather, and the Age of many of the Members, they were carried to ſeveral Inns; where they were ſuffer'd to lodge as Priſoners, and remain'd under that confinement for two or three days. In which time, they publiſh'd a Proteſtation in Print againſt the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, declaring "The "force and violence that had been uſed againſt them: and then the Houſe, with the remaining Members, having determin'd what they thought fit, moſt of the other were at liberty to do what they pleaſed. No body own'd this Act of Violence in the Excluſion of ſo many Members: There was no Order made for it by the Houſe. *Fairfax* the General knew nothing of it, and the Guards themſelves being asked "What "Authority they had, gave no other Anſwer "But that they "had orders. But afterwards there was a full and clear Order of the Houſe, without taking notice of any excluſion, "That "none of them who had not been preſent that day when the "Negative Vote prevailed, ſhould ſit any more in the Houſe, "before they had firſt ſubſcribed the ſame Vote, as agree-"able to their judgments; which if they ſubſcribed, they "were as well qualified Members as before. Many of theſe excluded Members, out of Conſcience or Indignation, forbore coming any more to the Houſe for many years; ſome, not before the Revolution; others, ſooner or later, return'd to their old Seats, that they might not be idle when ſo much buſineſs was to be done.

Vote, "That "thoſe who "were ab-"ſent at "the Nega-"tive Vote "ſhould ſit "no more in "the Houſe.

THEN the Houſe renew'd their old Votes of no more Addreſſes, and annull'd and made void all thoſe which introduced the Treaty: and that they might find no more ſuch contradiction hereafter, they committed to ſeveral Priſons Major General

Vote of no more Addreſſes renewed.

General *Brown* (though he was then Sheriff of *London*) Sr *John Clotworthy*, Sr *William Waller*, Major General *Massey*, and Commissary General *Copley*, who were the most active Members in the House of the Presbyterian Party, and who had all as maliciously advanced the Service of the Parliament in their several Stations against the King as any Men of their Rank in the Kingdom, and much more than any Officer of the present Army had then credit to do: of these, *Massey* made his escape, and Transported himself into *Holland*; and there, according to the natural Modesty of that Sect, presented himself to the Prince, with as much confidence (and as a Sufferer for the King his Father) as if he had defended *Colchester*.

The Protestation of the secluded Members.

THE Protestation that the secluded Members had published and caused to be Printed, with the Narrative of the violence that had been exercised upon them, and their declaring all Acts to be void which from that time had been done in the House of Commons, made a great noise over the Kingdom, and no less incensed those who remain'd and sate in the House, than it did the Officers of the Army; and therefore, to lessen the credit of it, the House likewise made a Declaration against that Protestation; and declar'd it, "To "be False, Scandalous, and Seditious, and tending to the de- "struction of the visible and Fundamental Government of the "Kingdom: and to this wonderful Declaration they obtain'd the concurrence of the small House of Peers, and joyntly ordain'd "That that Protestation should be suppressed, and "that no Man should presume to sell, or buy, or to read the "same.

Voted against by both Houses.

Votes of the House of Commons.

WHEN they had in this manner master'd all contradiction and opposition, they begun more directly to consult what they were to do, as well as what they were Not to do, and to establish some Affirmative conclusions, as they had done Negatives. They were told, "That it was high time to settle "some form of Government, under which the Nation was to "live: there had been much Treasure and Blood spent to re- "cover the liberty of the People, which would be to no pur- "pose if there were not provision made for their secure en- "joying it; and there would be always the same attempts "made, which had been of late, to disturb and to destroy "the publick Peace, if there were not such exemplary penal- "ties inflicted, as might terrify all Men, of what condition "soever, from entring upon such desperate Undertakings. They resolv'd to gratify the Army, by taking a view of a Paper formerly digested by them as a model for a new Government, which was called, *The Agreement of the People*, and for contriving and publishing whereof, one of the Agitators had

had been, by *Cromwell's* directions, the year before, ſhot to death, when he found the Parliament was ſo much offended with it. They declar'd now, as the moſt popular thing they could do to pleaſe both the People and the Army, "That they "would put an end to the Parliament on the laſt day of *April* "next; and that there ſhould be a Repreſentative of the Na- "tion, conſiſting of three hundred Perſons choſen by the Peo- "ple; of which, for the Term of ſeven years, no Perſon "who had adher'd to the King, or who ſhould oppoſe this "Agreement, or not ſubſcribe thereunto, ſhould be capable "of being choſen to be one, or to have a voice in the Ele- "ction; and that, before that time, and before the Diſſolu- "tion of the preſent Parliament, it would be neceſſary to "bring thoſe ſignal Delinquents, who had lately diſturbed the "Quiet and Peace of the Kingdom, and put it to ſo great an "expence of Blood and Treaſure, to exemplary puniſhment. And it was with great impudence very vehemently urged, "That they ought to begin with Him who had been the cauſe "of all the miſeries, and miſchiefs, which had befallen the "Kingdom, and whom they had already deveſted of all Power "and Authority to govern them for the future; and they had "had near two years experience, that the Nation might be "very happily govern'd without any recourſe to him: that "they had already declar'd, and the Houſe of Peers had con- "curr'd with them, that the King had been the cauſe of all "the Blood which had been ſpilt; and therefore, that it was "fit that ſuch a Man of Blood ſhould be brought to Juſtice, "that he might undergo the penalty that was due to his Ty- "ranny and Murders: that the People expected This at "their hands; and that having the principal Malefactor in "their power, he might not eſcape the puniſhment that was "due to him.

How new and monſtrous ſoever this language and diſcourſe was to all *Engliſh* Ears, they found a Major part ſtill to concur with them: ſo that they appointed a Committee for the preſent "To prepare a charge of High Treaſon againſt the "King, which ſhould contain the ſeveral Crimes, and Miſde- "meanours of his Reign; which being made, they would con- "ſider of the beſt way and manner of Proceeding, that he "might be brought to Juſtice.

A Committee appointed by them to prepare a Charge againſt the King.

This manner of proceeding in *England* was ſo unheard of, that it was very hard for any Body to propoſe any way to oppoſe it that might carry with it any hope of ſucceſs. However, the pain the Prince was in, would not ſuffer him to reſt without making ſome effort. He knew too well how far the States of *Holland* were from wiſhing that ſucceſs, and honour to the Crown of *England*, as it had deſerv'd from them, and

how much they had always favour'd the Rebellion; that his own preſence was in no degree acceptable or grateful to them; and that they were deviſing all ways how they might be rid of him: yet he believ'd the way they were now upon in *England*, would be ſo univerſally odious to all Chriſtians, that no Body of Men would appear to favour it. His Highneſs therefore ſent to the States General, to deſire them "To give him "an Audience the next day; and that he would come to the place where they ſate; which he did, being met by the whole Body at the bottom of the Stairs, and conducted into the Room where they ſate.

The Prince of Wales *deſires the States to intercede with the two Houſes.*

THE Prince was attended by four or five of his Council; and when he had ſaid a little to the States of Compliment, he referr'd them to a Paper which Sr *William Boſwell*, the King's Reſident there, was to deliver to them. The Paper deſcribed the ill condition the King his Father was in; and the threats and menaces which his Enemies uſed to proceed againſt him in ſuch a manner as muſt be abominated by all Chriſtians, and which would bring the greateſt reproach and obloquy upon the Proteſtant Religion, that ever Chriſtianity had undergone: And therefore deſir'd them, "That they would "interpoſe their Credit, and Authority, in ſuch a manner as "they thought fit, with the two Houſes at *Weſtminſter*, that "inſtead of ſuch an unlawful and wicked proſecution, they "would enter into Terms of accommodation with his Royal "Father; For the obſervation whereof his Royal Higneſs "would become bound.

Their Anſwer.

THE States aſſured his Higneſs, "That they were very "much afflicted at the condition of the King, and would be "glad any interpoſition of Theirs might be able to relieve "him; that they would ſeriouſly conſider in what manner "they might ſerve him. And, that day, they reſolv'd to ſend an extraordinary Embaſſadour into *England*, who ſhould repair to the Prince of *Wales*, and receive his Inſtructions to what Friends of the King's he ſhould reſort, and conſult with; who, being upon the place, might beſt inform him to whom to apply himſelf. And they made choice of *Paw*, the Penſioner of *Holland*, for their Embaſſadour; who immediately attended the Prince with the Offer of his Service, and many profeſſions of his deſire that his Journey might produce ſome good Effect.

THE Council that was about the Prince, had looked upon *Paw* as a Man that had always favour'd the Rebellion in *England*, and as much obſtructed all Civilites from the States towards the King, as was poſſible for him to do; and therefore they were very ſorry that He was made choice of for Embaſſadour in ſuch a fatal conjuncture. But the Prince of *Orange* aſſured

assured the Prince, "That he had used all his credit to com-
"pass that Election; that he was the Wisest Man of their
"Body; and that neither He, nor any of the rest, who had
"cherished the *English* Rebellion more than he, ever desired
"it should prosper to that degree it had done, as to endanger
"the changing the Government; and therefore wished
"There might not appear any distrust of him, but that the
"Prince would treat him with confidence, and some of the
"Council would confer with him with freedom, upon any par-
"ticulars which it would be necessary for him to be instructed
"in. But the wisdom of Angels was not sufficient to give any effectual advice for such a Negotiation, since the States could not be brought so much to interest themselves, as to use any Menaces to the Parliament as if they would embark themselves in the Quarrel. So that the Council could only wish, "That the "Embassadour would confer with such of the King's Friends "who were then at *London*, and whose relation had been "most eminent towards his Majesty; and receive advice from "them, how he might most hopefully prevail over particu- "lar Men, and thereby with the Parliament. And so the Em-bassadour departed for *England*, within less than a week after he was nominated for the Employment.

They send an Embassadour into England.

At the same time, the Queen of *England*, being struck to the Heart with amazement and confusion upon the report of what the Parliament intended, sent a Paper to the Agent who was employed there by the Cardinal to keep a good correspondence; which she obliged him to deliver to the Parliament. The Paper contain'd a very passionate lamentation of the sad condition the King her Husband was in; desiring "That they would grant her a Pass to come over to him, of- "fering to use all the credit she had with him, that he might "give them satisfaction. However, if they would not give "her leave to perform any of those Offices towards the Pub- "lick, that she might be permitted to perform the Duty she "owed Him, and to be near him in the uttermost Extremity. Neither of these Addresses did more than express the Zeal of those who procured them to be made: the Embassadour *Pau* could neither get leave to see the King (which he was to endeavour to do, that he might from himself be instructed best what to do) nor be admitted to an Audience by the Parlia-ment, till after the Tragedy was acted: and the Queen's Pa-per was deliver'd, and never consider'd in order to return any Answer to it.

The Queen sent a Paper to be deliver'd to the Parliament; but it was laid aside.

When the Committee had prepared such a Charge, which they called "An Impeachment of High Treason against *Charles* "*Stewart* King of *England*, digested into several Articles, "which contain'd all those Calumnies they had formerly

The Charge against the King approv'd by the Commons:

heaped up in that Declaration of no more Addreſſes to be made to him, with ſome Additional Reproaches, it was read in the Houſe; and, after it was approv'd there, they ſent it to the Houſe of Peers for Their concurrence. That Houſe had very little to do from the time that *Cromwell* return'd from *Scotland*, and were few in Number, and us'd to Adjourn for two or three days together for want of buſineſs; ſo that it was believ'd, that they who had done ſo many extravagant things, rather than they would diſſent from the Houſe of Commons, would likewiſe concur with them in This, rather than ſever from them when they were ſo triumphant. But, contrary to this expectation, when this Impeachment was brought up to the Peers, it was ſo ill receiv'd, that there was not one Perſon who concurr'd with them; which, conſidering the Men and what moſt of them had done, might ſeem very ſtrange. And when they had, with ſome warmth rejected it, they Adjourn'd for a week; preſuming they ſhould thereby at leaſt give ſome interruption to that Career which the Houſe of Commons was upon, and, in that time, ſome expedient might be found to reconcile the Proceedings in both Houſes. But they were as much deceiv'd in this; the Houſe of Commons was very well pleaſed with it, and thought they had given them eaſe, which they could not ſo well have contriv'd for themſelves. So they proceeded in their own Method, and when the day came to which the Lords had Adjourn'd their Houſe, they found their doors all locked, and faſten'd with Padlocks, that there ſhould then be no more Entrance for them; nor did any of them ever after ſit in that Houſe as Peers above twice or thrice at moſt, till *Cromwell*, long after, endeavour'd in vain to have erected a Houſe of Peers of his own Creation; in which ſome of them then very willingly took their places.

Rejected by the Lords; who adjourn'd for a week.

The Door of their Houſe locked up againſt the day to which they had adjourn'd.

THE Charge and Accuſation, upon which they reſolv'd to proceed againſt the King, being thus ſettled and agreed upon, they begun to conſider in what manner and form to proceed, that there might be ſome appearance of Juſtice. Nothing could be found in the Common or Statute-Law, which could direct or warrant them; nor could the Precedent of depoſing *Richard* the ſecond (the ſole Precedent of that kind) be applied to their purpoſe: for, how foul ſoever the circumſtances precedent had been, he had made a Reſignation of his Royalty before the Lords in Parliament; ſo that his Depoſition proceeded from Himſelf, and with his own Conſent, and would not agree in any particular with the caſe in queſtion. They were therefore to make a new form to warrant their Proceedings: and a new form they did erect, never before heard of. They conſtituted and erected a Court that ſhould be called "*The High Court of Juſtice*, to conſiſt of "ſo

The Commons conſtitute a High Court of Juſtice.

"ſo many Judges, who ſhould have Authority to try the King, "whether he were guilty of what he was accuſed of, or no; "and, in order thereunto, to examine ſuch Witneſſes as "ſhould be produced: The number of the Judges named was about an hundred and fifty, whereof the Major part might proceed.

THEY could not have found ſuch a Number yet amongſt themſelves, after ſo many barbarities and impieties, upon whom they might depend in this laſt Tragical Act. And therefore they laid this for a ground; that if they ſhould make only their own Members to be Judges in this caſe, they might appear in the Eyes of the People to be too much parties, as having from the beginning maintain'd a War, though defenſive, as they pretended, againſt the King, and ſo not ſo fit to be the only Judges who were in the fault: On the other hand, if they ſhould name none of themſelves, it might be interpreted that they look'd upon it as too dangerous a Province to engage themſelves in, and therefore they had put it off to others; which would diſcourage others from undertaking it. Wherefore they reſolv'd that the Judges ſhould be nominated promiſcuouſly, as well of Members of the Houſe, as of ſuch other of their Good and Godly Men in the Kingdom. Whoſoever would not be one himſelf when named, as there were yet many amongſt them, who, out of Conſcience, or of Fear, utterly proteſted againſt it, ſhould take upon him to name another Man; which ſure he could not but think was equally unlawful: So that few took upon them to nominate others, who would reject the Province themſelves.

ALL the Chief Officers of the Army were named, and divers accepted the Office; and ſuch Aldermen and Citizens of *London*, as had been moſt violent againſt Peace, and ſome few Country Gentlemen, whoſe Zeal had been taken notice of for the Cauſe, and who were like to take ſuch a Preferment as a teſtimony of the Parliament's Confidence in them, and would thereupon embrace it. When ſuch a Number of Men were nominated as were thought in all reſpects to be equal to the work, they were to make choice of a Speaker, or Prolocutor, who ſhould be called *Lord Preſident* of that High Court, who muſt manage and govern all the proceedings there, ask the Witneſſes all proper Queſtions, and anſwer what the Priſoner ſhould propoſe. And to that Office one *Bradſhaw* was choſen, a Lawyer of *Grays-Inn*, not much known in *Weſtminſter* Hall, though of good practice in his Chamber, and much employed by the Factious. He was a Gentleman of an ancient Family in *Cheſhire* and *Lancaſhire*, but of a Fortune of his own making. He was not without Parts, and of great Inſolence and Ambition. When he was

Bradſhaw *made Lord Preſident.*

first nominated, he seem'd much surprised, and very resolute to refuse it; which he did in such a manner, and so much enlarging upon his own want of Abilities to undergo so important a Charge, that it was very evident he had expected to be put to that Apology. And when he was press'd with more importunity than could have been used by chance, he required "Time to consider of it; and said, "he would then "give his final Answer; which he did, the next day; and with great Humility accepted the Office, which he administer'd with all the Pride, Impudence, and Superciliousness imaginable. He was presently invested in great State, and many Officers, and a Guard assign'd for the security of his Person, and the Deans House at *Westminster* given to him for ever for his residence and habitation, and a good Sum of Money, about five thousand pounds, was appointed to be presently paid to him, to put himself in such an Equipage and way of Living, as the dignity of the Office which he held would require. And now, the Lord President of the High Court of Justice, seem'd to be the greatest Magistrate in *England*. And though it was not thought seasonable to make any such Declaration, yet some of those whose opinions grew quickly into Ordinances, upon several occasions, declared, "That they believ'd that Office was not to be look'd upon as "necessary *pro hac vice* only, but for continuance; and that "he who executed it, deserv'd to have an ample and a liberal "Estate conferr'd upon him for ever: which suddain mutation and exaltation of Fortune, could not but make a great impression upon a vulgar Spirit, accustom'd to no Excesses, and acquainted only with a very moderate Fortune. All this being done, they made choice of some Lawyers (till that time very obscure, and Men scarce known or heard of in their Profession) to perform the Offices of Atturney General, and Solicitor General for the State, to prosecute the Prisoner at his Trial, and to manage the Evidence against him. Other Officers, of all kinds, were appointed to attend, and perform the several Offices of their new Court; which was order'd to be erected in *Westminster* Hall.

Lawyers and other Officers appointed.

The King sent for from Hurst *Castle by* Harrison, *The Character of* Harrison.

THE King was now sent for from *Hurst* Castle, and was receiv'd by Colonel *Harrison* with a strong Party of Horse; by whom he was to be conducted to *Windsor* Castle. *Harrison* was the Son of a Butcher near *Nantwich* in *Cheshire*, and had been bred up in the place of a Clerk under a Lawyer of good Account in those parts; which kind of Education introduces Men into the language and practice of Business, and, if it be not resisted by the great ingenuity of the Person, inclines young Men to more Pride than any other kind of breeding; and dispose them to be Pragmatical and Insolent, though they

they have the skill to conceal it from their Masters, except they find them (as they are too often) inclined to cherish it. When the Rebellion first began, this Man quitted his Master (who had relation to the King's Service, and discharged his Duty faithfully) and put himself into the Parliament Army, where, having first obtain'd the Office of a Cornet, he got up, by diligence and sobriety, to the State of a Captain, without any signal notice taken of him till the new model of the Army; when *Cromwell*, who, possibly, had knowledge of him before, found him of a spirit and disposition fit for his Service, much given to Prayer and to Preaching, and, otherwise, of an understanding capable to be trusted in any business; to which his Clerkship contributed very much: And then he was preferr'd very fast; so that, by the time the King was brought to the Army, he had been a Colonel of Horse, and look'd upon as inferior to few, after *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, in the Council of Officers, and in the Government of the Agitators; and there were few Men with whom *Cromwell* more communicated, or upon whom he more depended for the Conduct of any thing committed to him. He receiv'd the King with outward respect, kept himself bare; but attended him with great strictness; and was not to be approached by any Address; answering questions in short and few words, and when importuned, with rudeness. He manifested an apprehension that the King had some thought of making an Escape, and did all things in order to prevent it. Being to lodge at *Windsor*, and so to pass by *Bagshot*, the King expressed a desire to see his little Park at *Bagshot*, and so to dine at the Lodge there, a place where he had used to take much pleasure; and did not dissemble the knowing that the Lord *Newburgh*, who had lately Married the Lady *Aubigney*, liv'd there; and said, "He would "send a Servant to let that Lady know that he would dine "with her, that she might provide a dinner for him. *Harrison* well knew the Affection of that Lord and Lady, and was very unwilling he should make any stay there; but finding the King so fixt upon it, that he would not be otherwise removed from it than by absolutely refusing him to go thither, he chose to consent, and that his Majesty should send a Servant; which he did the Night before he intended to dine there.

BOTH Lord and Lady were of known Duty and Affection to the King; the Lady, after her Husband the Lord *Aubigney* had been kill'd at *Edge-hill*, having so far incensed the Parliament, that she had endured a long Imprisonment, under a suspicion that she had been privy to the design which had been discover'd by Mr *Waller*, upon which *Tomkins* and *Challoner* had been put to death, and had likewise her self been

put to death, if she had not made her Escape to *Oxford*. After the War was ended, she had, with the King's approbation, Married the Lord *Newburgh*; who had the same Affections. They had from the time of the King's being at *Hampton* Court, concerted with his Majesty upon such means, that, in the strictest restraint he was under, they found a way to write to, and to hear from him. And most of the Letters which passed between the King and the Queen, passed through their hands; who had likewise a Cipher with the King, by which they gave him notice of any thing they judged of Importance for him to know. They had given him notice that he would be sent for from *Hurst* Castle, and advised him "To find some "way, that he might dine at the Lodge at *Bagshot*; and that "he should take occasion, if he could, to lame the Horse he "rode upon, or to find fault with his going, that he might "take another Horse out of the Lord *Newburgh*'s Stables to "continue the rest of his Journey upon. That Lord much delighted in Horses, and had, at that time, in his Stables one of the fleetest that was in *England*; and the purpose was, to mount the King upon that Horse, that, when he found a fit opportunity, he might, upon the suddain, set Spurs to him; and if he could get out of the Company that encompassed him, he might, possibly, by the swiftness of his Horse, and his own skill in the most obscure ways of that Forrest, convey himself to another place in their view; and so, three or four good Horses were laid in several places. And this was the reason that the King had so earnestly insisted upon dining at *Bagshot*; which being in his way, and his custom being always to dine, they could not reasonably deny him that liberty.

The King dines at the Lord Newburgh's *where was an intention of making the King's Escape, but in vain.*

Before the King came thither, *Harrison* had sent some Horse with an Officer to search the House, and all about the Park, that he might be sure that no Company lurked, which might make some attempt. And the King, all the Morning, found fault with the going of his Horse; and said, "He would "change it, and procure a better. When his Majesty came to the Lodge, he found his dinner ready, but was quickly inform'd, "That the Horse so much depended upon, was, the "day before, by the blow of another Horse, so lam'd, that "he could not be of use to the purpose he was design'd for. And though that Lord had other good Horses, which in such an exigent might be made use of, yet the King had observ'd so great difficulty to be in the attempt all his Journey, when he was encompassed always in the middle of a hundred Horse, the Officers all exceedingly well Horsed, and every Man, Officer, and Soldier, having a Pistol ready spann'd in one hand, that he resoly'd not to pursue that design. And *Harrison*

riſon had already told him, "That he had provided a better "Horſe for him: and it was believ'd he would never have permitted him to have made uſe of one of the Lord *Newbourgh's*. So that after having ſpent three or four hours there, with very much ſatisfaction to himſelf, though he was not ſuffer'd to be in any Room without the Company of ſix or ſeven Soldiers, who ſuffer'd little to be ſpoken, except it was ſo loud that They could hear it too, he took a ſad farewel of them, appearing to have little hope ever to ſee them again. The Lord *Newbourgh* rode ſome Miles in the Foreſt to wait upon the King, till he was requir'd by *Harriſon* to return. His Majeſty lodged that night at his Caſtle of *Winſor*, and was ſoon after carried to St *James's*. In this Journey, *Harriſon* obſerving that the King had always an apprehenſion that there was a purpoſe to Murther him, and had once let fall ſome words of "The odiouſneſs and wickedneſs of ſuch an Aſſaſſi- "nation and Murther, which could never be ſafe to the Per- "ſon who undertook it; he told him plainly, "That he need- "ed not to entertain any ſuch imagination or apprehenſion; "that the Parliament had too much Honour and Juſtice to "cheriſh ſo foul an intention; and aſſured Him, "That what- "ever the Parliament reſolv'd to do, would be very Publick "and in a way of Juſtice; to which the World ſhould be "Witneſs; and would never endure a thought of ſecret Vio- "lence: which his Majeſty could not perſwade himſelf to be- lieve; nor did imagine that they durſt ever produce him in the ſight of the People, under any form whatſoever of a pub- lick Trial.

The King brought to St James's.

It hath been acknowledg'd ſince by ſome Officers, and others who were preſent at the Conſultations, that from the time of the King's being at *Hampton* Court, and after the Army had maſter'd both the Parliament and the City, and were weary of having the King with them, and knew not well how to be rid of him, there were many ſecret Conſults what to do with him. And it was generally concluded, "They ſhould never be able to ſettle their new form of Go- "vernment, whilſt He liv'd: and after he was become a Pri- ſoner in the Iſle of *Wight*, they were more ſollicitous for a Reſolution and Determination in that particular: and after the Vote of the no more Addreſſes, the moſt violent Party thought "They could do nothing in order to their own ends, till He "ſhould be firſt dead; and therefore, one way or other, that "was to be compaſſed in the firſt place. Some were for "An "actual Depoſing him; which could not but be eaſily brought "to paſs, ſince the Parliament would Vote any thing they "ſhould be directed: Others were for the taking away his "Life by Poyſon; which would make leaſt noiſe; or, "If that "could

The ſeveral Conſultations, before and after this time, among the Officers, what to do with the King:

"could not be ſo eaſily contriv'd, by Aſſaſſination; for which "there were hands enough ready to be employ'd. There was a Third ſort, as violent as either of the other, who preſſed "To have him brought to a publick Trial as a Malefactor; which, they ſaid, "Would be moſt for the Honour of the "Parliament, and would teach all Kings to Know, that they "were accountable, and puniſhable for the wickedneſs of their "Lives.

MANY of the Officers were of the firſt opinion, "As a "thing they had Precedents for; and that he being once De-"poſ'd, they could better ſettle the Government, than if he "were dead; for his Son could pretend no Right whilſt He "was alive; whereas, if the Father were dead, he would "preſently call himſelf King, and others would call him ſo "too; and, it may be, other Kings and Princes would own "him for ſuch. If he were kept alive in a cloſe Priſon, he "might afterwards be made uſe of, or remov'd upon any ap-"pearance of a Revolution.

THERE were as many Officers of the ſecond Judgement, "That he ſhould be preſently diſpatch'd. They ſaid, "It ap-"pear'd by the experience they had, that whilſt He was alive "(for a more ſtrict Impriſonment than he had undergone, he "could never be confined to) there would be always Plots "and Deſigns to ſet him at Liberty; and he would have Parties "throughout the Kingdom; and, in a ſhort time, a Faction "in their moſt ſecret Councils, and it may be in the Army it "ſelf; and, where his Liberty would yield ſo great a Price, it "would be too great a Truſt to repoſe in any Man, that he "would long reſiſt the Temptation. Whereas, if he were "confeſſedly dead, all thoſe fears would be over; eſpecially "if they proceeded with that circumſpection and ſeverity to-"wards all his Party, as in prudence they ought to do. This Party might probably have carried it, if *Hammon* could have been wrought upon to have concurr'd; but he had yet too much Conſcience to expoſe himſelf to that Infamy; and with-out His privity or connivance it could not be done.

THE third Party, which were all the Levellers and Agi-tators of the Army, in the head of which *Ireton* and *Harriſon* were, would not endure either of the other ways; and ſaid, "they could as eaſily bring him to Juſtice in the ſight of the "Sun, as Depoſe him; ſince the Authority of the Parliament "could do one as well as the other: That their Precedent of "Depoſing, had no reputation with the People; but was "look'd upon as the effect of ſome potent Faction, which "always oppreſſed the People more after, than they had been "before. Beſides, thoſe Depoſings had always been attended "with Aſſaſſinations and Murthers, which were the more "odious,

"odious, and deteſted, becauſe no body own'd and avow'd "the bloody Actions they had done. But if he were brought "to a publick Trial, for the notorious ill things he had done, "and for his Miſgovernment, upon the complaint and proſe- "cution of the People, the Superiority of the People would "be hereby vindicated and made manifeſt; and they ſhould "receive the benefit, and be for ever free from thoſe oppreſ- "ſions which he had impos'd upon them, and for which he "ought to pay ſo dear; and ſuch an exemplary Proceeding "and Execution as this where every circumſtance ſhould be "clear and notorious, would be the beſt foundation and ſe- "curity of the Government they intended to eſtabliſh; and "no Man would be Ambitious to ſucceed Him, and be a King "in his place, when he ſaw in what manner he muſt be ac- "countable to the People. This Argumentation, or the ſtrength and obſtinacy of that Party, carried it: and here- upon, all that formality of proceeding, which afterwards was exerciſed, was reſolv'd upon and conſented to.

Concluded to have him publickly tryed.

WHETHER the incredibility, or monſtrouſneſs of ſuch a kind of proceeding, wrought upon the minds of Men, or whe- ther the principal Actors took pains, by their Inſinuations, to have it ſo believ'd, it fell out however that they among them who wiſh'd the King beſt, and ſtood neareſt to the Stage where theſe parts were Acted, did not believe that there were thoſe Horrid Intentions that ſhortly after appear'd. The Preachers, who had ſounded the Trumpets loudeſt to, and throughout the War, Preached now as furiouſly againſt all wicked Attempts and Violence againſt the Perſon of the King, and fooliſhly urged the obligation of the Covenant (by which they had involv'd him in all the danger he was in) for the ſe- curity of his Perſon.

ASSOON as the Prince heard of the King's being carried by *Harriſon* to *Windſor*, and from thence to St *James*'s, though he had lately ſent a Servant on purpoſe to ſee his Majeſty, and to bring him an Account of the State he was in, which Servant was not permitted to ſee him, he ſent now another with a Letter to *Fairfax* and the Council of War (for he knew the Parliament had no Authority) in which he told them, "That "he had no other means to be inform'd of the health and "condition of the King his Royal Father, but by the Com- "mon Prints, and general Intelligences that arriv'd in thoſe "Parts: He had reaſon by thoſe to believe, that after the ex- "piration of the Treaty in the Iſle of *Wight* (where he hoped "the foundation for a happy Peace had been laid) his Majeſty "had been carried to *Hurſt* Caſtle; and ſince, by ſome Officers "of the Army, to *Windſor*, not without purpoſe of a more "violent proſecution; the rumour whereof, though of ſo

The Prince ſends a Let- ter to Fair- fax *and the Council of War:*

"mon-

"monſtrous and incredible a Nature, had called upon his "Piety to make this Addreſs to them; who had at this time "the power to chooſe, whether they would raiſe laſting Mo- "numents to themſelves of Loyalty and Piety, by reſtoring "their Soveraign to his juſt Rights, and their Country to "Peace and Happineſs, a Glory which had been ſeldom ab- "ſolutely vouchſafed to ſo ſmall a number of Men, or to make "themſelves the Authors of endleſs Miſery to the Kingdom, "by contributing or conſenting to an Act which all Chriſti- "ans, into how different opinions ſoever divided, muſt ab- "hor, as the moſt inconſiſtent with the Elements of any Re- "ligion, and deſtructive to the Security and being of any "kind of Government: He did therefore earneſtly deſire and "conjure them, ſadly to conſider the vaſt and prodigious diſ- "proportion in that Election; and then, he ſaid, "He could "not doubt but that they would chooſe to do that which is "moſt Juſt, Safe, and Honourable for them to do; make them- "ſelves the bleſt Inſtruments to Preſerve, Defend, and Reſtore "their King; to whom only their Allegiance was due; by "which every one of them might juſtly promiſe themſelves "peace of Conſcience, the ſingular good Will and Favour of "his Majeſty, the ample thanks and acknowledgement of all "good Men, and the particular and unalterable Affection of "the Prince himſelf. This Letter was, with much ado, de-

Which was read in the Council of War, and laid aſide.

liver'd into the hands of *Fairfax* himſelf; but the Meſſenger could never be admitted to ſpeak with him; nor was there more known, than that it was read in the Council of War, and laid aſide.

FROM the time of the King's being come to St *James's*, when he was deliver'd into the hands and cuſtody of Colonel *Tomlinſon*, a Colonel of Foot, though the Officer ſeem'd to be a Man of a betteer breeding, and of a Nature more Civil than *Harriſon*, and pretended to pay much Reſpect and Duty to the King in his outward Demeanour, yet his Majeſty, after a ſhort time, was treated with more Rudeneſs and Barbarity than he had ever been before. They were ſo jealous of their own Guards, leſt they ſhould be wrought upon by the influence of this Innocent Prince, or by the remorſe of their own Conſcience upon the exerciſe of ſo much Barbarity, that they cauſed the Guards to be ſtill changed; and the ſame Men were never ſuffer'd twice to perform the ſame monſtrous Duty.

The uſage of the King at St James's.

WHEN He was firſt brought to *Weſtminſter* Hall, which was upon the twentieth of *January*, before their *High Court of Juſtice*, he look'd upon them, and ſat down, without any manifeſtation of trouble, never ſtirring his Hat; all the impudent Judges ſitting cover'd and fixing their Eyes upon him, without

He is brought to Weſtminſter *Hall*, Jan. 20.

without the leaſt ſhew of reſpect. The odious Libel, which they called a Charge and Impeachment, was then read by the Clerk; which, in effect, contain'd, "That he had been admit- *The Sum of the Charge.*
"ted King of *England*, and truſted with a limited Power to "Govern according to Law; and, by his Oath and Office, "was obliged to uſe the Power committed to him for the good "and benefit of the People; but that he had, out of a wicked "deſign to erect to himſelf an Illimited and Tyrannical "Power, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the "People, Trayterouſly levied War againſt the preſent Parlia- "ment, and the People therein repreſented. And then it mention'd his firſt appearance at *York* with a Guard, then his being at *Beverly*, then his ſetting up his Standard at *Nottingham*, the day of the Month and the Year in which the Battle had been at *Edge-hill*, and all the other ſeveral Battles which had been fought in his Preſence; in which, it ſaid, "He "had cauſed and procured many thouſands of the Free-born "People of the Nation to be ſlain: and after all his Forces "had been defeated, and Himſelf become a Priſoner, he had, "in that very year, cauſed many Inſurrections to be made in "*England*, and given a Commiſſion to the Prince his Son to "raiſe a new War againſt the Parliament; whereby many "who were in their Service, and truſted by them, had re- "volted, broken their Truſt, and betook themſelves to the "Service of the Prince againſt the Parliament and the Peo- "ple: that he had been the Author and Contriver of the un- "natural, cruel, and bloody Wars; and was therein guilty of "all the Treaſons, Murders, Rapines, Burnings, and Spoils, "Deſolations, Damage, and Miſchief to the Nation, which "had been committed in the ſaid War, or been occaſion'd "thereby; and that he was therefore impeached for the ſaid "Treaſons and Crimes, on the behalf of the People of *Eng-* "*land*, as a Tyrant, Traytor, and Murderer, and a publick "implacable Enemy to the Common-wealth of *England*. And it was prayed, "That he might be put to Anſwer to all the "particulars, to the end that ſuch an Examination, Trial, and "Judgment, might be had thereupon, as ſhould be agreeable "to Juſtice.

WHICH being read, their Preſident *Bradſhaw*, after he had *What paſſed the firſt day of his Trial.*
inſolently reprehended the King "For not having ſhew'd more "reſpect to that High Tribunal, told him, "That the Parlia- "ment of *England* had appointed that Court to try him for the "ſeveral Treaſons, and Miſdemeanours, which he had com- "mitted againſt the Kingdom during the evil Adminiſtration "of his Government; and that, upon the Examination thereof, "Juſtice might be done. And, after a great ſawcineſs and impu- dence of talk, he asked the King, "What Anſwer he had to "make to that Impeachment.

THE

THE King, without any alteration in his Countenance by all that insolent provocation, told them, "He would first know "of them, by what Authority they presumed by force to "bring him before them, and who gave them power to judge "of his Actions, for which he was accountable to none but "God; though they had been always such as he need not be "ashamed to own them before all the World. He told them, "that He was their King, They his Subjects; who owed "him Duty and Obedience: that no Parliament had Autho-"rity to call him before them; but that They were not the "Parliament, nor had any Authority from the Parliament to "sit in that manner: That of all the Persons who sate there, "and took upon them to judge him, except those Persons "who being Officers of the Army he could not but know "whilst he was forced to be amongst them, there were only "two Faces which he had ever seen before, or whose names "were known to him. And, after urging "Their Duty, that "was due to him, and his Superiority over them, by such live-ly Reasons, and Arguments, as were not capable of any Answer, he concluded, "That he would not so much betray "himself, and his Royal Dignity, as to Answer any thing they "objected against him, which were to acknowledge their "Authority; though he believ'd that every one of Them-"selves, as well as the Spectators, did, in their own Consci-"ences, absolve him from all the Material things which were "objected against him.

BRADSHAW advised him, in a very arrogant manner, "Not "to deceive himself with an opinion that any thing he had "said would do him any good: that the Parliament knew "their own Authority, and would not suffer it to be called in "question or debated: therefore required him, "To think bet-"ter of it, against he should be next brought thither, and that "he would Answer directly to his Charge; otherwise, he "could not be so ignorant, as not to know what Judgment "the Law pronounced against those who stood Mute, and ob-"stinately refused to plead. So the Guard carried his Majesty back to St *James's*; where they treated him as before.

Disturbance in the Court by the Lady Fairfax the General's Wife.

THERE was an accident happen'd that first day, which may be fit to be remember'd. When all those who were Commissioners had taken their places, and the King was brought in, the first ceremony was to read their Commis-sion; which was the Ordinance of Parliament for the Trial; and then the Judges were all called, every Man answering to his name as he was called, and the President being first called and making Answer, the next who was called being the Ge-neral, Lord *Fairfax*, and no Answer being made, the Officer called him the second time, when there was a voice heard

that

that ſaid, "He had more Wit than to be there; which put the Court into ſome diſorder, and ſome body asking, who it was, there was no other Anſwer but a little murmuring. But, preſently, when the Impeachment was read, and that expreſſion uſed, of "All the good People of *England*, the ſame voice in a louder tone, Anſwer'd, "No, nor the hundreth part of "them: upon which, one of the Officers bid the Soldiers give fire into that Box whence thoſe preſumptuous words were utter'd. But it was quickly diſcern'd that it was the General's Wife, the Lady *Fairfax*, who had utter'd both thoſe ſharp ſayings; who was preſently perſwaded or forced to leave the place, to prevent any new diſorder. She was of a very noble Extraction, one of the Daughters and Heirs of *Horace* Lord *Vere* of *Tilbury*; who, having been bred in *Holland*, had not that reverence for the Church of *England*, as ſhe ought to have had, and ſo had unhappily concurr'd in her Husband's entring into Rebellion, never imagining what miſery it would bring upon the Kingdom; and now abhorr'd the work in hand as much as any Body could do, and did all ſhe could to hinder her Husband from acting any part in it. Nor did he ever ſit in that bloody Court, though he was throughout overwitted by *Cromwell*, and made a property to bring that to paſs which could very hardly have been otherwiſe effected.

As there was in many Perſons preſent at that woful Spectacle a real Duty and Compaſſion for the King, ſo there was in others ſo barbarous and brutal a behaviour towards him, that they called him Tyrant, and Murderer; and one ſpit in his Face; which his Majeſty, without expreſſing any trouble, wiped off with his Handkerchief.

THE two Men who were only known to the King before the Troubles, were Sr *Harry Mildmay*, Maſter of the King's Jewel Houſe, who had been bred up in the Court, being younger Brother of a good Family in *Eſſex*, and who had been proſecuted with ſo great Favours and Bounties by King *James*, and by his Majeſty, that he was raiſed by them to a great Eſtate, and preferr'd to that Office in his Houſe, which is the beſt under thoſe which entitle the Officers to be of the privy Council. No man more obſequious to the Court than He, whilſt it flouriſh'd; a great flatterer of all Perſons in Authority, and a Spy in all places for them. From the beginning of the Parliament, he concurr'd with thoſe who were moſt violent againſt the Court, and moſt like to prevail againſt it; and being thereupon branded with ingratitude, as that brand commonly makes Men moſt impudent, he continued his deſperate pace with them, till he became one of the Murderers of his Maſter. The other was Sr *John Danvers*, the younger Brother and Heir of the Earl of *Danby*, who was a Gentleman of

Sr H. Mildmay and Sr John Danvers the only two Perſons the King knew beſides the Officers of the Army.

of the Privy Chamber to the King, and being neglected by his Brother, and having, by a vain Expence in his way of living, contracted a vaſt debt, which he knew not how to pay, and being a proud formal weak Man, between being ſeduced and a Seducer, became ſo far involv'd in their Counſels that he ſuffer'd himſelf to be applied to their worſt Offices, taking it to be a high honour to ſit upon the ſame Bench with *Cromwell*, who employed and contemned him at once: nor did that Party of Miſcreants, look upon any two Men in the Kingdom with that ſcorn and deteſtation as they did upon *Danvers* and *Mildmay*.

A Summary paſſing over the reſt of the King's Trial.

THE ſeveral unheard of inſolencies which this excellent Prince was forced to ſubmit to, at the other times he was brought before that odious Judicatory, his Majeſtick behaviour, and reſolute inſiſting upon his own dignity, and defending it by manifeſt Authorities in the Law, as well as by the cleareſt deductions from Reaſon, the pronouncing that horrible ſentence upon the moſt innocent Perſon in the world, the Execution of that Sentence by the moſt execrable Murder that was ever committed ſince that of our Bleſſed Saviour; and the circumſtances thereof; the Application and Interpoſition that was uſed by ſome noble Perſons to prevent that woful Murder; and the hypocriſy with which that interpoſition was eluded, the Saint-like behaviour of that Bleſſed Martyr, and his Chriſtian courage and patience at his death, are all particulars ſo well known, and have been ſo much enlarged upon in a Treatiſe peculiarly writ to that purpoſe, that the farther mentioning it in this place would but afflict and grieve the Reader, and make the Relation it ſelf odious as well as needleſs; and therefore no more ſhall be ſaid here of that deplorable Tragedy, ſo much to the diſhonour of the Nation, and the Religion profeſſed by it, though undeſervedly.

His Character.

BUT it will not be unneceſſary to add a ſhort Character of his Perſon, that Poſterity may know the ineſtimable loſs which the Nation then underwent, in being depriv'd of a Prince whoſe example would have had a greater influence upon the manners, and piety of the Nation, than the moſt ſtrict Laws can have. To ſpeak firſt of his private Qualifications as a Man, before the mention of his Princely and Royal Virtues; He was if ever any, the moſt worthy of the title of an Honeſt Man; ſo great a lover of Juſtice, that no temptation could diſpoſe him to a wrongful Action, except it was ſo diſguiſed to him that he believ'd it to be juſt. He had a tenderneſs and compaſſion of Nature, which reſtrain'd him from ever doing a hard-hearted thing: and therefore he was ſo apt to grant pardon to Malefactors, that the Judges of the Land repreſented to him the damage and inſecurity to the Publick,

His Juſtice and Mercy.

that

that flowed from ſuch his Indulgence. And then he reſtrain'd himſelf from pardoning either Murders, or High way Robberies, and quickly diſcern'd the fruits of his ſeverity by a wonderful Reformation of thoſe Enormities. He was very punctual and regular in his Devotions; he was never known to enter upon his Recreations or Sports, though never ſo early in the Morning, before he had been at Publick Prayers; ſo that on Hunting days his Chaplains were bound to a very early Attendance. He was likewiſe very ſtrict in obſerving the hours of his private Cabinet Devotion; and was ſo ſevere an exactor of gravity and reverence in all mention of Religion, that he could never endure any light or prophane word, with what ſharpneſs of Wit ſoever it was cover'd: and though he was well pleaſed, and delighted with reading Verſes made upon any occaſion, no Man durſt bring before him any thing that was prophane or unclean. That kind of Wit had never any Countenance then. He was ſo great an Example of Conjugal Affection, that they who did not imitate him in that particular, durſt not brag of their Liberty: and he did not only permit, but direct his Biſhops to proſecute thoſe ſcandalous Vices, in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts, againſt Perſons of eminence, and near Relation to his Service.

His Devotion and Religion.

His Conjugal Chaſtity.

HIS Kingly Virtues had ſome mixture and allay, that hindred them from ſhining in full Luſtre, and from producing thoſe Fruits they ſhould have been attended with. He was not in his Nature very bountiful, though he gave very much. This appear'd more after the Duke of *Buckingham*'s death, after which thoſe ſhowres fell very rarely; and he pauſed too long in giving, which made thoſe to whom he gave, leſs ſenſible of the benefit. He kept ſtate to the full, which made his Court very orderly; no Man preſuming to be ſeen in a place where he had no pretence to be. He ſaw, and obſerv'd Men long, before he receiv'd them about his Perſon; and did not love Strangers, nor very confident Men. He was a patient hearer of Cauſes; which he frequently accuſtom'd himſelf to at the Council Board; and judged very well, and was dextrous in the mediating part: ſo that he often put an end to Cauſes by perſwaſion, which the ſtubbornneſs of Men's humours made dilatory in Courts of Juſtice.

He was not very bountiful.

He kept State in his Court.

Patient in hearing Cauſes.

HE was very fearleſs in his Perſon; but, in his riper years, not very Enterpriſing. He had an excellent underſtanding, but was not confident enough of it; which made him often times change his own opinion for a worſe, and follow the advice of Men that did not judge ſo well as himſelf. This made him more irreſolute than the conjuncture of his Affairs would admit: if he had been of a rougher and more imperious Nature, he would have found more reſpect and Duty. And

Fearleſs, not Enterpriſing.

Not confident in his own judgment.

his not applying ſome ſevere cures to approaching Evils, proceeded from the Lenity of his Nature, and the tenderneſs of his Conſcience, which, in all caſes of Blood, made him chooſe the ſofter way, and not hearken to ſevere Counſels, how reaſonably ſoever urged. This only reſtrain'd him from purſuing his advantage in the firſt *Scotiſh* Expedition, when, humanly ſpeaking, he might have reduced that Nation to the moſt entire obedience that could have been wiſhed. But no Man can ſay he had then many who adviſed him to it, but the contrary, by a wonderful indiſpoſition all his Council had to the War, or any other Fatigue. He was always a great Lover of the *Scotiſh* Nation, having not only been born there, but educated by that People, and beſieged by them always, having few *Engliſh* about him till he was King; and the major number of his Servants being ſtill of that Nation, who he thought could never fail him. And among theſe, no Man had ſuch an Aſcendent over him, by the humbleſt inſinuations, as Duke *Hamilton* had.

Lover of the Scotiſh Nation.

Abhorr'd Debauchery.

As he excelled in all other Virtues, ſo in Temperance he was ſo ſtrict, that he abhorr'd all Debauchery to that degree, that, at a great Feſtival Solemnity, where he once was, when very many of the Nobility of the *Engliſh* and *Scots* were entertain'd, being told by one who withdrew from thence, what vaſt draughts of Wine they drank, and "That there was one "Earl, who had drank moſt of the reſt down, and was not him-"ſelf mov'd or alter'd, the King ſaid, "That he deſerv'd to be "hanged; and that Earl coming ſhortly after into the Room where his Majeſty was, in ſome gayety, to ſhew how unhurt he was from that Battle, the King ſent one to bid him withdraw from his Majeſty's Preſence; nor did he in ſome days after appear before him.

So many miraculous Circumſtances contributed to his Ruine, that Men might well think that Heaven and Earth conſpired it. Though he was, from the firſt Declenſion of his Power, ſo much betrayed by his own Servants, that there were very few who remain'd faithful to him, yet that Treachery proceeded not always from any Treaſonable purpoſe to do Him any harm, but from particular, and perſonal Animoſities againſt other Men. And afterwards, the terror all Men were under of the Parliament, and the guilt they were conſcious of themſelves, made them watch all opportunities to make themſelves gracious to thoſe who could do them good; and ſo they became ſpies upon their Maſter, and from one piece of Knavery were harden'd and confirm'd to undertake another; till at laſt they had no hope of preſervation but by the Deſtruction of their Maſter. And after all this, when a Man might reaſonably believe that leſs than a univerſal Defection

fection of three Nations, could not have reduced a great King to ſo ugly a fate, it is moſt certain, that, in that very hour when he was thus wickedly Murder'd in the ſight of the Sun, he had as great a ſhare in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects in general, was as much belov'd, eſteem'd, and longed for by the People in general of the three Nations, as any of his Predeceſſors had ever been. To conclude, He was the worthieſt Gentleman, the beſt Maſter, the beſt Friend, the beſt Husband, the beſt Father, and the beſt Chriſtian, that the Age in which he liv'd produced. And if he were not the greateſt King, if he were without ſome Parts and Qualities which have made ſome Kings great and happy, no other Prince was ever unhappy who was poſſeſſed of half his Virtues and Endowments, and ſo much without any kind of Vice.

Belov'd by his Subjects in general when he was Murder'd. The Sum of his Character.

THIS unparallell'd Murder and Parricide was committed upon the thirtieth of *January*, in the Year, according to the Account uſed in *England*, 1648, in the forty and ninth year of his Age, and when he had ſuch excellent health, and ſo great Vigour of Body, that when his Murderers cauſed him to be open'd (which they did; and were ſome of them preſent at it with great curioſity) they confeſſed, and declared, "That no Man had ever all his vital parts ſo perfect and unhurt; and that he ſeem'd to be of ſo admirable a compoſition and conſtitution, that he would probably have liv'd as long as nature could ſubſiſt. His Body was immediately carried into a Room at *White-Hall*; where he was expoſed for many days to the publick view, that all Men might know that he was not alive. And he was then imbalm'd, and put into a Coffin, and ſo carried to St *James's*; where he likewiſe remain'd ſeveral days. They who were qualified to order his Funeral, declared, "That he ſhould be buried at *Windſor* in a "decent manner, provided that the whole Expence ſhould "not exceed five hundred pounds. The Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindſey*, who had been of his Bed-Chamber, and always very faithful to him, deſired thoſe who govern'd, "That they might have "leave to perform the laſt duty to their dead Maſter, and to "wait upon him to his Grave; which, after ſome pauſes, they were permitted to do, with this, "That they ſhould not attend "the Corps out of the Town; ſince they reſolv'd it ſhould be "privately carried to *Windſor* without Pomp or Noiſe, and "then they ſhould have timely notice, that if they pleaſed, "they might be at his Interment. And accordingly it was committed to four of thoſe Servants, who had been by them appointed to wait upon him during his Impriſonment, that they ſhould convey the Body to *Windſor*; which they did. And it was, that Night, placed in that Chamber which had

uſually been his Bed-Chamber: the next Morning, it was carried into the great Hall; where it remain'd till the Lords came; who arriv'd there in the Afternoon, and immediately went to Colonel *Whitchcot*, the Governour of the Caſtle, and ſhew'd the Order they had from the Parliament to be preſent at the Burial; which he admitted; but when they deſired that his Majeſty might be Buried according to the Form of the Common-Prayer Book, the Biſhop of *London* being preſent with them to officiate, he poſitively and roughly refuſed to conſent to it; and ſaid, "It was not Lawful; that the Com-"mon-Prayer Book was put down, and he would not ſuffer "it to be uſed in that Garriſon where He Commanded; nor could all the Reaſons, Perſwaſions, and Entreaties, prevail with him to ſuffer it. Then they went into the Church, to make choice of a place for Burial. But when they enter'd into it, which they had been ſo well acquainted with, they found it ſo alter'd and transform'd, all Inſcriptions, and thoſe Land-Marks pulled down, by which all Men knew every particular place in That Church, and ſuch a diſmal mutation over the whole, that they knew not where they were: nor was there one old Officer that had belonged to it, or knew where our Princes had uſed to be interr'd. At laſt there was a Fellow of the Town who undertook to tell them the place, where, he ſaid, "There was a Vault, in which King *Harry* the Eighth "and Queen *Jane Seymour* were interr'd. As near that place as could conveniently be, they cauſed the Grave to be made. There the King's Body was laid without any words, or other Ceremonies than the tears and ſighs of the few beholders. Upon the Coffin was a plate of Silver fixt with theſe words only, *King Charles* 1648. When the Coffin was put in, the black Velvet Pall that had cover'd it was thrown over it, and then the Earth thrown in; which the Governour ſtayed to ſee perfectly done, and then took the Keys of the Church.

I HAVE been the longer, and the more particular in this relation, that I may from thence take occaſion to mention what fell out long after, and which adminiſter'd a Subject of much diſcourſe; in which, according to the ſeveral humours and fancies of Men, they who were in neareſt Credit and Truſt about the King, underwent many very ſevere Cenſures and Reproaches, not without reflection upon the King himſelf. Upon the Return of King *Charles* the Second with ſo much Congratulation, and univerſal Joy of the People, above ten Years after the Murder of his Father, it was generally expected that the Body ſhould be remov'd from that obſcure Burial, and, with ſuch Ceremony as ſhould be thought fit, ſhould be ſolemnly depoſited with his Royal Anceſtors in King *Harry* the Seventh's Chappel in the Collegiate Church of *Weſtmin-*

Weſtminſter. And the King himſelf intended nothing more, and ſpoke often of it, as if it were only deferr'd till ſome Circumſtances and Ceremonies in the doing it might be adjuſted. But, by degrees, the diſcourſe of it was diminiſhed, as if it were totally laid aſide upon ſome reaſons of State, the ground whereof ſeveral Men gueſſed at according to their fancies, and thereupon caſt thoſe Reproaches upon the States-men as they thought reaſonable, when the reaſons which were ſuggeſted by their own imaginations, did not ſatisfy their underſtanding. For the ſatisfaction and information of all Men, I chooſe in this place to explain that matter; which, it may be is not known to many; and at that time was not, for many reaſons, thought fit to be publiſh'd. The Duke of *Richmond* was dead before the King return'd; the Marquis of *Hertford* died in a ſhort time after, and was ſeldom out of his Lodging after his Majeſty came to *White-Hall*; the Earl of *Southampton* and the Earl of *Lindſey* went to *Windſor*, and took with them ſuch of their own Servants as had attended them in that Service, and as many others as they remember'd had been then preſent, and were ſtill alive; who all amounted to a ſmall Number; there being, at the time of the Interment, great ſtrictneſs uſed in admitting any to be preſent whoſe Names were not included in the Order which the Lords had brought. In a word, the confuſion they had at that time obſerv'd to be in that Church, and the ſmall alterations which were begun to be made towards Decency, ſo totally perplexed their Memories, that they could not ſatisfy themſelves in what place, or part of the Church the Royal Body was Interr'd: Yet, where any concur'd upon this, or that place, they cauſed the ground to be open'd at a good diſtance, and upon ſuch Enquiries, found no Cauſe to believe that they were near the place: And, upon their giving this Account to the King, the thought of that remove was laid aſide; and the reaſon communicated to very few, for the better diſcountenancing farther Enquiry.

THOUGH this wicked and abominable Action had to a degree ſatisfied their Malice, it had not enough provided for their Ambition or Security. They had no ſooner freed themſelves from one, than another King was grown up in his place. And beſides the old Royal Party, which continued ſtill vigorous, notwithſtanding their loſs of ſo much Blood, and (which weakens almoſt as much) of ſo great Eſtates, they did apprehend that there were in the vaſt number of the guilty (who quietly look'd on upon the removal of the old, whom they had ſo grievouſly offended) who would yet be very willing to ſubmit, and be obedient to the new King; who was like to find more Friends abroad, as well as at home, than

his Father had done. And therefore they made haſte to prevent this threatning evil, by publiſhing a Proclamation, "That "no Perſon whatſoever ſhould preſume to declare *Charles* "*Stuart*, Son of the late *Charles*, commonly call'd the Prince "of *Wales*, or any other Perſon to be King, or Chief Ma- "giſtrate of *England*, or *Ireland*, or of any Dominions be- "longing thereunto, by colour of Inheritance, Succeſſion, "Election, or any other Claim whatſoever; and that who- "ever, contrary to this Act, preſume to proclaim, *&c.* "ſhould be deem'd and adjudged a Traytor, and ſuffer ac- "cordingly.

Proclamation againſt proclaiming Charles Stuart *King.*

In the next place, that their Infant Republick might be Nurſed, Cheriſhed, and brought up by thoſe only who had gotten and brought it forth, they reſolv'd to take away and aboliſh the Houſe of Peers, and Voted, "That they would "make no farther Addreſſes to the Houſe of Lords, nor re- "ceive any more from them: That the Houſe of Peers, in Par- "liament, was uſeleſs and dangerous; and that an Act ſhould "be brought in for aboliſhing it: That the Privilege of the "Peers of being freed from Arreſts, ſhould be declared null "and void; all which was done within few days. However, they declar'd, "That the Peers ſhould have the Privilege to "be elected Knights, or Burgeſſes; of which gracious Con- ceſſion ſome of them took the benefit ſoon after, and ſate, upon their Election into vacant places, in the Houſe of Commons.

The Commons aboliſh the Houſe of Peers.

There remain'd yet another proviſion to be made againſt their own Ambition; for it was well known, that there were yet amongſt them many who were not equally fond of a Common-wealth; and therefore they declared, "That it had "been found by experience, that the Office of a King in this "Nation, or to have the Power thereof in any ſingle Perſon, "was unneceſſary, burthenſom, and dangerous to the Liberty, "and Safety, and Publick Intereſt of the Nation; and there- "fore that it ſhould be utterly aboliſh'd; and to that purpoſe "an Act ſhould be forthwith prepared: which was likewiſe done, and paſſed. And by this Triple Cord they believ'd their Republick would be ſtrongly compacted, and ſufficiently provided for.

Vote againſt the Office of Kingſhip.

Their new Great Seal was by this time ready; whereon was Engraven, on one ſide, the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, with this Inſcription, *The Great Seal of England*; and on the other ſide the Portraiture of the Houſe of Commons Sitting, circumſcribed, *In the firſt Year of freedom by God's bleſſing reſtor'd*, 1648. The Cuſtody of this Great Seal was committed to three Lawyers, whereof one had ſate among the King's Judges, and the others had contributed too much to their

They make a new Great Seal.

their Service. All things being now in this good Order, they ſent for their Judges, to agree upon the formality and circumſtances of Proceedings. For it was declared by the Parliament, "That they were fully reſolv'd to maintain, and up-"hold the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, in order to the "preſervation of the Lives, Property, and Liberty of the Peo-"ple, notwithſtanding all the alterations made in the Govern-"ment for the good of the People: and the Writs were no more to run in the King's Name, as they had alwas done, but the Name, Style, and Teſt, to be *Cuſtodes Libertatis Angliæ, authoritate Parliamenti.* If it were not a thing ſo notoriouſly known, it could not be believ'd, that of twelve Judges, whereof ten were of their own making, and the other two had quietly ſubmitted, from the beginning of the War to the Authority that govern'd, ſix laid down their places, and could not give themſelves leave to accept Commiſſions from the new Eſtabliſh'd Power. So aguiſh and fantaſtical a thing is the Conſcience of Men who have once departed from the Rule of Conſcience, in hope to be permitted to adhere to it again upon a leſs preſſing occaſion.

Six of their own Judges give up.

It will be requiſite, at leaſt it may not be unfit, to reſt and make a pauſe in this place, to take a view, with what Countenance the Kings and Princes of *Chriſtendom* had their Eyes fix'd upon this ſad and bloody Spectacle; how they look'd upon that iſſue of Blood, at which their own ſeem'd to be ſo prodigally poured out; with what conſternation their Hearts labour'd to ſee the Impious Hands of the loweſt and baſeſt Subjects bathing in the Bowels, and reeking Blood of their Soveraign; a Brother King, the Anointed of the Lord, diſmember'd as a Malefactor; what Combination, and Union was enter'd into, to take vengeance upon thoſe Monſters, and to vindicate the Royal Blood thus wickedly ſpilt. Alas! there was ſcarce a murmur amongſt any of them at it; but, as if they had been all called upon in the Language of the Prophet *Iſaiah, Go, ye ſwift Meſſengers, to a Nation ſcattered, and peeled, to a People terrible from the beginning hitherto, to a Nation meted out, and troden down, whoſe Lands the Rivers have ſpoiled,* they made haſte, and ſent over, that they might get ſhares in the Spoils of a Murder'd Monarch.

How ſome Neighbouring Princes took the King's Murther.

Cardinal *Mazarin*, who, in the Infancy of the *French* King, managed that Scepter, had long adored the Conduct of *Cromwell*, and ſought his Friendſhip by a lower and viler application than was ſuitable to the Purple of a Cardinal, ſent now to be admitted as a Merchant to traffick in the purchaſe of the rich Goods and Jewels of the rifled Crown, of which he purchaſed the rich Beds, Hangings, and Carpets, which furniſh'd his Palace at *Paris*. The King of *Spain* had, from

the beginning of the Rebellion, kept *Don Alonzo de Cardinas*, who had been his Embaſſadour to the King, reſiding ſtill at *London*, and He had, upon ſeveral occaſions, many Audiences from the Parliament, and ſeveral Treaties on foot; and aſſoon as this diſmal Murder was over, that Embaſſadour, who had always a great malignity towards the King, bought as many Pictures, and other precious Goods appertaining to the Crown, as, being ſent in Ships to the *Corunna* in *Spain*, were carried from thence to *Madrid* upon eighteen Mules. *Chriſtina* Queen of *Sweden* purchaſed the choice of all the Medals, and Jewels, and ſome Pictures of a great price, and receiv'd the Parliament's Agent with great Joy, and Pomp, and made an Alliance with them. The Arch-Duke *Leopold*, who was Governour of *Flanders*, diſburſed a great Sum of Money for many of the beſt Pictures, which adorn'd the ſeveral Palaces of the Kings; which were all brought to him to *Bruſſels*, and from thence carried by him into *Germany*. In this manner did the Neighbour Princes joyn to aſſiſt *Cromwell* with very great Sums of Money, whereby he was enabled to proſecute, and finiſh his wicked Victory over what yet remain'd unconquer'd, and to extinguiſh Monarchy in this renown'd Kingdom; whilſt they enrich'd and adorn'd themſelves with the Ruins and Spoils of the ſurviving Heir, without applying any part thereof to his Relief, in the greateſt neceſſities which ever King was ſubject to. And that which is ſtranger than all this (ſince moſt Men, by recovering their Fortunes, uſe to recover moſt of what they were before robb'd of, many who joyn'd in the Robbery pretending that they took care to preſerve it for the true Owner) not one of all theſe Princes ever reſtored any of their unlawful purchaſes to the King, after his bleſſed Reſtoration.

WHILST theſe perfidious wretches had their hands ſtill reeking in the precious Blood of their Soveraign, they were put upon a new piece of Butchery, as neceſſary to the Eſtabliſhment of their new Tyranny. The King was no ſooner dead, but they declared, as hath been ſaid, "That from this time "*England* ſhould be govern'd as a Common-wealth by the "Parliament; that is, by that handful of Men, who by their Wiſdom and Power had wrought this wonderful alteration. And becauſe the number of thoſe appear'd very ſmall, and the number of thoſe they had excluded was as viſible, they made an Order and Declaration, "That as many of the Mem-"bers who had been excluded, as would under their hands "approve all that had been done during the time they were "excluded, ſhould return to their Seats in the Houſe without "any prejudice for the future. Hereupon divers went again into the Houſe, ſatisfying themſelves that they were not guilty

guilty of the Innocent Royal Blood that had been ſpilt; and ſo their number increaſed. They had made a new Great Seal, as hath been ſaid, and called the Commiſſioners, who were entruſted with the keeping thereof, *The Keepers of the Liberties of England*. And the Court of King's Bench they called the *Upper Bench*, and appointed certain Perſons to conſider of ſuch alterations as were neceſſary to be made in the Laws of *England*, in regard of ſo important a mutation. That they might have ſome obligation of Obedience from their Subjects for the future, who had broken all the former Oaths which they had taken, a new Oath was prepared and eſtabliſhed, which they called an *Engagement*; the form whereof was, that every Man ſhould ſwear, "That he would be true and "faithful to the Government eſtabliſhed without King or "Houſe of Peers: and whoſoever refuſed to take that Engagement ſhould be incapable of holding any Place, or Office in Church or State. The neceſſity of taking which Oath did not only exclude all of the Royal Party, but freed them from very many who had Offices in Church and State, who, being of the Presbyterian Party, durſt not ſacrifice their beloved Covenant to this new Engagement. And ſo they filled many conſiderable Places both in the one, and the other, with Men throughly prepared for their Service. But before they could model and finiſh all this, and whilſt it was preparing, they had, in ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, terrified the People with Blood-Spectacles, in the executing many of the Perſons who had been taken. And that all hopes and pretences might be taken away from their Subjects, the Peers of *England*, that they ſhould hereafter have any thing to do in declaring what the fundamental Laws of the Land were, a new High Court of Juſtice was appointed to ſit for the Trial of Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, and another Gentleman, one Sr *John Owen* (who having been heretofore a Colonel in the King's Army, had, in a late Inſurrection in *Wales*, killed the High Sheriff) that they might ſee there ſhould hereafter be no more diſtinction of Quality in Trials for Life, but that the greateſt Lord and the Commoners ſhould undergo the ſame Judicatory, and form of Trial. Nor could it be thought unreaſonable, that all the Creations of the Crown ſhould be determin'd by that juriſdiction to which the Crown it ſelf had been ſubjected.

An Oath impoſed called the Engagement

A new High Court of Juſtice ſits; and ſeveral Trials before them.

DUKE *Hamilton* could not well be thought other than a Priſoner of War, and ſo not liable to a Trial for his Life. He had attempted to make an Eſcape; in which he had ſo well ſucceeded, that he was out of his Enemies hands full three days; but, being impatient to be at a greater diſtance from them, he was apprehended as he was taking Horſe in *South-*

Duke Hamilton *firſt Tried.*

Southwark; and carried Prisoner into the Tower; from whence he was brought, with the others, before that High Court of Justice. He insisted upon "The Right and Priviledge of the "Kingdom of *Scotland*; that it had not the least Dependence "upon the Kingdom of *England*, but was entirely Govern'd "by its own Laws: that He, being a Subject of that King- "dom, was bound to obey the Commands thereof; and the "Parliament of that Kingdom, having thought it necessary to "raise an Army for the relief of their King, and constituted "Him General of that Army, it was not lawful for him to "refuse the Command thereof; and whatever misfortune he "had undergone with it, he could not be understood to be "liable to any punishment but what a Prisoner of War was "bound to undergo. He was told, "That the Rights and "Laws of the Kingdom of *Scotland* were not called in Que- "stion, nor could be violated by Their proceedings against "Him, who was a Subject of *England*; against which he was "charged with Rebellion and Treason: that they did not "proceed against him as Duke *Hamilton* of *Scotland*, but as "Earl of *Cambridge* in *England*, and they would judge him "as such. The Earl of *Holland* was not at that time in a good disposition of Health, and so Answer'd little, as a Man that would rather receive his life by their favour, than from the strength of his defence. The Earl of *Norwich* behaved him- self with great submission to the Court, and with all those Addresses as were most like to reconcile his Judges to him, and to prevail over their Affections: spoke of "His being "bred up in the Court, from his Cradle, in the time of "Queen *Elizabeth*; of his having been a Servant to King "*James* all his Reign; of his dependence upon Prince *Harry*; "afterwards, upon the late King; of the obligations he had "to the Crown, and of his Endeavours to serve it; and con- cluded as a Man that would be beholding to them if they would give him leave to live.

Then the Earl of Holland.

The Earl of Norwich.

The Lord Capel.

THE Lord *Capel* appear'd undaunted, and utterly refused to submit to their jurisdiction; "That in the condition and "capacity of a Soldier and a Prisoner of War, he said, the "Lawyers and Gown-men had nothing to do with him, and "therefore he would not Answer to any thing which they "had said against him (*Steel* having treated him with great rudeness and insolence) but insisted upon "The Law of Na- "tions, which exempted all Prisoners, though submitting to "Mercy, from death, if it was not inflicted within so many "days; which were long since expired. He urged "the de- "claration which *Fairfax* the General had made to Him, and "the rest of the Prisoners, after the death of Sr *Charles Lucas* "and Sr *George Lisle*, that no other of their Lives should be "in

"in danger, which he had Witneſſes ready to prove, if they "might be admitted; and concluded, "That, if he had com- "mitted any Offence worthy of death, he might be tried by "his Peers; which was his Right by the Laws of the Land; "the benefit whereof he required. *Ireton*, who was preſent, and ſate as one of his Judges, denied "That the General had "made any ſuch promiſe, that if he had, that the Parlia- "ment's Authority could not be reſtrain'd thereby; and put him in mind of his Carriage at that time, and how much he neglected then the General's civility. The other inſiſted ſtill on the promiſe; and urged "That the General might be ſent "for, and examin'd; which they knew not how to deny, but, in regard of his indiſpoſition of Health, they ſaid "They "would ſend to him, whilſt they proceeded againſt Sr *John* "*Owen*, who was the other Priſoner.

Sr John Owen.

HE Anſwer'd them without any application, "That he was "a plain Gentleman of *Wales*, who had been always taught "to obey the King; that he had ſerv'd him honeſtly during "the War, and finding afterwards that many honeſt Men en- "deavour'd to raiſe Forces, whereby they might get him "out of Priſon, He did the like; and the High Sheriff en- "deavour'd to oppoſe him, and ſo chanced to be kill'd; which "he might have avoided if he had ſtaid at home: and con- cluded like a Man that did not much care what they reſolv'd concerning him.

WHETHER the Queſtion was well ſtated to *Fairfax*, or what was elſe ſaid to him to diſſwade him from owning his Declaration and promiſe, he boggled ſo much in his Anſwer, that they would be of opinion, "That he had not made ſuch "direct and poſitive promiſe; and that the ſame was never "tranſmitted to the Parliament; which it ought to have been; "and that, at moſt, it could but exempt thoſe Priſoners from "being tried before a Court, or council of War, and could "not be underſtood as an obligation upon the Parliament, "not to give direction to ſuch a legal Proceeding againſt "them, as they ſhould find neceſſary for the Peace, and "Safety of the Kingdom. The Preſident *Bradſhaw* told the Lord *Capel*, with many inſolent expreſſions, "That he was "tried before ſuch Judges as the Parliament thought fit to "aſſign him; and who had judged a better Man than himſelf. So the Sentence of death was pronounced againſt all five of them, "That they ſhould looſe their heads; upon which Sr *John* *Owen* made a low reverence, and gave them humble thanks, and being ask'd by a Stander by, "What he meant? he ſaid aloud, "It was a very great honour to a poor Gentleman of "*Wales* to loſe his head with ſuch noble Lords; and ſwore a great Oath, "That he was afraid they would have hanged him.

All five condemned.

THE

THE Priſoners were all carried to St *James's*; where they were to remain till their Execution two days after; which time their Friends and Relations, had to endeavour to preſerve their lives by the Power and Authority of the Parliament; where there were ſo many ſitting who had not ſate in judgment upon them, and who were of ſeveral Affections, and liable to ſeveral temptations, that there might be a reaſonable hope to reſcue them from the cruel and unjuſt Judgment. Their Wives, and Children, and Friends, left no way untried to prevail; offer'd, and gave Money to ſome who were willing to receive it, and made promiſes accordingly. But they who had the greateſt credit, and moſt power to terrify others who ſhould diſpleaſe them, were inexorable; yet dealt ſo much more honeſtly than the reſt, that they declared to the Ladies, who ſolicited for their Husbands and their Fathers, "That they would not endeavour to do them Service. *Ireton*, above all Men, continued his inſolent and dogged humour, and told them, "If He had credit, they ſhould all dye. Others, who gave better Words, had no better Meaning than he.

ALL their Petitions were read in order, being penn'd in ſuch Styles as the Friends, who ſollicited for them, were adviſed. Duke *Hamilton*'s Petition being read, many, upon the motives of Juſtice, and as they imagined his death, might be the occaſion of new Troubles between the two Nations, ſince *Scotland* could not but reſent it, would have been willing he ſhould live. But he had fewer Friends to his Perſon than any of the reſt; and *Cromwell* knew well that his being out of the way would not be unacceptable to them upon whom the Peace of that Kingdom depended: ſo that when his Petition was read, it was rejected by very much the Major part of Voices. The conſideration of the Earl of *Holland* took up a long Debate: the Intereſt and Interpoſition of the Earl of *Warwick*, his Brother, was apply'd; and every Presbyterian, to a Man, was ſollicitous to preſerve him. They urged, "His "merit towards the Parliament in the beginning of the Trou"bles; how much he had ſuffer'd in the Court for his Affe"ction to them: his Age, and Infirmities, which would not "ſuffer him long to enjoy that Life they ſhould give him: "and the conſideration of his Wife, and Children, which "were numerous. But theſe Arguments ſtirr'd up others, to inveigh againſt his backſlidings with the more bitterneſs, and to undervalue the Services he had ever done; to tax his Vanities, and his breach of Faith. When the Queſtion was put concerning him, they who were for the Negative, exceeded the number of the other by three or four Votes; *Cromwell* having more than an ordinary Animoſity againſt him, for his behaviour

behaviour in the beginning of the Summer, and for ſome words of neglect and contempt he had let fall concerning himſelf. The Earl of *Norwich* came next upon the Stage: who having always liv'd a chearful and jovial Life, without contracting many Enemies, had many there who wiſh'd him well, and few who had Animoſity againſt him; ſo that when the Queſtion was put concerning him, the Houſe was equally divided, the Votes which rejected his Petition, and thoſe which would preſerve his Life, were equal: ſo that his Life or Death depended upon the ſingle Vote of the Speaker; who told the Houſe, "That he had receiv'd many obligations from "that Lord; and that once when he had been like to have "incurr'd the King's diſpleaſure, by ſome miſinformation, "which would have been very penal to him, the Lord *Goring* (under which ſtyle he was treated, the additional of *Norwich* not being allow'd by them upon their old Rule) "Had "by his Credit preſerv'd him, and remov'd the Prejudice "that was againſt him, and therefore he was oblig'd in gra-"titude to give his Vote for the ſaving him. By this good fortune he came to be preſerv'd; whether the ground of it were true or no, or whether the Speaker made it only as an excuſe for ſaving any Man's Life who was put to ask it in that place.

THE Lord *Capel*, ſhortly after he was brought Priſoner to the Tower from *Windſor* Caſtle, had by a wonderful adventure, having a Cord and all things neceſſary convey'd to him, let himſelf down out of the Window of his Chamber in the Night, over the Wall of the Tower; and had been directed through what part of the Ditch he might be beſt able to wade. Whether he found the right place, or whether there was no ſafer place, he found the Water and the Mud ſo deep, that, if he had not been by the head taller than other Men, he muſt have periſhed, ſince the Water came up to his Chin. The way was ſo long to the other ſide, and the fatigue of drawing himſelf out of ſo much Mud ſo intolerable, that his Spirits were near ſpent, and he was once ready to call out for help, as thinking it better to be carried back again to the Priſon, than to be found in ſuch a place, from whence he could not extricate himſelf, and where he was ready to expire. But it pleaſed God, that he got at laſt to the other ſide; where his Friends expected him, and carried him to a Chamber in the Temple; where he remain'd two or three Nights ſecure from any diſcovery, notwithſtanding the diligence that could not but be uſed to recover a Man they deſign'd to uſe no better. After two or three days a Friend whom he truſted much, and who deſerv'd to be truſted, conceiving that he might be more ſecure in a place to which there

there was leſs reſort, and where there were ſo many harbour'd who were every day ſought after, had provided a Lodging for him in a private Houſe in *Lambeth* Marſh; and calling upon him in an Evening, when it was dark, to go thither, they choſe rather to take any Boat they found ready at the Temple Stairs, than to truſt one of that People with the ſecret; and it was ſo late that there was one only Boat left there. In that the Lord *Capel* (as well diſguis'd as he thought neceſſary) and his Friend, put themſelves, and bid the Water-man to row them to *Lambeth*. Whether, in their paſſage thither, the other Gentleman call'd him *my Lord*, as was confidently reported, or whether the Water-man had any jealouſy by obſerving what he thought was a diſguiſe, when they were landed, the wicked Water-man, undiſcern'd, follow'd them, till he ſaw into what Houſe they went; and then went to an Officer, and demanded, "What he would "give him to bring him to the place where the Lord *Capel* "lay? And the Officer promiſing to give him ten pounds, he led him preſently to the Houſe, where that excellent Perſon was ſeiſed upon, and the next day carried to the Tower.

WHEN the Petition, that his Wife had deliver'd, was read, many Gentlemen ſpoke on his behalf; and mention'd the great Virtues which were in him; and "That he had ne-"ver deceiv'd them, or pretended to be of their Party; but "always reſolutely declar'd himſelf for the King: and *Cromwell*, who had known him very well, ſpoke ſo much good of him; and profeſs'd to have ſo much kindneſs and reſpect for him, that all Men thought he was now ſafe, when he concluded, "That his Affection to the Publick ſo much "weigh'd down his private Friendſhip, that he could not but "tell them, that the Queſtion was now, whether they would "preſerve the moſt bitter and moſt implacable Enemy they "had: that he knew the Lord *Capel* very well, and knew "that he would be the laſt Man in *England* that would for-"ſake the Royal Intereſt; that he had great Courage, Indu-"ſtry, and Generoſity; that he had many Friends who would "always adhere to him; and that as long as he liv'd, what "condition ſoever he was in, he would be a thorn in their "ſides; and therefore, for the good of the Common-wealth, "he ſhould give his Vote againſt the Petition. *Ireton*'s Hatred was Immortal: he ſpake of him, and againſt him, as of a Man of whom he was heartily afraid. Very many were ſway'd by the Argument that had been urg'd againſt Duke *Hamilton*, "That God was not pleas'd that he ſhould Eſcape, "becauſe He had put him into their hands again, when he "was at liberty. And ſo, after a long Debate, though there was not a Man who had not a value for him, and very few

who

who had a particular Malice, or Prejudice towards him, the Queſtion being put, the Negative was more by three or four Voices: ſo that, of the four Lords, three were without the Mercy of that Unmerciful People. There being no other Petition preſented, *Ireton* told them, "There had been great "Endeavours and Sollicitation us'd to ſave all thoſe Lords; "but that there was a Commoner, another condemn'd Per- "ſon, for whom no one Man had ſpoke a word, nor had he "himſelf ſo much as Petition'd them; and therefore he deſired, "that Sr *John Owen*, might be preſerv'd by the meer Motive, "and goodneſs of the Houſe it ſelf; which found little oppoſi- tion; whether they were ſatiated with Blood, or that they were willing, by this Inſtance, that the Nobility ſhould ſee that a Commoner ſhould be preferr'd before them.

A SCAFFOLD was erected before *Weſtminſter* Hall, and all the Priſoners condemn'd were brought from S: *James's* (as well the two who were repriv'd, as the three who were to ſuffer) upon the ninth of *March*, that was at the end of the year 1648, a little more than a Month after the Murder of the King, to Sr *Thomas Cotton*'s Houſe, at the upper end of *Weſtminſter* Hall; where they were ſuffer'd to repoſe themſelves about the ſpace of an hour, and then were led ſucceſſively through the Hall to the Scaffold, Duke *Hamilton* being firſt; who ſeem'd yet to have ſome hope of a Reprieve, and made ſome ſtay in the Hall, till the Earl of *Denbigh* came to him; and, after a ſhort whiſper, in which he found there was no hope, he aſcended the Scaffold. He complain'd much of "The "injuſtice that was done him; and that he was put to death "for obeying the Laws of his Country; which if he had not "done, he muſt have been put to death there. He acknow- ledged the Obligations he had to the King, and ſeem'd not ſorry for the gratitude he had expreſſed, how dear ſoever it coſt him. His natural darkneſs, and reſervation in his diſcourſe, made him to be thought a Wiſe man, and his having been in Command under the King of *Sweden*, and his continual diſ- courſes of Battles, and Fortifications, made him be thought a great Soldier. And both theſe miſtakes were the Cauſe that made him be looked upon as a worſe and a more dangerous Man, than in truth he deſerv'd to be.

Duke Hamilton *be- headed* March 9.

THE Earl of *Holland* was brought next, who, by his long ſickneſs, was ſo ſpent, that his Spirits ſerv'd not to entertain the People with long diſcourſe. He ſpoke of "His Reli- "gion, as a matter unqueſtionable, by the Education he had "had in the Religious Family of which he was a branch: which was thought a ſtrange diſcourſe for a dying Man, who, though a Son, knew enough of the iniquity of his Father's Houſe, which ſhould rather have been buried in ſilence, than, by

The Earl of Holland *the ſame day.*

by ſuch an unſeaſonable Teſtimony, have been revived in the memory and diſcourſe of Men. He took more care to be thought a good friend to Parliaments, than a good Servant to his Maſter, and was thought to ſay too little of his having failed ſo much in his Duty to him, which moſt good Men believ'd to be the Source from whence his preſent calamity ſprung. He was a very well bred Man, and a fine Gentleman in good times; but two much deſired to enjoy eaſe and plenty, when the King could have neither; and did think Poverty the moſt inſupportable evil that could befall any Man in this world. He was then ſo weak that he could not have liv'd long; and when his head was cut off, very little blood follow'd.

The Lord Capel,

THE Lord *Capel* was then called; who walked through *Weſtminſter* Hall, ſaluting ſuch of his Friends and Acquaintance as he ſaw there, with a very ſerene Countenance, accompanied with his Friend Dr *Morley*; who had been with him from the time of his Sentence, but at the foot of the Scaffold, the Soldiers ſtopping the Dr, his Lordſhip took his leave of him; and, embracing him, thanked him; and ſaid, he ſhould go no farther, having ſome apprehenſion that he might receive ſome affront by that rude People after his death; the Chaplains who attended the two other Lords, being Men of the time, and the Dr being well known to be moſt contrary.

ASSOON as his Lordſhip had aſcended the *Scaffold*, he looked very vigorouſly about, and asked, "Whether the other "Lords had ſpoken to the People with their Hats on? and being told, that "They were bare? he gave his Hat to his Servant, and then with a clear and a ſtrong voice, he ſaid, "That he was brought thither to dye for doing that which he "could not repent of: that he had been born, and bred un- "der the Government of a King whom he was bound in Con- "ſcience to obey; under Laws, to which he had been always "obedient; and in the boſom of a Church, which he thought "the beſt in the world: that he had never violated his Faith "to either of thoſe, and was now condemn'd to dye againſt "all the Laws of the Land; to which Sentence he did ſub- "mit.

HE enlarged himſelf in commending "The great Virtue "and Piety of the King, whom they had put to death; who "was ſo juſt and ſo merciful a Prince; and prayed to God, "to forgive the Nation that innocent Blood. Then he re- "commended to them the preſent King, who, he told them, "was their true and their Lawful Soveraign; and was worthy "to be ſo: that he had the honour to have been ſome years "near his Perſon, and therefore he could not but know him "well; and aſſured them, "That he was a Prince of great un- "derſtanding,

"derſtanding, of an excellent Nature, of great Courage, an "entire Lover of Juſtice, and of exemplary Piety: that he "was not to be ſhaken in his Religion; and had all thoſe "Princely Virtues, which could make a Nation happy; and therefore adviſed them "To ſubmit to his Government, as "the only means to preſerve themſelves, their poſterity, and "the Proteſtant Religion. And having, with great vehemence, recommended it to them, after ſome prayers very devoutly pronounced upon his Knees, he ſubmitted himſelf, with an unparallell'd Chriſtian Courage, to the fatal ſtroke, which depriv'd the Nation of the Nobleſt Champion it had.

The Lord Capel's Character.

He was a Man in whom the Malice of his Enemies could diſcover very few faults, and whom his Friends could not wiſh better accompliſhed; whom *Cromwell*'s own Character well deſcribed; and who indeed would never have been contented to have liv'd under that Government. His Memory all Men loved and reverenced, though few follow'd his Example. He had always liv'd in a State of great plenty and general eſtimation, having a very noble Fortune of his own by deſcent, and a fair Addition to it by his Marriage with an excellent Wife, a Lady of very worthy Extraction, of great Virtue and Beauty, by whom he had a numerous Iſſue of both Sexes, in which he took great Joy and Comfort: ſo that no Man was more happy in all his Domeſtick Affairs; and he was ſo much the more happy, in that he thought himſelf moſt bleſſed in them.

And yet the King's Honour was no ſooner violated, and his juſt Power invaded, than he threw all thoſe bleſſings behind him; and having no other obligations to the Crown, than thoſe which his own Honour and Conſcience ſuggeſted to him, he frankly engaged his Perſon and his Fortune from the beginning of the Troubles, as many others did, in all Actions and Enterpriſes of the greateſt hazard and danger; and continued to the end, without ever making one falſe ſtep, as few others did, though he had once, by the iniquity of a Faction, that then prevailed, an indignity put upon him that might have excuſed him for ſome remiſſion of his former warmth. But it made no other impreſſion upon him, than to be quiet and contented, whilſt they would let him alone, and with the ſame chearfulneſs to obey the firſt Summons when he was called out; which was quickly after. In a word, he was a Man, that whoever ſhall, after Him, deſerve beſt of the *Engliſh* Nation, he can never think himſelf undervalued, when he ſhall hear, that his Courage, Virtue, and Fidelity, is laid in the Ballance with, and compared to that of the Lord *Capel.*

The Concluſion and Character of the year 1648.

So ended the Year One thouſand ſix hundred forty eight; a Year of Reproach and Infamy above all Years which had

passed before it; a Year of the highest dissimulation and hypocrisy, of the deepest Villany and most bloody Treasons, that any Nation was ever cursed with, or under; a Year, in which the Memory of all the Transactions ought to be raised out of all Records, lest, by the success of it, Atheism, Infidelity, and Rebellion, should be propagated in the world: a Year, of which We may say, as the Historian said of the time of *Domitian*, *Sicut vetus ætas vidit, quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute*; or, as the same Writer says of a time not altogether so wicked, *Is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.*

THE END OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

THE

THE
Hiſtory of the Rebellion, &c.
BOOK XII.

2 Chron. XXVIII. 10.

And now ye purpoſe to keep under the Children of Judah and Jeruſalem for bond-men and bond-women unto you: but are there not with you, even with you, Sins againſt the Lord your God?

Iſai. XXIX. 10.

For the Lord hath poured out upon you the Spirit of deep ſleep, and hath cloſed your eyes: the Prophets and your Rulers, the Seers hath he covered.

WHILST theſe Tragedies were acting in *England*, and Ordinances form'd, as hath been ſaid, to make it Penal in the higheſt degree for any Man to aſſume the Title of King, or to acknowledge any Man to be ſo, the King himſelf remain'd in a very diſconſolate Condition at the *Hague*. Though he had known the deſperate ſtate his Father was long in, yet the barbarous ſtroke ſo ſurpriſed him, that he was in all the Confuſion imaginable, and all about him were almoſt bereft of their underſtanding. The truth is, it can hardly be conceiv'd, with what a conſternation this terrible News was receiv'd by all, even by the Common People of that Country. There was a Woman at the *Hague*, of the midling Rank, who, being with Child, with the Horror of the mention of it, fell into Travel, and in it died. There could not be more Evidence of a general deteſtation, than there was, amongſt all Men of what Quality ſoever.

The young King's condition at the Hague.

ſoever. Within two or three days, which they gave to the King's recollection, the States preſented themſelves in a Body to his Majeſty, to condole with him for the Murder of his Father, in terms of great Sorrow, ſave that there was not bitterneſs enough againſt the Rebels and Murderers. The States of *Holland*, apart, perform'd the ſame Civility towards his Majeſty; and the Body of the Clergy, in a Latin Oration, deliver'd by the Chief Preacher of the *Hague*, lamented the Misfortune, in terms of as much aſperity, and deteſtation of the Actors, as unworthy the name of Chriſtians, as could be expreſſed.

The States condole with him.

THE deſperateneſs of the King's Condition, could not excuſe his ſinking under the Burthen of his Grief: but thoſe who were about him beſought him to reſume ſo much Courage as was neceſſary for his preſent State. He thereupon cauſed thoſe of his Father's Council who had attended him, to be ſworn of his Privy Council, adding only Mr *Long* his Secretary; who, before, was not of the Council. All which was done before he heard from the Queen his Mother; who, notwithſtanding the great Agony ſhe was in, which without doubt was as great a paſſion of Sorrow as ſhe was able to ſuſtain, wrote to the King, "That he could not do better, "than to repair into *France* aſſoon as was poſſible, and, in "the mean time, deſired him, not to ſwear any Perſons to be "of his Council, till She could ſpeak with him. Whether it was, that ſhe did not think thoſe Perſons to be enough at her Devotion; or that ſhe would have them receive that Honour upon her recommendation.

The new Council ſworn.

The Queen's firſt Meſſage to him.

THE King himſelf had no mind to go into *France*, where he thought he had not been treated with exceſs of Courteſy; and he reſolv'd to perform all Filial reſpect towards the Queen, his Mother, without ſuch a condeſcenſion and reſignation of himſelf, as ſhe expected; and to avoid all Eclarciſments upon that Subject, he heartily deſired that any other Courſe might be found more Counſellable than that he ſhould go into *France*. He himſelf lived with, and upon the Prince of *Orange*; who ſupplied him with all things neceſſary for his own Perſon, for his Mourning, and the like: but towards any other ſupport for himſelf and his Family, his Majeſty had not enough to maintain them one day: and there were very few of them who could maintain themſelves in the moſt private way: and it was viſible enough, that they ſhould not be long able to reſide in the *Hague*; where there was, at that very time, an Agent for the Parliament, *Strickland*; who had been there ſome years, but pretended then to reſide there with his Wife (who was born in *Holland* of *Engliſh* Parents) and without any publick Character, though he was ſtill under the

ſame

ſame Credentials. And their Advertiſements from *London* aſſured them, that the Parliament had nominated one, who was preſently to be ſent as their Embaſſadour, or Envoy to the States, to give them an Account of their Affairs, and to invite them to enter into an Alliance with them. So that it was time to think of ſome other Retreat for the King; and none appear'd then ſo ſeaſonable in their view, as *Ireland*; from whence they heard, "That Prince *Rupert* was arriv'd "ſafely at *Kingſale* with the Fleet: that the Lord *Inchiquin* had "made a Ceſſation with the *Iriſh*, before the Lord Lieute- "nant came thither; and the *Iriſh* had deſerted the Pope's "Nuntio, who was driven away, and had Embarked himſelf "for *France*: that the Marquis of *Ormond* was receiv'd by the "Lord *Inchiquin* with all the Obedience imaginable, by which "he became entirely poſſeſſed of the whole Province of *Mun-* "*ſter*; and that the Confederate Roman Catholicks had in- "vited him to *Kilkenny*; where he had made a full Peace "with them: ſo that they were preparing an Army to march "under his Command againſt *Dublin*. This News made them hope, that every day would improve it ſo much, that it would be fit for the King to Tranſport his own Perſon thither in the Spring.

The King thinks of going into Ireland. *The Affairs there at that time.*

In this conjuncture there arriv'd a Gentleman, one Sr *Joſeph Douglaſs*, with a Letter from the Privy Council of *Scotland*, by which they ſent his Majeſty word that they had proclaim'd him King of *Scotland*; and ſent him the Proclamation; and wiſh'd "That he would prepare himſelf "to repair into that his Kingdom; in order to which "they would ſpeedily ſend another Invitation to him. And that Invitation arriv'd at the ſame time with ſome Commiſſioners deputed by the Council, and three or four Preachers ſent from the Commiſſioners of the Kirk. The Proclamation indeed declar'd, "For that as much as the "late King was, contrary to the Diſſent and Proteſtation of "that Kingdom, remov'd by a violent death, that, by the "Lord's Bleſſing, there was left unto them a righteous Heir, "and lawful Succeſſor, *Charles*, &c. who was become their true "and lawful King; but upon condition of "His good beha- "viour, and ſtrict obſervation of the Covenant, and his en- "tertaining no other Perſons about him but ſuch as were God- "ly Men, and faithful to that obligation. A Proclamation ſo ſtrangely worded, that, though it call'd him their King, manifeſted enough to him, that he was to be ſubject to Their determinations, in all the parts of his Government. And the Commiſſioners, both Laity and Clergy, ſpoke no other Language; and ſaving that they bowed their Bodies, and made low Reverences, they appear'd more like Embaſſadors

The King proclaim'd in Scotland; *and Commiſſioners thence ſent to him.*

from a free State to an equal Ally, than like Subjects ſent to their own Soveraign. At the ſame time, though not in the ſame Ship, arriv'd likewiſe from *Scotland* the Earl of *Lanrick*, and Earl of *Lautherdale*; the former not knowing, till he came into *Holland*, that he was Duke *Hamilton* by the ſlaughter of his Elder Brother. But they two were ſo far from having any Authority from their Country, that they were fled from thence as proſcrib'd Perſons and Malefactors. The Earl of *Lautherdale*, after his departure from the *Hague*, in that diſcontent that is mention'd before, bent his courſe for *Scotland*. But before he came thither, he was inform'd, that the ſtate of all things had been revers'd, and the Engagement declar'd unlawful, and to what penalties himſelf was liable, if he ſhould be taken. Whereupon, without ſuffering his Ship to go into any Port, he found means to ſend on ſhore to ſome Friends, and ſo to concert all things, that without being diſcover'd, the Earl of *Lanrick*, and ſome other Perſons, liable to danger if they were found, put themſelves on board the ſame Ship, and arriv'd in *Holland* about that time when the other Meſſengers from the State and from the Kirk came from *Scotland*, and when the News came of the Execution of Duke *Hamilton*.

Lanrick, now Duke Hamilton, *and* Lautherdale, *came to him alſo.*

WHEREUPON the new Duke kept his Chamber for ſome days, without ſo much as waiting on the King; who ſent a gracious Meſſage to him to condole for the loſs of his Brother; and all the Lords, and other Perſons of Quality about the King, made their viſits to him with all civility. This Duke was not inferior in Wiſdom, and Parts of Underſtanding, to the wiſeſt Man of that Nation, and was very much eſteem'd by thoſe who did not like the complying, and inſinuating Nature of his Brother. He was a Man of great Honour, Courage, and ſincerity in his Nature, and, which was a rare virtue in the Men of that time, was ſtill the ſame Man he pretended to be; and had very much to ſay in his own defence for the Errors he had run into; which he acknowledg'd always with great ingenuity, and abhorr'd the whole proceedings of his Country-men; and, at this time, brought a heart, and affection clearer and leſs clogg'd with ſcruples and reſervations for the King's ſervice, than any other of them did.

The Character of this Duke Hamilton.

THOUGH *Cromwell*, at his being in *Scotland*, had left *Argyle* in full Poſſeſſion of the Government there, and had reduced, and disbanded all thoſe who were in Arms againſt him, and promiſed him all neceſſary aſſiſtance to ſubdue thoſe who ſhould riſe againſt him in that Kingdom for the future, and thereby compell'd the Committee of Eſtates to convene, and ſummon the Parliament to Aſſemble, which they had authority to do; and ſo he had ſuppreſs'd the Party of *Hamilton*, driven

The condition of Scotland *about this time.*

driven the Earl of *Lanrick* to hide himself in some obscure place, and condemn'd the Engagement as unlawful and sinful, and all the Persons who advanced and promoted it, as Deserters of the Covenant, and so to stand Excommunicated, and not to be capable of serving in Parliament, or in the Council of Estate; so that he was sure to find no opposition in whatsoever he propos'd; yet, after the Parliament had serv'd him so far, when they heard that the Parliament in *England* was broken, and their Freedom and Priviledges were taken from them by the insolence, and power of the Army (which they perfectly hated and detested, and all those Sects and Libertinism they heard were introduc'd in Religion contrary to their Covenant, which *Cromwell* himself had promis'd should be strictly observ'd) they begun to examine, what the obligations were which were incumbent upon them even by the Covenant it self. The delivery of the King's Person into the hands of the Parliament at *New-Castle* had been, in the instant it was done, the most unpopular and ungracious act to the whole Nation of *Scotland*, that it had been ever guilty of, and to the Army they had then on foot, which took it self to be deeply wounded by the infamy of it, and was therefore quickly disbanded by the cunning of *Argyle*: and the universal indignation against that Action was the principal incitement to that general Engagement with Duke *Hamilton*, that the honour of the Nation might in some degree be repair'd, or redeem'd. It was a gross oversight in the *Hamiltonian* Party, and discern'd then to be so by the Earl of *Lanrick*, that, upon that Popular advantage, in which he would have found an universal concurrence, *Argyle* himself and all his Faction had not been totally suppress'd, for the redemption of the honour of their Country. But that Duke's Politicks did not lie that way; and so he might return to his old Post of favour in *England*, of which he made little doubt, he was not willing to give a new beginning to those bloody Enterprises in *Scotland*, which, he knew well, used not to be short-liv'd in that Climate after once begun, but had always fresh Sacrifices of Blood to perpetuate the memory of them.

THEY had no sooner heard of the erection of a High Court of Justice, and of a purpose of Trying the King for his Life, than, notwithstanding all the Artifices *Argyle* could use, they were all in a flame. As well the Assembly of the Kirk, as the Parliament, renew'd the sense they always had of reproach in the delivery of his Person, of which the present danger he was in, was the Consequence. And the Marquis of *Argyle* had had too deep a share in that Wickedness, to endure the shock of a new dispute, and inquisition upon that Subject; and therefore gave not the least opposition to their passion; but seem'd

Commissioners had been sent from the Parliament of Scotland *before the death of the King to the Parliament of* England.

equally concern'd in the honour of the Nation, to proſecute an high Expoſtulation with thoſe of *England*, for the breach of Faith, and the Promiſes, which had been made for the ſafety, and preſervation of the King's Perſon, at the time he was deliver'd up; and therefore propos'd, "That Commiſſioners "ſhould be forthwith ſent to the Parliament at *London*, to re- "quire the performance of what they had promiſed, and to "enter their diſſent, and proteſtation againſt all their Pro- "ceedings againſt their King, in the Name of the Kingdom "of *Scotland*. And the Earl of *Lothian*, and two others, who were known to be moſt zealous for the Covenant, and moſt enrag'd and incens'd againſt the proceedings of the Army, were made choice of, and preſently ſent away, that they might make all poſſible haſte to *Weſtminſter*, and were, immediately upon their Arrival, to demand permiſſion to wait upon the King, wherever he ſhould be, and to receive from him ſuch farther directions, as he ſhould judge neceſſary for his ſervice.

THUS far *Argyle* could not oppoſe; and therefore was as zealous as any Man to advance it; knowing that the particular Inſtructions muſt be prepar'd by a leſs number of Men, and not ſubjected to the examination and peruſal of ſo many. And in thoſe, he was ſure to prevent any inconvenient Powers to be granted to the Commiſſioners, with whom he had Credit enough, having made the Earl of *Lothian* Secretary of State, in the place of the Earl of *Lanrick*, and the other two being (however ſollicitous for the due obſervation of the Covenant, as he himſelf likewiſe pretended to be) known to be moſt averſe from the *Hamiltonian* Party. Their private Inſtructions were, "That they ſhould not, in their enlargements and "aggravations upon the Subject of their Meſſage, ſeem to take "notice, or to imply, that any violence had been us'd againſt "the Parliament, or any Member of it: That they ſhould be "ſo ſhort in their expoſtulations, that they gave no occaſions of "offence: That nothing ſhould fall from them juſtifying the "King's Proceedings, nor in approbation of the late Engage- "ment, or which might import a breach, or give, or be "ground of a new War: They ſhould urge, that the Parlia- "ment, would delay to meddle with the King's Perſon, accord- "ing to their ſeveral Promiſes, and Declarations at *New-Caſtle*, "and at *Holmby*: That if they ſhould proceed to Sentence "againſt the King, then they were to enter their diſſent and "proteſt, that this Kingdom may be free from the Miſeries "which will inevitably follow, without offering in their rea- "ſons, that Princes are exempted from Trial and Juſtice: "That none in the Parliament of *Scotland* hath, or had any "hand in the proceedings againſt the King, or Members of "Parliament

Their private Inſtructions from Argyle's Party.

"Parliament in *England*. If they proceed, then to ſhew the "Calamities that will follow, and how grievous it muſt be to "the Kingdom of *Scotland*, conſidering his being deliver'd up "at *New-Caſtle*: That if the Papers which were intitul'd, *The "Agreement of the People*, appear'd to be countenanced, and "ſhould import any thing concerning the Proceſſing of the "Prince, or changing the Fundamental Government of the "Kingdom, they ſhould enter their diſſent; That they ſhould "alter thoſe their Inſtructions, and manage their Truſt there-"in, according to the advice they ſhould receive from their "Friends there: That they ſhould proſecute their Inſtructions "concerning the Covenant, and againſt any Toleration: That "they ſhould ſhew, that the King's laſt Conceſſions were un-"ſatisfactory to thoſe Propoſitions which they had made in "point of Religion.

THESE were their private Inſtructions; and who thoſe Friends at *London* were, by whoſe advice they were to alter their Inſtructions, or manage their Truſt therein, can be underſtood of no other Men but *Cromwell*, and young Sr *Harry Vane*; with whom *Argyle* held cloſe Correſpondence. The Commiſſioners obſerv'd their Inſtructions very faithfully, and after the King had been twice brought before the High Court of Juſtice, they gave in their very calm Proteſtation; in which they put them in mind, "That they had near three Weeks "before, repreſented to them what Endeavours had been us'd "for taking away the King's Life, and for the change of the "Fundamental Government of the Kingdom, and introducing "a ſinful and ungodly Toleration in matters of Religion; and "that therein they had expreſs'd their Thoughts, and Fears of "the dangerous Conſequences, that might follow thereupon; "and that they had alſo earneſtly preſs'd, that there might be "no farther proceeding againſt his Majeſty's Perſon, which "would certainly continue the great diſtractions of the King-"dom, and involve them in many Evils, Troubles, and Con-"fuſions; but that, by the free Counſels of both Houſes of "Parliament of *England*, and with the advice and conſent of "the Parliament of *Scotland*, ſuch courſe might be taken in "relation to the King, as might be for the good and happi-"neſs of both Kingdoms; both having an unqueſtionable, "and undeniable right in his Perſon, as King of both; which "duly conſider'd, they had reaſon to hope, that it would have "given a ſtop to all farther proceedings againſt his Majeſty's "Perſon. But now underſtanding that after the Impriſonment, "and Excluſion of divers Members of the Houſe of Com-"mons, and without, and againſt the conſent of the Houſe of "Peers, by a ſingle Act of their own, and Their's alone, "Power was given to certain Perſons of their own Members,

Upon the King's Trial they enter their Proteſtation and Diſſent.

"of

"of the Army, and ſome others, to proceed againſt his Ma-
"jeſty's Perſon, in order whereunto he had been brought be-
"fore that extraordinary new Court; they did therefore in
"the name of the Parliament of *Scotland*, for their vindica-
"tion from falſe Aſperſions and Calumnies, declare, that though
"they were not ſatisfied with his Majeſty's late Conceſſions,
"in the Treaty at *Newport* in the Iſle of *Wight*, eſpecially in
"the matters of Religion, and were reſolv'd not to crave his
"Reſtoration to his Government, before ſatisfaction ſhould
"be given by him to that Kingdom; yet they did all unani-
"mouſly with one voice, not one Member excepted, diſclaim
"the leaſt knowledge of, or occaſion to the late Proceedings
"of the Army here againſt the King; and did ſincerely pro-
"feſs that it would be a great grief to their Hearts, and lie
"heavy upon their Spirits, if they ſhould ſee the truſting his
"Majeſty's Perſon to the two Houſes of the Parliament of
"*England* to be made uſe of to his Ruin, contrary to the de-
"clar'd Intentions of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and ſolemn
"Profeſſions of the Kingdom of *England*: And to the end that
"it might be manifeſt to the World, how much they did
"abominate and deteſt ſo horrid a deſign againſt his Maje-
"ſty's Perſon, they did, in the Name of the Parliament and
"Kingdom of *Scotland*, declare their diſſent from the ſaid
"Proceedings, and the taking away of his Majeſty's Life: pro-
"teſting, that as they were altogether free from the ſame, ſo
"they might be free from all the Miſeries, evil Conſequences,
"and Calamities, that might follow thereupon to the diſtracted
"Kingdoms.

WHOEVER conſiders the warineſs in the wording and timing this Proteſtation, the beſt end whereof could be no other than the keeping the King always in Priſon, and ſo governing without him in both Kingdoms (which was thought to have been the purpoſe and agreement of *Cromwell* and *Argyle* when they parted) muſt conclude that both the Commiſſioners, and they who ſent them, labour'd and conſider'd more, what they were to ſay in the future, than what they were to do to prevent the preſent Miſchief they ſeem'd to apprehend. And the Parliament beſt knew their temper, when they deferr'd taking notice of their Proteſtation, till after they had executed their execrable Villany; and then they ſent them an Anſwer that might ſuit with all their Palates. They ſaid, "They had heretofore told them, what power
"this Nation had in the Fundamentals of Government: That
"if *Scotland* had not the ſame Power and Liberty, as they
"went not about to confine Them, ſo they would not be
"limited by them, but leaving them to act in Theirs as they
"ſhould ſee cauſe, they reſolv'd to maintain their own Li-
"berties

The Parliament after the King's Murder ſend their Anſwer to it.

"berties as God ſhould enable them. And as they were very "far from impoſing upon them, ſo they ſhould not willingly "ſuffer impoſitions from them, whilſt God gave them ſtrength "or lives to oppoſe them. They ſaid, "the Anſwer they "made to their firſt and ſecond Letter was, that after a long and "ſerious Deliberation of their own intrinſical Power, and Truſt "(deriv'd to them by the Providence of God, through the "delegation of the People) and upon the like conſiderations "of what themſelves, and the whole Nation had ſuffer'd from "the Miſgovernment, and Tyranny of that King, both in "Peace, and by the Wars, and conſidering, how fruitleſs, "and full of danger and prejudice the many Addreſſes to him "for Peace had been, and being Conſcious how much they "had provoked and tempted God, by the neglect of the im-"partial execution of Juſtice, in relation to the innocent "Blood ſpilt and miſchief done in the late Wars, they had "proceeded in ſuch a courſe of Juſtice againſt that Man of "Blood, as they doubted not the juſt God (who is no re-"ſpecter of Perſons) did approve and would countenance "with his bleſſings upon the Nation; and though perhaps "they might meet with many difficulties before their Liber-"ties and Peace were ſettled, yet they hoped they ſhould be "preſerv'd from Confuſion, by the good Will of him who "dwelt in the Buſh, which burn'd, and was not conſumed; "and that the courſe they had taken with the late King, and "meant to follow towards others the Capital Enemies of their "Peace, was, they hoped, that which would be for the good "and happineſs of both Nations; of which if that of *Scotland* "would think to make uſe, and vindicate their own Liberty "and Freedom (which lay before them, if they gave them "not away) they would be ready to give them all Neigh-"bourly and Friendly Aſſiſtance in the eſtabliſhing thereof; "and deſired them to take it into their moſt ſerious conſide-"ration, before they eſpouſed that quarrel, which could bring "them no other advantage than the entailing upon Them, "and their Poſterities, a laſting War, with all the Miſeries "which attended it, and Slavery under a Tyrant and his "Iſſue.

It cannot be denied, but that *Scotland* had by this a fair Invitation to have made themſelves a poor Republick, under the Shelter and Protection of the other, that was already become terrible. But the Commiſſioners, who well knew how unſuitable ſuch a change would be to the conſtitution of their Government, and that they might be welcome to their own Country, whither they were now to repair, made a reply to this Anſwer with more Courage than they had yet expreſſed; for which notwithſtanding their Qualification, they were Im-priſon'd

The Commiſſioners reply, and are impriſon'd, but afterwards freed.

priſon'd by the Parliament; and, upon new Inſtance from *Scotland*, ſet at liberty afterwards.

The Marquis of Argyle *clogs the Act for Proclaiming of the King with a Clauſe for the Covenant.*

MATTERS being reduced to this State, the Marquis of *Argyle* could not hinder the new King's being acknowledged, and proclaimed King, nor from being invited home; which ſince he could not obſtruct, it would be his Maſter-piece to clog the Proclamation it ſelf with ſuch conditions as might terrify the new King from accepting the invitation; and therefore he cauſed this Clauſe to be inſerted in the Body of the Proclamation it ſelf, "Becauſe his Majeſty is bound, by the "Law of God, and the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, "to rule in Righteouſneſs and Equity, to the Honour of God, "and the good of Religion, and the Wealth of the People; "it is hereby declared, that before he be admitted to the Ex- "erciſe of his Royal Power, he ſhall give ſatisfaction to this "Kingdom in thoſe things which concern the ſecurity of Re- "ligion, the Unity betwixt the Kingdoms, and the good and "Peace of this Kingdom, according to the National Covenant "and Solemn League and Covenant; for which end, they were "reſolv'd with all poſſible Expedition, to make their humble "and earneſt Addreſs to his Majeſty.

THIS was the Proclamation that Sr *Joſeph Douglaſs* brought to the *Hague*, and the Subject upon which the Commiſſioners were to invite his Majeſty to go for *Scotland*, whoſe Inſtructions were very ſuitable to the Proclamation: and at the ſame time when the Commiſſioners came from thence, *Middleton*, and ſome other Officers, who had been in their laſt Army, hearing that the Prince was proclaim'd King, thought it was ſeaſonable to put themſelves into a poſture to ſerve him upon his arrival; and ſo aſſembled ſome of thoſe Troops which had formerly ſerv'd under them in the North of *Scotland*; whereupon *David Leſley* was appointed forthwith, with a Party of Horſe and Foot, againſt thoſe Royaliſts, whom they knew to be real Aſſertors of his Cauſe, without any other intereſt or deſign than of their performing their Duties, as Loyal Subjects ought to do: and the Kirk at the ſame time declar'd, "That, before the King ſhould be receiv'd, albeit "they had declared his Right by Succeſſion, he ſhould firſt "ſign the Covenant, ſubmit to the Kirk's Cenſure, renounce "the Sins of his Father's Houſe, and the Iniquity of his Mo- "ther, with other things of the like Nature. All which In- formation arriv'd at the ſame time with the Commiſſioners, that they who were about the King, might not be too much Exalted with their Maſter's being declar'd King of one of his three Kingdoms. And it was very manifeſt, by all that paſſed then and afterwards, that the Marquis of *Argyle* meant only to ſatisfy the People, in declaring that they had a King, with-

Middleton aſſembles ſome Troops in Scotland.

out

out which they could not be ſatisfied, but that ſuch conditions ſhould be put upon him, as he knew, he would not ſubmit to; and ſo he ſhould be able, with the concurrence of the *Kirk*, to Govern the Kingdom, till, by *Cromwell*'s aſſiſtance and advice, he might reverſe that little approach he had made towards Monarchy by Proclaiming a King.

Factions in the King's Court with reference to Scotland.

It was a great Misfortune to the King, and which always attends Courts which labour under great wants and neceſſities, that, whilſt the greateſt Union imaginable amongſt the few Friends he had was neceſſary, and of too little Power to buoy him up from the diſtreſſes which overwhelm'd him, there was yet ſo great a Faction, and Animoſity amongſt them, that deſtroy'd any the moſt probable deſign that could offer it ſelf; as it now fell out with reference to *Scotland*, which, if united, might yet be able to give Reputation at leaſt, if not a vigorous Aſſiſtance to the King's Intereſt.

The Marquis of Mountroſe *arrives in* France:

The Marquis of *Mountroſe*, who had been mention'd before, had been oblig'd by the late King to lay down his Arms; and after he had perform'd ſuch wonderful Actions in *Scotland*, and left that Kingdom upon his Majeſty's firſt coming into the *Scotiſh* Army to *New-Caſtle*, had firſt arriv'd in *France*, and had not ſuch a Reception from the Queen of *England*, and thoſe who were in credit with her, as he thought the notable Services he had perform'd for the King had merited. The truth is, he was ſomewhat elated with the great Actions he had done; which, upon his firſt coming to *Paris*, he cauſed to be publiſhed in a full Relation in Latin, dedicated to the Prince of *Wales*; in which, as his own Perſon, Courage, and Conduct, was well extolled, ſo the Reputation of all the reſt of that Nation (upon whoſe Affections the Queen at that time depended) was exceedingly undervalued and depreſſed; which obliged the Queen, and the Prince, to look leſs graciouſly upon him; which he could not bear without expreſſing much diſturbance at it. He was then a Man of *Eclat*, had many Servants, and more Officers, who had ſerv'd under him, and came away with him, all whom he expected the Queen ſhould enable him to maintain with ſome Luſtre, by a liberal aſſignation of Monies. On the other hand, the Queen was in ſtreights enough, and never open-handed, and uſed to pay the beſt Services with receiving them graciouſly, and looking kindly upon thoſe who did them. And her Graces were ſtill more towards thoſe who were like to do Services, than to thoſe who Had done them. So that after a long attendance, and ſome overtures made by him to Cardinal *Mazarin*, to raiſe an Army for the Service of that King, which he did not think were receiv'd with that regard his great name deſerv'd, the Marquis left *France*, and made a Journey into *Germany* to the Emperor's

Thence goes into Germany.

Emperor's Court, desiring to see Armies, till he could come to command them; and was return'd to *Brussels*, about the time that the Prince came back into *Holland* with the Fleet; and lay there very privately, and as *incognito*, for some time, till he heard of the Murder of the late King. Then he sent to the King with the tender of his Service, and to know, "If "his Majesty thought his attendance upon him might bring "any prejudice to his Majesty; and if so, that he would send "over the Chancellor of the Exchequer to *Sevenberg*, a Town "in *Flanders*, where he was at present to expect him, and "had matters to communicate to him of much importance to "his Majesty's Service. Whether he did this out of modesty, and that he might first know his Majesty's pleasure, or out of some vanity, that he might seem to come to the King, after the coldness he had met at *Paris*, by a kind of Treaty, the King commanded the Chancellor presently to go to him; and "If he could, without exasperating him (which he had no mind to do) wished, "He might be perswaded rather for "some time to suspend his coming to the *Hague*, than pre-"sently to appear there; which was an injunction very disagreeable to the Chancellor; who in his judgment believ'd his Majesty should bid him very welcome, and prefer him before any other of that Nation in his esteem.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer sent to confer with him in a Village near the Hague.

THE suddain violent frost, which shut up all the Rivers in less than four and twenty hours, kept them at that time from meeting; but, within a short time after, and upon another Message from him, they met at a Village three or four miles off the *Hague*; whither the Marquis was come. The Chancellor had never seen him from the time he had left *Oxford*, when he seem'd to have very much modesty, and deference to the opinion and judgment of other Men. But he had, since that time, done so many signal Actions, won so many Battles, and in truth made so great a noise in the world, that there appear'd no less alteration to be in his humour, and discourse, than there had been in his Fortune. He seem'd rather to have desired that interview, that he might the better know what advice to give the King, and how to make a Party that would be fast to him, than out of any doubt that his presence would not be acceptable to his Majesty. There was yet no news from *Scotland* since the Murder of the King, and he seem'd to think of nothing but that the King would presently send him thither with some Forces, to prepare the way for himself to follow after. They spent that Night together in Conference, and the next Morning the Chancellor prevailed with him, with great difficulty, that he would stay in that place, which did not abound with all things desirable, or some where else, until he might give him Notice, what the

the King's ſenſe ſhould be of the matters diſcourſed between them; inſiſting principally, "That, if his going into *Scotland* "ſhould be thought preſently to be neceſſary, it would then "be as neceſſary, that he ſhould not be taken notice of pub- "lickly to have been with the King: with which reaſon he ſeem'd ſatisfied; and promiſed "Not to come to the *Hague*, "till he ſhould firſt receive advice from the Chancellor. But when he heard of the Commiſſioners being come from *Scotland*, and of the other Lords arrival there, he would no longer defer his Journey thither, but came to the *Hague* well attended by Servants and Officers, and preſented himſelf to the King; who receiv'd him with a very good countenance.

The Marquis comes to the Hague.

THERE were at this time in the *Hague*, the Commiſſioners who came from the Council and the Kirk to invite the King into *Scotland*, or rather to let him know upon what terms he might come thither, Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and others of the Nobility of that Faction, who were now as odious, and as much perſecuted by that Party, which then govern'd *Scotland* and which in that manner invited the King, as any Men were who had ſerv'd the King from the beginning. There was alſo the Marquis of *Mountroſe*, with more of the Nobility, as the Earls of *Seaford*, and *Kinoul*, and others, who adher'd to *Mountroſe*, and believ'd his clear Spirit to be moſt like to advance the King's Service. Of theſe three Parties, it might reaſonably have been hoped that the two laſt being equally perſecuted by the Power that govern'd, ſhould have been eaſily United to have Suppreſſed the other. But it was a buſineſs too hard for the King to bring to paſs; and he could as eaſily have perſwaded the Parliament to reject *Cromwell*, as the Lords of the *Engagement*, and thoſe who had joyn'd with Duke *Hamilton*, to be reconciled to *Mountroſe*: So that when the King hoped to have drawn all the *Scotiſh* Nobility together, to have conſulted what Anſwer he ſhould give to the Meſſages he had receiv'd from the Council and the Kirk, with which they themſelves were enough offended, thoſe Lords of the *Engagement* did not only refuſe to meet with the Lord *Mountroſe*, but aſſoon as he came into the Room where they were, though his Majeſty himſelf was preſent, they immediately withdrew, and left the Room; and had the confidence to deſire the King, "That the Marquis of *Mountroſe* (whom they "call'd *James Graham*) might be forbidden to come into his "Majeſty's Preſence, or Court, becauſe he ſtood Excommu- "nicated by the Kirk of *Scotland*, and degraded and for- "feited by the Judicatory of that Kingdom. This Propoſition and Demand they made confidently in writing under their Hands, and abounded ſo much in this ſenſe, that a

The Parties of the Scots *now at the* Hague.

Learned

Learned and Worthy *Scotish* Divine, Dr *Wishart*, who was then Chaplain to a *Scotish* Regiment in the Service of the States, being appointed to Preach before the King on the *Sunday* following, they formally besought the King, "That he "would not suffer him to Preach before him, nor to come in- "to his Presence, because he stood Excommunicated by the "Kirk of *Scotland*, for having refused to take the Covenant; though it was known, that the true cause of the displeasure they had against that Divine was, That they knew he was the Author of the excellent Relation of the Lord *Mountrose's* Actions in *Scotland*. This carriage and behaviour of those Lords appear'd ridiculous to all sober Men, that any Men should have the presumption to accuse those who had serv'd the King with that Fidelity, and were only branded by those Rebellious Judicatories for having perform'd their duties of Allegiance, and to demand that the King himself should condemn them for having serv'd his Father: which made those of his Majesty's Council full of Indignation at their Insolence, and his Majesty himself declar'd his being offended, by using the Marquis of *Mountrose* with the more countenance, and hearing the Doctor Preach with the more attention. But from this very absurd behaviour, besides his Majesty's desire being frustrated, of receiving the joynt advice of the Nobility of that Kingdom in an affair that so much concern'd himself and them; and besides the displeasure, and distance, that it caused between them and the King's Council (who thought the *Scotish* Lords might as reasonably move the King, that they might be remov'd, who lay under the same brand, and reproaches in *England* for adhering to the Crown, as the other did in *Scotland*) the King had reason to be troubled with another apprehension, which was, that the Marquis of *Mountrose* (who could not be ignorant of any thing which the other Persons said or did) would, out of just indignation, take revenge upon those Persons whom he contemn'd too much; and so that the Peace of the Country, where his Majesty was but a Guest, would be violated by his Subjects, as it were in his own sight; which would make his absence from thence the more desireable.

He, to whom this unreasonable Animosity was most imputed, and who indeed was the great Fomenter, and Prosecutor of it, was the Earl of *Lautherdale*; whose fiery Spirit was not capable of any moderation. One of the Council conferring one day with him upon a Subject that could not put him into passion, and so being in a very fair conversation, desir'd him "To inform him, what foul Offence the Marquis of "*Mountrose* had ever committed, that should hinder those to "make a conjunction with him, who, in respect of the Re-

"bels

"bels were in as desperate a condition as himself, and who "could not more desire the King's Restitution than he did. The Earl told him calmly enough, "That he could not ima- "gine, or conceive the Barbarities and Inhumanities *Mount-* "*trose* was guilty of, in the time he made a War in *Scotland*; "that he never gave Quarter to any Man, but pursued all the "Advantages he ever got, with the utmost outrage and cruel- "ty: that he had in one Battle kill'd fifteen hundred of one "Family, of the *Campbels*, of the blood and name of *Argyle*; "and that he had utterly rooted out several Names, and en- "tire noble Families. The other told him, "That it was the "Nature and Condition of that War, that Quarter was given "on neither side; that those Prisoners which were taken "by the *Scots*, as once they did take some Persons of Ho- "nour of his Party, were afterwards in cold blood hang'd re- "proachfully, which was much worse than if they had been "kill'd in the Field; and asked him, "If *Mountrose* had ever "caused any Man to dye in cold Blood, or after the Battle "was ended; since what was done in it *flagrante*, was more "to be imputed to the fierceness of his Soldiers, than to his "want of humanity. The Earl confessed, "That he did not "know he was guilty of any thing but what was done in "the Field; but concluded with more passion, "That his be- "haviour there was so Savage, that *Scotland* would never for- "give him. And in other Company, where the same Sub- ject was debated, he swore with great passion, "That though "he wish'd nothing more in this World than to see the King "Restor'd, he had much rather that he should never be Re- "stor'd, than that *James Graham* should be permitted to "come into the Court: of which Declaration of his the King was inform'd by *William Legg* and Sr *William Armorer*, who were both present at the *Hague*, and in the Company, when he said it.

Earl of Lauther- dale's *dis- course a- gainst* Mountrose.

THERE was at that time in the *Hague* the Lord *New- burgh*, who, after the Murder of the late King, was com- pell'd together with his Wife, the Lady *Aubigney*, to fly out of *England*, *Cromwell* every day making discoveries of corre- spondencies which had been between the King and them. And thereupon they made an escape from thence, and came to the *Hague*. That Lord having been too young to have had a part in the former War, had been then sent by his Majesty's direction, to be bred in *France*; from whence he return'd not till his Majesty was in the hands of the *Scotish* Army; and from that time he perform'd all the Offices of Fidelity, and Duty to the King, that a generous and worthy Person could find any opportunity for: with which his Majesty was

abundantly ſatisfied and pleaſed: and he now Tranſported himſelf and his Wife into *Holland*, that he might leave her there, and himſelf attend the King in any Expedition.

THIS Lady was a Woman of a very great Wit, and moſt truſted and converſant in thoſe Intrigues, which at that time could be beſt manag'd and carried on by Ladies, who with leſs jealouſy could be ſeen in all Companies: and ſo ſhe had not been a ſtranger to the moſt ſecret Tranſactions with the *Scots*, and had much Converſation with the Lord *Lanrick*, during the time the King was at *Hampton* Court, and whilſt he ſtay'd afterwards in *London*, when the King was Impriſon'd in the Iſle of *Wight*; and being now both in the *Hague*, they had much Converſation together. She had likewiſe had long Acquaintance, and Friendſhip with one of the Council, who, ſhe knew, had been as much truſted as any by the Father, and was believ'd to have Credit with the preſent King. She lamented thoſe Diviſions amongſt the *Scots*, which every Body ſpoke of, and every Body knew the diſorder they produced in the King's Councils; and ſaid, "She deſir'd nothing "more, than that there were a good underſtanding between "Duke *Hamilton* and Him; which, ſhe ſaid, "She was ſure "would eaſily be, if they two had but once a frank Confe- "rence together. The other, who indeed had an eſteem for the Duke, ſeem'd very deſirous of it: and ſhe thereupon told him, that "The Duke had expreſs'd to her, that he "would be willing to embrace the occaſion: and it was ſo concerted, that within a day or two, they met as by chance at her Lodgings. And ſhe ſo dextrouſly introduc'd them to a Civility towards each other, and to expreſs their Inclinations to a mutual freedom, that after an hour's general Converſation there, to which ſhe left them, and went her *ſelf* abroad, they parted with fair profeſſions of future good Will; and the other promiſed to viſit the Duke the next morning early, that they might have the more time without being interrupted, and he was with him accordingly, and found him in his bed. They continued together near two hours, the Duke having commanded his Servant to tell any who came to viſit him, that he was aſleep. The other, ſpoke of "The Procla- "mation, and the manner of inviting the King into *Scotland*, "and of the ſtrange Spirit that poſſeſſed thoſe who govern'd "there, and perſwaded them to imagine it poſſible, that the "King could ever be prevail'd with to take the Covenant, "or that it could be of Advantage to him to do ſo; ſince it "could not but much alienate the Affections of all that Party "in *England* that had ſerv'd his Father, upon whom he ought "chiefly to depend for his Reſtoration to the Government of "that

Conference between Duke Hamilton *and an* Engliſh *Privy Counſellor concerning the Affairs of* Scotland.

"that Kingdom. Then he ſpoke of "The differences and "jealouſies which were between thoſe of that Nation who "had an equal deſire to ſerve the King, and ſeem'd to be "equally proſecuted by the Party that now prevail'd, which "had excluded both; and wiſh'd "That ſome Expedient "might be found out to Unite all thoſe; and particularly that "his Grace, and the Marquis of *Mountroſe* might be reconcil'd; "towards which, he ſaid, he was ſure that the Marquis had "great Inclination, and had always eſteem'd him a Man of "Honour; which appear'd by the Book which was publiſh'd, "where he was always worthily mention'd, though he had "not dealt ſo well with many others.

WHEN the Duke had heard him with very civil attention, he told him as to the firſt part, "Concerning the Proclama- "tion, and the manner of inviting the King to come to them, "he was not to make any other judgment by it, than only "of the Perſon of the Marquis of *Argyle*; who, with the "Aſſiſtance of ſome few Miniſters, and others his Creatures, "did at preſent Govern: that *Argyle* well knew there was "an abſolute neceſſity, in reſpect of the whole People, to "proclaim the King after the Murder of his Father; and "therefore he could find no other way to keep him from "coming thither, but by clogging the Proclamation and Meſ- "ſage with thoſe unworthy Expreſſions, which might deter "him from putting himſelf into their hands; which *Argyle* "did not wiſh he ſhould do, becauſe in his abſence he was "ſure he ſhould Govern all, being well agreed with *Cromwell* "how the Government ſhould be carried; and ſo the King "might be kept out, *Cromwell* would ſupport him againſt all "other Parties; but that they both knew well enough, that "if his Majeſty were once there, the whole Nation would "ſtick to him and obey him. He confeſs'd, "That there was "generally ſo great a Superſtition for the Covenant, that who- "ſoever ſhould ſpeak againſt it for the preſent, would loſe "all credit, though he did acknowledge it had done much "Miſchief, and would do more whilſt it ſhould be inſiſted "upon; but, he ſaid, "That muſt be a work of time, and an "effect of the King's Government; which would find it ne- "ceſſary, in many other reſpects, to leſſen the power of the "Miniſters; which being leſſen'd, the Reverence of the Co- "venant would quickly fall too; and till then He, and all "Men, muſt have patience. For the ſecond, he ſaid, "He "wiſhed heartily that there could be a Union of all Parties "which deſir'd the King's Reſtauration, and that the Animo- "ſity againſt the Marquis of *Mountroſe* might be extinguiſhed. "For his own part, that he had only one Quarrel againſt

"him, which was that, by his unjuſt Calumnies and Proſe-
"cution, he had driven him into Rebellion; which nothing
"elſe could have done. And for that he always asked God
"forgiveneſs from his Heart, and deſir'd nothing more than
"to repair his fault by loſing his life for the King; and would
"with all his Heart, joyn to morrow with the Marquis of
"*Mountroſe*, in carrying on the King's Service, though he
"did believe, in that conjuncture, the Animoſity againſt the
"Marquis was ſo great, that if he ſhould declare ſuch an In-
"clination, all his own Friends would fall from him, and
"abhor him. He ſaid, "His own Condition was very hard;
"for that having been always bred up in the Church of *Eng-*
"*land*, for which he had a great Reverence, he was forced
"to comply with the Covenant; which he perfectly deteſted,
"and looked upon it as the ruin of his Nation; and would
"be as glad as any Man of a good opportunity to declare a-
"gainſt it. But, ſaid he, "I dare not ſay this; and if I did,
"I ſhould have no power or credit to ſerve the King. There
"is, ſaid he, a very worthy Gentleman, who Lodges in this
"Houſe, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, my Friend and my Kinſ-
"man; who, upon my Conſcience, loves me heartily; and
"yet I dare ſay nothing of this to him, either againſt the
"Covenant, or for the Marquis of *Mountroſe*: and if I
"ſhould, I believe he would rather chooſe to kill me, than
"to joyn with me: ſo much he is tranſported with prejudice
"in both theſe particulars, and ſo incapable to hear reaſon
"upon either of thoſe Arguments, though in all other things,
"few Men have a better underſtanding, or can diſcourſe more
"reaſonably.

WHILST they continued in all poſſible freedom in this conference, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, who it ſeems was inform'd of the others being there, came in his Night-Gown into the Chamber, and ſo broke off the diſcourſe. The other after ſitting ſome time in general Converſation, departed. And there continued afterwards all civility between the Duke and him. But as himſelf told the Lady *Aubigney*, who ſhortly after died there, "He could not, without giving jealouſy to his
"Friend *Lautherdale*, which he had no mind to do, ſpend ſo
"much time with the other in private as he could have been
"willing to have done: and the death of that Lady leſſen'd the opportunities.

IN this unſteady and irreſolute condition of the King's Council, it was very manifeſt, that how long ſoever his Majeſty ſhould defer the reſolution, to what place he would remove, he ſhould not be able to ſtay long in the place where he was. The States, eſpecially thoſe of *Holland*, let fall ome-

ſomewhat every day in their Counſels, and Conſultations, "That the King's reſiding in the *Hague* would be very incon- "venient to them; and it was the great Intereſt of the Prince of *Orange*, not without much dexterity, that kept the States from ſending a Meſſage directly to his Majeſty, to deſire him, "That he would depart from that Country, aſſoon as he could. And there happen'd an Accident at this time, which made the reſolution neceſſary, and would inevitably have drawn on that Meſſage, which had yet been kept back.

IT was touch'd before, that there was a purpoſe at *London*, to ſend over an Envoy from thence into *Holland*, to prepare the way for a farther good Intelligence, and Negotiation, which might end in a firm Peace, and a reciprocal Alliance between the two Republicks. To that purpoſe one *Doriſlaus*, a Dr in the Civil Law, was named; who, being born in *Delpht* in *Holland*, had been bred at *Leyden*, and afterwards liv'd long in *London*, having been receiv'd into *Greſham* College as a Profeſſor in one of thoſe Chairs which are endow'd for publick Lectures in that Society, and had been, from the beginning of the Troubles, in the Exerciſe of the Judge Advocate's Office in the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army. In this conjuncture this Man arriv'd at the *Hague*, and took his Lodging in a Houſe where Strangers uſed to repair, and were accommodated till they provided otherwiſe for their better accommodation. Whilſt he was at Supper, the ſame Evening that he came to the Town, in Company of many others who uſed to Eat there, half a dozen Gentlemen enter'd the Room with their Swords drawn, and required thoſe who were at the Table "Not to ſtir; for "that there was no harm intended to any but the Agent who "came from the Rebels in *England*, who had newly Mur- "ther'd their King. And one of them, who knew *Doriſlaus*, pulled him from the Table, and killed him at his Feet: and thereupon they all put up their Swords, and walked leiſurely out of the Houſe, leaving thoſe who were in the Room, in much Amazement and Conſternation. Though all who were engaged in the Enterpriſe, went quietly away, and ſo out of the Town, inſomuch as no one of them was ever apprehended, or called in queſtion, yet they kept not their own Counſel ſo well (believing they had done a very Heroick Act) but that it was generally known they were all *Scotiſh* Men, and moſt of them Servants, or Dependents upon the Marquis of *Mountroſe*.

Doriſlaus, *an Agent of the Parliament, killed at the* Hague *by ſome* Scotiſh *Men.*

THE King was exceedingly troubled and perplexed with this Accident, which he could not foreſee, and eaſily diſcern'd that it would be applied to his prejudice; and that the States could not but highly reſent it, in many reſpects; that the

Man who was killed, was in truth their own Subject, and imployed to them, as a publick Minister, by those with whom they had no mind to have any Quarrel. Upon all which his Majesty concluded, that his presence there would quickly appear more unacceptable than ever: besides, that there had been the same night some Quarrels, and Fighting in the Streets between some Servants of the King and some Gentlemen of the Town; in which a Son of one of the States was dangerously hurt, though he recover'd afterwards.

It cannot be denied but that the States proceeded upon these disorders, to which they had not been accustom'd, with great gravity, and more than ordinary respect to the King. They were highly offended with what was past, and sensible what expostulations, and clamour for Justice they must expect, and sustain from *England*, and what reproaches they must undergo for suffering all those who had been guilty of such a Crime, to escape the Ministers of Justice; which could not but be imputed to them, as a great scandal to their Government: Yet they proceeded very slowly in their Inquisition, and with such formalities as were usual (and which could bring no prejudice to the Offenders; who were either gone out of their Dominions, or concealed themselves in other Towns, where the same formalities were to be used, if they were discover'd) and without so much reflection upon the King, as if they believ'd that the guilty Persons had any relation to his Service: Yet they took notice of "The multitude "of Strangers which were in the Town, and how impossible "it would be for them to preserve the Peace, and good Go- "vernment thereof, if such resort were not restrain'd. They aggravated exceedingly "The indignity that had been offer'd "to the State it self, in the attempt that had been made upon "a Person under Their Protection, and for whose safety the "Publick Faith was, upon the matter, engag'd; with insinuation enough, "That it would be fit for the King to remove "from thence. Of all which his Majesty receiving advertisement, he thought it better himself to give them notice of his purpose to leave them, than to expect a plain Injunction from them to do so. He found this the more necessary to be done, since from the time that the *Scotish* Commissioners were come thither, they had taken great pains to infuse into the opinions of that People, "That they were sent from the Kingdom of "*Scotland*, that was entirely and unanimously at his Maje- "sty's disposal, to invite him to repair thither, and to take "possession of his Government there, where there was al- "ready an Army preparing to assist him towards the recovery "of his other Dominions; but that there was a Party of evil "Coun-

"Councellors about his Majesty, who dissuaded him from ac-
"cepting that their Invitation, except they would be content
"to change the Government of their Church, and to esta-
"blish Episcopacy there again. And by these insinuations they
perswaded many of the States to believe, that the defence of
Bishops, for whom they had no regard, was the sole difference
between the King and Them, which kept the King from go-
ing into *Scotland*: So that the King was not without some
apprehension, that by that mistake and false Information, the
States might give him advice to accept the *Scots* Invitation.
And therefore he sent to the States of *Holland*, "That he had
"a desire to say somewhat to them, if they would assign him
"an Audience the next day; which they readily did.

The King gives a visit to the States of Holland, and delivers them a Memorial.

THE King was receiv'd in the same manner he had been formerly, and being conducted into the Room of Council, after a short Compliment, he deliver'd a Paper to them, which he desired might be read, and that he might receive their advice thereupon assoon as they pleas'd. The Memorial contain'd, in the first place, his Majesty's acknowledgment of the Civilities he had receiv'd there, and his desire "That by
"them the States General (who were not at that time assem-
bled) "might be inform'd of such his Majesty's sense of their
"kindness; especially in the full and high detestation they
"had express'd of the impious, and unparallell'd Murder of
"his Royal Father of Blessed Memory, their fast and un-
"shaken Ally, by which the Forms and Rules of all kind of
"Government were no less violated and dissolv'd, than that of
"Monarchy: That he came to inform them that he did intend,
"in a short time, so to dispose of his Person, as might with
"God's Blessing most probably advance his Affairs; and that
"for the better doing thereof, and that he might in so impor-
"tant an Affair receive their particular advice, he should im-
"part to them the true state and condition of his several Do-
"minions. That he needed not inform them of the deplora-
"ble condition of his Kingdom of *England*, where the Hearts
"and Affections of his Loyal Subjects were so depressed, and
"kept under by the Power and Cruelty of those who had Mur-
"der'd their late Soveraign, and who every day gave fresh
"and bloody instances of their Tyranny, to fright Men from
"their Allegiance, that for the present no Man could believe
"that miserable Kingdom could be fit for his Majesty to trust
"his Person in: That in *Scotland*, it is very true, that his Ma-
"jesty is proclaim'd King, but with such limitations, and re-
"strictions against his exercise of his Royal Power, that in
"truth they had only given him the Name, and denied him
"the Authority: That above five parts of six of the Nobility

"and chief Gentry of that Kingdom, were likewiſe excluded "from their juſt Right, and from any part in the Adminiſtra- "tion of the Publick Affairs; ſo that That Kingdom ſeem'd not "ſufficiently prepar'd for his Majeſty's reception; but that he "hoped, and doubted not, that there would be in a ſhort time "a perfect Union, and right underſtanding between all his "Subjects of that his Kingdom, and a due ſubmiſſion and obe- "dience from them all to his Majeſty, for that he was re- "ſolv'd (and had never had the leaſt purpoſe to the contrary) "to preſerve and maintain the Government of Church and "State in that Kingdom, as it is eſtabliſh'd by the Laws there- "of, without any violation or alteration on his part: So that "there could be no difference between him and his Subjects "of that Kingdom, except they ſhould endeavour, and preſs "his Majeſty to alter the Laws and Government of his other "Kingdoms; which as it would be very unreaſonable to de- "ſire, ſo it is not in his power to do if he ſhould conſent, "and joyn with his Subjects of *Scotland* to that purpoſe: which "made him confident, that, when they had throughly weigh'd "and conſider'd what was good for themſelves, as well as for "Him, they would acquieſce with enjoying the Laws and "Privileges of that Kingdom, without deſiring to infringe or "impoſe upon thoſe of their Brethren and Neighbours. And his Majeſty deſir'd the States, "That *if* any Perſons had en- "deavour'd to make any impreſſions upon them, that he hath, "or ever had other intentions or deſires, with reference to "his Subjects of *Scotland*, than what himſelf now expreſs'd to "them to have, that they would give no Credit to them: "And aſſured them, that they ſhould always find him con- "ſtant to thoſe reſolutions, and eſpecially, that all ways and "means which might lead to the advancement and propaga- "tion of the Proteſtant Religion, ſhould be ſo heartily em- "braced by him, that the World ſhould have cauſe to believe "him to be worthy of his Title of *Defender of the Faith*, "which he valued as his greateſt Attribute.

THIS being the true preſent condition of his two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and it being neceſſary for his Majeſty, to give life to the afflicted ſtate of his Affairs by his own Perſonal Activity and Vigour, he told them, "There re- "main'd only, that he ſhould impart to them the like State "of his other Kingdom of *Ireland*; which had likewiſe ſent "to him, and deſir'd him to repair thither with great impor- "tunity: That the Marquis of *Ormond*, his Lieutenant there, "had concluded a Peace with the Roman Catholicks; and "that thereby his Majeſty was entirely poſſeſs'd of three parts "of four of that his large and fruitful Kingdom, and of the "Com-

"Command of good Armies, and of many good Ships to be "joyn'd to his own Fleet; and that he had reaſon to hope "and to believe that *Dublin* it ſelf, and the few other places, "which had ſubmitted to the Rebellious power in *England*, "either already were, upon the knowledge of that odious "Parricide, return'd to their Allegiance, or would ſpeedily be "reduced; of which he expected every day to receive Ad-"vertiſement; which if it ſhould fall out, yet he foreſaw "many objections might be made againſt his going thither, "not only in regard of the difficulty and danger of his paſ-"ſage, but of the jealouſies which would ariſe upon the large "Conceſſions, which were made unto the Roman Catholicks "of that Kingdom; which could not be avoided. And having thus given them a clear Information of the State of his three Kingdoms, his Majeſty concluded with his deſire, "That the States would give him their advice as freely, to "which of them he ſhould repair; and that they would "give him all neceſſary aſſiſtance that he might proſecute "their Counſel.

MANY Men fear'd, that the King would have brought great prejudice to himſelf by this Communication, and, upon the matter, obliged himſelf to follow their Advice; which they apprehended would be contrary to his own Judgment. For nothing was more commonly diſcourſed among the *Dutch*, and by many of the States themſelves, than "That the King "ought, without delay, to throw himſelf into the Arms of "*Scotland*, and to gratify them in all they deſir'd: That "Biſhops were not worth the contending for; and that the "ſupporting Them, had been the ruin of his Father, and "would be His, if he continued in the ſame obſtinacy. But the King had reaſon to believe that they would not ſo much concern themſelves in his broken Affairs, as to give him Advice what to do: And it was neceſſary for him to get a little more time, upon ſome occurrences which would every day happen, before he took a poſitive reſolution which way to ſteer: for though, in his own opinion, *Ireland* was the place to which he was to repair, yet he knew that notwithſtanding the Peace that was made, there were ſeveral Parties ſtill in Arms there, beſides thoſe who adher'd to the Parliament, who refuſed to ſubmit to that Peace. Though the General Council at *Kilkenny* (which had been always look'd upon as the Repreſentative of the Confederate Catholicks of that Kingdom, and to which they had always ſubmitted) had fully conſented to the Treaty of Peace with the Lord Lieutenant, yet *Owen O Neile*, who had the Command of all the *Iriſh* in *Ulſter*, and who was look'd upon as the beſt General they had

had, totally refuſed to ſubmit to it, and poſitively proteſted againſt it, as not having provided for their Intereſt; and that Council was not ſorry for his ſeparation, there being little leſs Animoſity between thoſe of *Ulſter* and the other *Iriſh*, than was between them both and the *Engliſh*: and they knew that O *Neile* more inſiſted upon recompence in Lands and Preferments, than upon any proviſion that concern'd Religion it ſelf. Then the *Scots* in *Ulſter*, who were very numerous, and under good diſcipline, and well provided with Arms and Ammunition, would not ſubmit to the Commands of the Lord Lieutenant; but were reſolv'd to follow the example of their Country-men, and to ſee the King admitted and receiv'd, as well as proclaim'd, before they would ſubmit to his Authority: which made the Marquis of *Ormond* the leſs troubled at the Obſtinacy of O *Neile* (though he had uſed all the means he had to draw him in) ſince he preſumed the *Scots* and He would mortifie each other, during the time that he ſhould ſpend in making himſelf ſtrong enough to ſuppreſs them both: For the *Scots* who would not joyn with the Marquis, were very vigorous in proſecuting the War againſt O *Neile*, and the *Iriſh* of *Ulſter*. Theſe Diviſions, Factions, and Confuſions in *Ireland*, made the King the more ſollicitous that his Council ſhould be unamimous for his going thither, at leaſt that the *Scots*, how virulent ſoever againſt each other, ſhould all concur in their Advice, "That it was not yet ſeaſonable for him to go for *Scotland*; which made him labour ſo much to bring the *Hamiltonians*, and thoſe who follow'd *Mountroſe*, whom he believ'd both to be of that opinion, to meet together, and to own it joyntly to the King in Council: But it is ſaid before how impoſſible it was to obtain that Conjunction.

When the King found, that it was not poſſible to bring the Lords of the *Scotiſh* Nation together to confer upon the Affairs of that Kingdom, he thought to have drawn them ſeverally, that is, thoſe of the *Engagement* by themſelves, and the Marquis of *Mountroſe* with his Friends by themſelves, to have given him their Advice in the preſence of his Council, that ſo, upon Debate thereof between them, his Majeſty might the more maturely have determin'd what he was to do. The Marquis of *Mountroſe* expreſs'd a great willingneſs to give his Majeſty ſatisfaction, this, or any other way; being willing to deliver his opinion concerning Things, or Perſons, before any Body, and in any place. But the Lords of the *Engagement* poſitively refuſed to deliver their opinion, but to the King himſelf, and not in the preſence of his Council; which, they ſaid, "Would be to confeſs a kind of ſubordina-

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"tion of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, which was independent "on the Council of *England*; and Duke *Hamilton* told the Counſellor, with whom he had before ſo freely converſed, and who expoſtulated with him upon it, "That it was the "only ground of the heavy judgment in Parliament againſt "the Earl of *Traquair*, that, having been the King's Com- "miſſioner in *Scotland*, he gave account to the King of "tranſactions, and of the affairs of that Kingdom, at the "Council-Table in *England*; whereof he was likewiſe a "Member; ſo jealous that Kingdom was, and ſtill is, of their "Native Privileges; and therefore deſired, "That he might "not be preſſed to do what had been ſo penal to another in "his own ſight.

THE King ſatisfied himſelf with having all their opinions deliver'd to himſelf, ſubſcribed under all their hands, which every one conſented to: though moſt of them would have been glad that the King would have gone into *Scotland*, upon what condeſcenſions ſoever; becauſe they all believ'd His preſence would eaſily turn all, and that they ſhould be quickly reſtored to their Eſtates, which they cared moſt for: yet no body preſumed to give that advice, or ſeem'd to think it ſeaſonable. So that the King reſumed the former Debate of going directly for *Ireland*, and direction was given for providing Ships, and all other things neceſſary for that Voyage. There remain'd only one doubt, whether his Majeſty ſhould take *France* in his way, that he might ſee his Mother, who by Letters and Meſſages preſſed him very earneſtly ſo to do; or whether he ſhould embark in *Holland* directly for *Ireland*; which would be leſs loſs of time, and might be done early in the Spring, before the Parliament's Fleet ſhould put out to Sea.

THEY who did not wiſh that the Queen ſhould exerciſe any power over the King, or have too much credit with him, were againſt his going into *France*, as "An occaſion of "ſpending more time than his Affairs would permit, and an "obligation to make a greater Expence than he had, or knew "where to have, means to defray: and they thought it an Argument of moment, "That from the time of the Murder "of his Father, the King had never receiv'd Letter of con- "dolement from *France*, nor the leaſt invitation to go thi- "ther. On the other ſide, they who wiſh'd, and hop'd that the Queen would have ſuch an influence upon the King that his Council ſhould have leſs credit with him, deſired very much that his Majeſty would make *France* his way. The *Scots* deſired it very much, believing they ſhould find her Majeſty very propitious to their Counſels, and inclined to truſt their

their undertakings; and they were very ſure that *Mountroſe* would never go to *Paris*, or have credit with the Queen.

THE Prince of *Orange*, and the Princeſs Royal his Wife, had a great deſire to gratify the Queen, and that the King ſhould ſee her in the way; and propoſed "That his Majeſty "might appoint a place, where the Queen and He might "meet, without going to *Paris*; and, after three or four "days ſtay together, his Majeſty might haſten his Journey to "ſome convenient Port, from whence he might embark for "*Ireland* by a ſhorter paſſage than from *Holland*; and the "Prince of *Orange* would appoint two Ships of War, to at-"tend his Majeſty in that *French* Port, before he ſhould get "thither. His Majeſty inclined this way, without poſitively reſolving upon it; yet directed "That his own Goods of bulk, "and his inferior Servants, ſhould be preſently embarked to "take the directeſt paſſage to *Ireland*; and order'd "That the "reſt, who were to wait upon his Perſon, ſhould likewiſe "ſend their Goods and Baggage, and ſuch Servants who were "not abſolutely neceſſary for their preſent Service, upon the "ſame Ships for *Ireland*; declaring, "That, if he made *France* "his way, he would make all poſſible haſte, and go with as "light a train as he could. Hereupon two Ships were ſhortly after provided, and many Perſons (and great ſtore of Baggage) embark'd for *Ireland*, and arriv'd there in ſafety; but moſt of the Perſons, and all the Goods, miſcarried in their return, when they knew that the King was not to come thither, upon the accidents that afterwards fell out there.

THIS Reſolution being taken, the Lord *Cottington*, who had a juſt excuſe from his Age, being then ſeventy five years old, to wiſh to be in ſome repoſe, conſider'd with himſelf how to become diſintangled from the fatigue of thoſe Voyages and Journies, which he ſaw the King would be obliged to make. In *Holland* he had no mind to ſtay, having never lov'd that People, nor been lov'd by them; and he thought the Climate it ſelf was very pernicious to his health, by reaſon of the Gout, which frequently viſited him. *France* was as ungrateful to him, where he had not been kindly treated, and was look'd upon as one who had been always addicted to *Spain*, and no friend to the Crown of *France*; ſo that he was willing to find a good occaſion to ſpend the remainder of his age where he had ſpent ſo much of his youth, in *Spain*, and where he believ'd that he might be able to do the King more Service than any other way. And there was newly come to the *Hague* an *Engliſh* Gentleman, who had been an Officer in the King's Army, and was in *Madrid* when the News came thither of the Murder of the King: and he related

lated many particulars of the paſſion and indignation of that Court, upon that occaſion, againſt the Rebels; that "The "King, and all the Court, put themſelves into ſolemn Mourn- "ing: (and he repeated ſome Expreſſions which the King and *Don Lewis de Haro* had made of tenderneſs and compaſſion for our King) and that "The King of *Spain* ſpoke of "ſending an Embaſſadour to his Majeſty.

THESE relations, and any thing of that kind, how weakly ſoever founded, were very willingly heard. And from hence the Lord *Cottington* took occaſion to confer with the Chancellor of the Exchequer (with whom he held a ſtrict Friendſhip, they living, and keeping Houſe together) of "The "ill condition the King was in, and that he ought to think, "what Prince's kindneſs was like to be of moſt uſe and be- "nefit to his Majeſty, and from whom he might hope to re- "ceive a Sum of Money; if not as much as might ſerve for "a Martial Expedition, yet ſuch an annual Exhibition as "might ſerve for his ſupport: that he had already experience "of *France*, and knew well the Intelligence that the Cardi- "nal had at that very time with *Cromwell*: but he did verily "believe, that if the King of *Spain* were dexterouſly treated "with, and not more asked of him than could conſiſt with "his Affairs to ſpare, a good yearly ſupport might be pro- "cured There, and the expectation of it might be worth the "King's ſending an Embaſſadour thither. He ſaid, "He was "more of that opinion ſince the King had taken the reſolu- "tion of going for *Ireland*; where the King of *Spain's* credit "might be of great benefit to him: that *Owen O Neil*, and "the old *Iriſh* of *Ulſter*, were ſtill in Arms againſt the King; "and would not ſubmit to the conditions which the general "Council of the Confederate Catholicks had conſented to "with the Marquis of *Ormond*: that *O Neil* had been bred "in *Spain*, and had a Regiment in *Flanders*, and ſo muſt have "an abſolute dependence upon his Catholick Majeſty, for "whom all the old *Iriſh* had ever had a particular devotion; "and if it were only to diſpoſe Him and that People to the "King' obedience, and to accept thoſe conditions which "might conveniently be given to them, it were well worth "ſuch a Journey; and the King of *Spain* would never refuſe "to gratify the King to the utmoſt that could be deſir'd in "that particular. The Chancellor thought this diſcourſe not unreaſonable, and asked him "Who would be fit to be ſent "thither? not imagining that he had any thought of going thither Himſelf. He Anſwer'd, "That, if the King would be "adviſed by him, he ſhould ſend them Two thither, and he "did believe they ſhould do him very good Service.

Conference between the Lord Cottington *and the Chancellor of the Exchequer concerning the King's ſending an Embaſſy into* Spain.

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THE Chancellor was weary of the Company he was in, and the buſineſs, which, having no proſpect but towards deſpair, was yet render'd more grievous by the continual Contentions and Animoſities between Perſons. He knew he was not in the Queens Favour at all, and ſhould find no reſpect in that Court. However, he was very ſcrupulous, that the King might not ſuſpect that he was weary of his Attendance, or that any Body elſe might believe that he withdrew himſelf from waiting longer upon ſo deſperate a Fortune. In the end, he told the Lord *Cottington* "That he would only "be paſſive in the point, and refer it entirely to Him, if he "thought fit to diſpoſe the King to like it; and if the King "approv'd it ſo much as to take notice of it to the Chancellor, "and commend it as a thing he thought for his Service, he "would ſubmit to his Command.

The King declares theſe Two to be his Embaſſadours.

THE Lord *Cottington's* Heart was much ſet upon this imployment, and he managed ſo warily with the King, and preſented the whole Scheme to him ſo dexterouſly, that his Majeſty was much pleaſed with it; and ſhortly after declared his Reſolution publickly, "To ſend the Lord *Cottington*, "and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, his Embaſſadours Ex- "traordinary into *Spain*; and Commanded them "To prepare "their own Commiſſion, and Inſtructions; and to begin their "Journey aſſoon as was poſſible.

BEFORE the King could begin his own Journey for *France*, and ſo to *Ireland*, his Majeſty thought it neceſſary, upon the whole proſpect of his Affairs with reference to all places, to put his Buſineſs into as good a method as he could, and to diſpoſe of that number of Officers, and Soldiers, and other Perſons, who had preſented themſelves to be applied to his Service, or to leave them to take the beſt courſe they could for their own Subſiſtence. Of theſe, many were ſent into *Ireland* with the Ships which carried the King's Goods, with recommendation to the Marquis of *Ormond*, "To put them "into his Army till the King came thither. Since the *Scots* were no better diſpoſed to ſerve, or receive the King for the preſent, his Majeſty was reſolv'd to give the Marquis of *Mountroſe* all the Encouragement he deſired to viſit them, and to incline them to a better temper.

THERE was then at the *Hague*, *Cornificius Wolfelte*, Embaſſadour extraordinary from the King of *Denmark* to the States General; who came with a great Train and great State, and was himſelf a Man of vanity and oſtentation, and took pains to be thought ſo great a Man by his own Intereſt, that he did not enough extol the power of his Maſter; which prov'd his ruin after his return. He had left *Denmark* before the News

News came thither of the Murder of the King, and ſo he had no Credentials for his Majeſty, by reaſon whereof he could not receive any publick formal Audience; but deſired "The "King's leave that he might, as by accident, be admitted to "ſpeak to him at the Queen of *Bohemia*'s Court; where his Majeſty uſed to be every day; and there the Embaſſadour often ſpoke to him. The Marquis of *Mountroſe* had found means to endear himſelf much to this Embaſſadour, who gave him encouragement to hope for a very good reception in *Denmark*, if the King would ſend him thither, and that he might obtain Arms and Ammunition there for *Scotland*. The Embaſſadour told him, "That, if the King would write "a Letter to him to that purpoſe, he would preſently ſupply "him with ſome Money and Arms, in aſſurance that his Ma-"ſter would very well approve of what he ſhould do. The Marquis of *Mountroſe* well knew, that the King was not able to ſupply him with the leaſt proportion of Money to begin his Journey; and therefore he had only propoſed, "That the "King would give him Letters, in the form he preſcribed, to "ſeveral Princes in *Germany*, whoſe affections he pretended "to know; which Letters he ſent by ſeveral Officers, who were to bring the Soldiers or Arms they ſhould obtain, to a Rendezvous he appointed near *Hamburg*; and reſolv'd himſelf to go into *Sweden* and *Denmark*, in hope to get ſupplies in both thoſe places, both from the Crowns, and by the contribution of many *Scotiſh* Officers, who had Command and Eſtates in thoſe Countries; and to have Credentials, by virtue of which he might appear Embaſſadour extraordinary from the King, if he ſhould find it expedient; though he did intend rather to negotiate his buſineſs in private, and without any publick Character. All this was reſolv'd before his confidence, at leaſt his familiarity with the Embaſſadour, was grown leſs. But, upon the Encouragement he had from him, he mov'd the King "For his Letter to the Embaſſadour, to "aſſiſt the Marquis of *Mountroſe* with his Advice, and with "his Intereſt in *Denmark*, and in any other Court, to the end "that he might obtain the Loan of Monies, Arms, and Am-"munition, and whatever elſe was neceſſary to enable the "Marquis to proſecute his intended Deſcent into *Scotland*. The King, glad that he did not preſs for ready Money, which he was not able to ſupply him with, gave him ſuch Letters as he deſired to all Perſons, and particularly to the Embaſſadour himſelf, who, having order from his Maſter to preſent the King with a Sum of Money for his preſent occaſions, never inform'd the King thereof, but adviſed *Mountroſe* to procure ſuch a Letter from his Majeſty to him; which being done, the

Marquis

Marquis receiv'd that Money from him, and likewiſe ſome Arms; with which he begun his unfortunate Enterpriſe; and proſecuted his Journey to *Hamburg*; where he expected to meet his *German* Troops, which he believ'd the Officers he had ſent thither with the King's Letters would be well able to raiſe, with the aſſiſtance of thoſe Princes to whom they had been ſent. But he was carried on by a ſtronger aſſurance he had receiv'd from ſome prophecies, and predictions, to which he was naturally given, "That he ſhould by his valour reco-"ver *Scotland* for the King, and from thence conduct an Ar-"my that ſhould ſettle his Majeſty in all his other Domi-"nions.

The Marquis of Mountroſe goes to Hamburg.

THERE had been yet nothing done by the King with reference to *England* ſince the Murder of his Father; nor did there appear any thing, of any kind, to be attempted as yet there: there was ſo terrible a Conſternation, that ſtill poſſeſſed the Spirits of that People, that though Men's Affections were greater, and more general for the King, out of the Horror and Deteſtation they had of the late Parricide, yet the owning it was too penal for their broken Courage; nor was it believ'd poſſible for any Man to contribute any thing, at preſent, for their Deliverance. However moſt Men were of opinion, "That it was neceſſary for the King to publiſh ſome "Declaration, that he might not ſeem utterly to give over "his claim there; and to keep up the Spirits of his Friends. And many from *England*, who in the midſt of their deſpair would give ſome Counſel, adviſed, "That there might be "ſomewhat publiſh'd by the King that might give ſome "Check to the general ſubmitting to the *Engagement*, which "was ſo univerſally preſſed there. The King being every day advertiſed, how much this was deſired and expected, and the *Scotiſh* Lords being of the ſame opinion, hoping that ſomewhat might be inſerted in it that might favour the Presbyterians, his Majeſty propos'd at the Council "That there "might be ſome draught prepar'd of a Proclamation, or De-"claration, only with reference to the Kingdom of *England*; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had been moſt converſant in Inſtruments of that nature, was appointed to make one ready; though he had declared, "That he did not "know what ſuch a Declaration could contain, and therefore "that he thought it not ſeaſonable to publiſh any. The Prince of *Orange* was preſent at that Council, and whether from his own opinion, or from the Suggeſtion of the *Scotiſh* Lords, who were much favour'd by him, he wiſh'd, "That, "in regard of the great differences which were in *England* "about matters of Religion, the King would offer, in this "Decla-

The Chancellor of the Exchequer appointed to make a Declaration relating to England.

"Declaration, to refer all matters in controverſy concerning "Religion to a National Synod; in which there ſhould be ad- "mitted ſome Forreign Divines from the Proteſtant Churches; which he thought, would be a Popular Clauſe, and might be acceptable abroad as well as at home: and the King believ'd no objection could be made againſt it; and ſo thought fit ſuch a Clauſe ſhould be inſerted.

WITHIN a ſhort time after the Council was parted, the Prince of *Orange* ſent for the Lord *Cottington*, and told him "He was not enough acquainted with the Chancellor of the "Exchequer, but deſir'd him to intreat him not to be too "ſharp in this Declaration, the end whereof was to Unite, "and Reconcile different Humours; and that he found many "had a great apprehenſion, that the ſharpneſs of His Style "would irritate them much more. The Chancellor knew well enough that this came from the Lord *Lautherdale*, and he wiſhed heartily that the Charge might be committed to any Body elſe, proteſting, "That he was never leſs diſpoſed "in his own conceptions, and reflections, to undertake any "ſuch Task in his Life; and that he could not imagine how "it was poſſible for the King to publiſh a Declaration at that "time, (his firſt Declaration) without much ſharpneſs againſt "the Murtherers of his Father; which no Body could ſpeak againſt; nor could he be excuſed from the Work impoſed upon him: and the Prince of *Orange* aſſured him, "It was "not That kind of ſharpneſs which he wiſh'd ſhould be de- "clined: and though he ſeem'd not willing farther to explain himſelf, it was evident, that he wiſh'd that there might not be any ſharpneſs againſt the Presbyterians, for which there was at that time no occaſion.

THERE was one particular, which, without a full and diſtinct Inſtruction, the Chancellor could not preſume to expreſs. The great end of this Declaration was to confirm the Affection of as many as was poſſible for the King, and, conſequently, as few were to be made deſperate, as might conſiſt with the King's Honour, and neceſſary Juſtice, ſo that how far that Clauſe, which was eſſential to a Declaration upon this ſubject, concerning the Indemnity of Perſons, ſhould extend, was the queſtion. And in this there was difference of opinions; the moſt prevalent was, "That no Perſons ſhould "be excepted from Pardon, but only ſuch who had an im- "mediate hand in the execrable Murther of the King, by "being his Judges, and pronouncing that Sentence, and they "who perform'd the Execution. Others ſaid, they "Knew "that ſome were in the Liſt of the Judges, and named by "the Parliament, who found Excuſes to be abſent; and others

that "Some who were not named, more contriv'd and con-"tributed to that odious proceeding, than many of the Actors "in it. But the reſolution was, that the former ſhould be only comprehended.

WHEN the Declaration was prepared, and read at the Board, there was a deep Silence, no Man ſpeaking to any part of it. But another day was appointed for a ſecond reading it, againſt which time every Man might be better prepared to ſpeak to it: and in the mean time the Prince of *Orange*, in regard he was not a perfect Maſter of the *Engliſh* Tongue, deſir'd he might have a Copy of it, that he might the better underſtand it. And the Chancellor of the Exchequer deſir'd, "That not only the Prince of *Orange* might have "a Copy, but that his Majeſty would likewiſe have one, "and, after he ſhould have peruſed it himſelf, he would ſhew "it to any other, who he thought was fit to adviſe with; there being many Lords and other Perſons of Quality about him, who were not of the Council: and he mov'd, "That he "might have liberty himſelf to Communicate it to ſome who "were like to make a judgment, how far any thing of that "Nature was like to be acceptable, and agreeable to the minds "of the People; and named *Herbert* the Atturney General, and Dr *Steward* who was Dean of the Chappel; and His opinion, in all things relating to the Church, the King had been adviſed by his Father to ſubmit to. All which was approv'd by the King, and, for that reaſon, a farther day was appointed for the ſecond reading. The Iſſue was, that, except two or three of the Council, who were of one and the ſame opinion of the whole, there were not two Perſons who were admitted to the peruſal of it, who did not take ſome exception to it, though ſcarce two made the ſame exception.

Different opinions in the King's Council about it when it was read.

DOCTOR *Steward*, though a Man of a very good underſtanding, was ſo exceedingly griev'd at the Clauſe of admitting Forreign Divines into a Synod that was to Conſult upon the Church of *England*, that he could not be ſatisfied by any Arguments that could be given of "The impoſſibility of any "effect, or that the Parliament would accept the Overture; "and that there could be no danger if it did, becauſe the "Number of thoſe Forreign Divines muſt be ſtill limited by "the King; but came one Morning to the Chancellor, with whom he had a Friendſhip, and proteſted "He had not ſlept "that Night, out of the Agony and Trouble, that He, who "he knew lov'd the Church ſo well, ſhould conſent to a "Clauſe ſo much againſt the Honour of it; and went from him to the King, to beſeech him never to approve it. Some were of opinion "That there were too few excepted from "Pardon;

"Pardon; by which the King would not have Confiſcations "enough to ſatisfy, and reward his Party: and others thought, "that there were too many excepted; and that it was not "prudence to make ſo many Men deſperate; but that it would "be ſufficient to except *Cromwell*, and *Bradſhaw*, and three or "four more of thoſe whoſe Malice was moſt notorious; the "whole Number not to exceed Six.

THE *Scots* did not value the Clauſe for Forreign Divines, who, they knew, could perſwade little in an *Engliſh* Synod; but they were implacably offended, that the King mention'd the Government of the Church of *England*, and the Book of Common-Prayer, with ſo much Reverence and Devotion; which was the ſharpneſs they moſt fear'd of the Chancellor's Style, when they thought now the Covenant to be neceſſary to be inſiſted upon more than ever. So that, when the Declaration was read at the Board the ſecond time, moſt Men being mov'd with the diſcourſes, and fears which were expreſs'd abroad of ſome ill effects it might produce, it was more faintly Debated, and Men ſeem'd not to think that the publiſhing any, at this time, was of ſo much importance, as they formerly had conceiv'd it to be. By all which Men may judge, how hard a thing it was for the King to reſolve, and act with that ſteadineſs and reſolution, which the moſt unproſperous Condition doth more require than the State that is leſs perplex'd and intangled. Thus the Declaration ſlept without farther propoſition to publiſh any. *Upon which it was laid aſide.*

ALL things being now as much provided for as they were like to be, the two Embaſſadours for *Spain* were very ſollicitous to begin their Journey, the King being at laſt reſolv'd not to give his Mother the trouble of making a Journey to meet him, but to go himſelf directly to St *German's*, where her Majeſty was. The Prince of *Orange*, to advance that reſolution, had promis'd to ſupply the King with twenty thouſand pounds; which was too great a Loan for him to make, who had already great debts upon him, though it was very little for the enabling the King to diſcharge the debts He and his Family had contracted at the *Hague*, and to make his Journey. Out of the Sum the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor, were to receive ſo much as was deſign'd to defray their Journey to *Paris*: what was neceſſary for the diſcharge of their Embaſſy, or for making their Journey from *Paris*, was not yet provided. The King had ſome hope, that the Duke of *Lorrain* would lend him ſome Money; which he deſign'd for this ſervice; which made it neceſſary that they ſhould immediately reſort to *Bruſſels*, to finiſh that Negotiation, and from thence to proſecute their Journey.

In the ſolliciting their firſt diſpatch at the *Hague*, they made a diſcovery that ſeem'd very ſtrange to them, though afterwards it was a truth that was very notorious. Their Journey having been put off ſome days, only for the receipt of that ſmall Sum, which was to be paid them out of the Money to be lent by the Prince of *Orange*; and *Hemſlet* the Prince's chief Officer in ſuch affairs of Money having been ſome days at *Amſterdam* to negotiate that Loan, and no Money being return'd, they believ'd that there was ſome affected delay; and ſo went to the Prince of *Orange*, who had adviſ'd, and was well pleas'd with that Embaſſy, to know when that Money would be ready for the King, that he might likewiſe reſolve upon the time for his own Journey. The Prince told them, he believ'd, "That They, who knew *London* ſo well, and "had heard ſo much diſcourſe of the wealth of *Holland*, "would wonder very much that he ſhould have been endea- "vouring above ten days to borrow twenty thouſand pounds; "and that the richeſt Men in *Amſterdam* had promiſed him "to ſupply him with it, and that one half of it was not yet "provided. He ſaid, "It was not that there was any que- "ſtion of his credit, which was very good; and that the ſe- "curity he gave, was as good as any Body deſir'd, and upon "which he could have double the Sum in leſs time, if he "would receive it in Paper, which was the Courſe of that "Country; where bargains being made for one hundred thou- "ſand pounds to be paid within ten days, it was never known "that twenty thouſand pounds were paid together in one "Town; but by Bills upon *Rotterdam*, *Harlem*, the *Hague*, "and *Antwerp*, and other places, which was as convenient, "or more, to all Parties; and he did verily believe, that "though *Amſterdam* could pay a Million within a Month, "upon any good occaſion, yet they would be troubled to "bring twenty thouſand pounds together into any one Room; "and that was the true reaſon, that the Money was not yet "brought to the *Hague*; which it ſhould be within few days; as it was accordingly.

The Embaſſadours for Spain *begin their journey.*

The Embaſſadours took their leave of the King at the *Hague* before the middle of *May*, and had a Yatch from the Prince of *Orange*, that attended them at *Rotterdam*, and tranſported them with great convenience to *Antwerp*, where the Chancellor's Wife and his Family were arriv'd ten days before, and were ſettled in a good and convenient Houſe; where the Lord *Cottington* and He both Lodg'd whilſt they ſtay'd in that City. There they met the Lord *Jermyn* in his way towards the King, to haſten the King's Journey into *France*, upon the Queen's great importunity. He was very glad

glad they were both come away from the King, and believ'd he ſhould more eaſily prevail with his Majeſty in all things, as indeed he did. After two or three days ſtay at *Antwerp*, they went to *Bruſſels* to deliver their Credentials both to the Arch-Duke, and the Duke of *Lorrain*, and to viſit the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, and, upon their Landing at *Bruſſels*, they took it for a good Omen, that they were aſſured "That *le Brune*, who "had been one of the Plenipotentiaries at the Treaty at *Mun-*"*ſter*, on the behalf of the King of *Spain*, was then in that "Town with Credentials to viſit the King, and to condole "with him. They had an Audience, the next day, of the Arch-Duke: they perform'd the Compliments to him from the King, and inform'd him of their Embaſſy into *Spain*, and deſir'd his recommendation, and good Offices in that Court; which he, according to his ſlow, and formal way of ſpeaking, conſented to: and they had no more to do with Him, but receiv'd the viſits from the Officers, in his Name, according to the ſtyle of that Court. Their main buſineſs was with the Duke of *Lorrain*, to procure Money for their Journey into *Spain*.

They viſit the Duke of Lorrain *at* Bruſſels.

THE Duke was a Prince that liv'd in a different manner from all other Sovereign Princes in the World: from the time, that he had been driven out of his Country by *France*, he had retir'd to *Bruſſels* with his Army, which he kept up very ſtrong, and ſerv'd the King of *Spain* with it againſt the *French*, upon ſuch terms, and conditions, as were made, and renew'd every year between them; by which he receiv'd great Sums of Money yearly from the *Spaniard*, and was ſure very rich in Money. He always Commanded apart in the Field, his Officers receiv'd no Orders but from himſelf: He always agreed at the Council of War what he ſhould do, and his Army was in truth the beſt part of the *Spaniſh* Forces. In the Town of *Bruſſels* he liv'd without any order, method, or ſtate of a Prince, except towards the *Spaniards* in his Treaties, and being preſent in their Councils, where he always kept his full Dignity: otherwiſe, he liv'd in a jolly familiarity with the Bourgeois and their Wives, and feaſted with them, but ſcarce kept a Court or any number of Servants, or Retinue. The Houſe wherein he liv'd was a very ordinary one, and not furniſh'd; nor was he often there, or eaſy to be found; ſo that the Embaſſadours could not eaſily ſend to him for an Audience. He receiv'd them in a lower Room with great Courteſy and Familiarity; and viſited them at their own Lodging. He was a Man of great Wit, and preſence of Mind, and, if he had not affected extravagancies, no Man knew better how to act the Prince. He lov'd his Money very much; yet the Lord *Cottington*'s dexterity and addreſs, prevail'd with him to lend the

King two thouſand Piſtols; which was all that was in their view for defraying their Embaſſy. But they hoped they ſhould procure ſome ſupply in *Spain*, out of which their own neceſſary Expences muſt be provided for.

THERE were two *Spaniards*, by whom all the Councils there were govern'd and conducted, and which the Arch-Duke himſelf could not controul; the Conde of *Pignoranda* (who was newly come from *Munſter*, being the other Plenipotentiary there; and ſtaid only at *Bruſſels*, in expectation of renewing the Treaty again with *France*; but, whilſt he ſtaid there, was in the higheſt Truſt of all the Affairs) and the Conde of *Fuenſaldagna*, who was the Governour of the Arms, and Commanded the Army next under the Arch-Duke; which was a ſubordination very little inferior to the being General. They were both very able and expert Men in buſineſs, and if they were not very wiſe Men, that Nation had none. The former was a Man of the Robe, of a great Wit, and much Experience, Proud, and, if he had not been a little too Pedantick, might very well be look'd upon as a very extraordinary Man, and was much improv'd by the excellent temper of *le Brune* (the other Plenipotentiary) who was indeed a wiſe Man, and by ſeeming to defer in all things to *Pignoranda*, govern'd him. The Conde of *Fuenſaldagna* was of a much better temper, more induſtry, and more inſinuations than *Spaniards* uſe to have: His greateſt Talent lay to Civil buſineſs; yet he was the beſt General of that time to all other offices and purpoſes, than what were neceſſary in the hour of Battle, when he was not ſo preſent and compos'd as at all other ſeaſons.

BOTH theſe receiv'd the Embaſſadours with the uſual Civilities, and return'd their viſits to their own Lodging, but ſeem'd not pleaſed with their Journey to *Madrid*, and ſpoke much of the neceſſities that Crown was in, and its diſability to aſſiſt the King; which the Embaſſadours imputed to the influence *Don Alonzo de Cardenas* had upon them both; who remain'd ſtill under the ſame Character in *England* he had done for many years before. The ſame Civilities were perform'd between *le Brune* and them; who treated them with much more freedom, and encourag'd them to hope well from their Negotiation in *Spain*; acquainted them with his own Inſtructions, "To give the King all aſſurance of the affection "of his Catholick Majeſty, and of his readineſs to do any "thing for him that was in his power. He ſaid, "He only "deferr'd his Journey, becauſe he heard that the King intend-"ed to ſpend ſome time at *Breda*; and he had rather attend "him There, than at the *Hague*.

WHEN the Embaſſadours had diſpatch'd all their buſineſs at

at *Bruſſels*, and receiv'd the Money from the Duke of *Lorrain*, they return'd to *Antwerp*; where they were to Negotiate for the return of their Monies to *Madrid*; which requir'd very much warineſs, the Bills from thence finding now more difficulties at *Madrid*, than they had done in former times.

By the Letters my Lord *Jermyn* brought, and the importunity he uſed, the King reſolv'd to begin his Journey ſooner than he thought to have done, that is ſooner than he thought he ſhould have been able, all proviſions being to begin to be made both for his Journey into *France*, and from thence into *Ireland*, after the Money was receiv'd that ſhould pay for them. But the Queen's impatience was ſo great to ſee his Majeſty, that the Prince of *Orange*, and the Princeſs Royal his Wife, were as impatient to give her that ſatisfaction. Though her Majeſty could not juſtly diſlike any reſolution the King had taken, nor could imagine whither he ſhould go but into *Ireland*, ſhe was exceedingly diſpleas'd that any Reſolution at all had been taken before ſhe was conſulted. She was angry that the Counſellors were choſen without her directions, and looked upon all that had been done, as done in order to exclude her from meddling in the Affairs; all which ſhe imputed principally to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; nevertheleſs ſhe was not pleas'd with the deſign of the Negotiation in *Spain*. For though ſhe had no confidence of his affection to her, or rather of his complying with all her Commands, yet ſhe had all confidence in his Duty and Integrity to the King, and therefore wiſh'd he ſhould be ſtill about his Perſon, and truſted in his buſineſs; which ſhe thought him much fitter for than ſuch a Negotiation, which ſhe believ'd, out of her natural prejudice to *Spain*, would produce no advantage to the King.

The King removes to Breda.

That the Queen might receive ſome content, in knowing that the King had begun his Journey, the Prince of *Orange* deſir'd him, "Whilſt his Servants prepar'd what was neceſſary "at the *Hague*, that Himſelf, and that part of his Train that "was ready, would go to *Breda*, and ſtay there till the reſt "were ready to come up to him; that being his beſt way to *Flanders*, through which he muſt paſs into *France*. *Breda* was a Town of the Prince's own, where he had a handſome Palace and Caſtle, and a place where the King might have many Divertiſements. Hither the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour *le Brune*, came to attend his Majeſty, and deliver'd his Maſter's Compliments to his Majeſty, and offer'd his own Services to him, whilſt he ſhould remain in thoſe Provinces; he being at that time deſign'd to remain Embaſſadour to the United Provinces; as he did; and died ſhortly after at the *Hague* with a general

regret. He was born a Subject to the King of *Spain* (in that part of *Burgundy* that was under his Dominion; and having been from his youth always bred in buſineſs, and being a Man of great Parts, and Temper, he might very well be looked upon as one of the beſt States-men in Chriſtendom, and who beſt underſtood the true Intereſt of all the Princes of *Europe*.

ASSOON as the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor, heard of the King's being at *Breda*, and that he intended to haſten his Journey for *France*, they reſolv'd, having in truth not yet Negotiated all things neceſſary for their Journey, to ſtay till the King paſſed by, and not to go to St *Germain's* till the firſt Interview, and Eclarciſments were paſſed between the King and Queen, that they might then be the better able to judge what Weather was like to be.

Thence to Antwerp:

THE King was receiv'd at *Antwerp* with great Magnificence: He enter'd in a very rich Coach with ſix Horſes, which the Arch-Duke ſent a preſent to him when he came into the *Spaniſh* Dominions: He was treated there, at the Charge of the City, very ſplendidly for two days: and went then to *Bruſſels*, where he was lodged in the Palace, and Royally entertain'd. But the *French* Army, under the Command of the *Conte de Harcourt*, was two days before ſet down before *Cambray*; with the News whereof the *Spaniſh* Council was ſurpriſed, and in ſo much diſorder, that the Arch-Duke was gone to the Army to *Mons*, and *Valenciennes*, whilſt the King was in *Antwerp*; ſo that the King was receiv'd only by his Officers; who perform'd their parts very well.

Thence to Bruſſels.

HERE the *Conde* of *Pignoranda* waited upon the King in the Quality of an Embaſſadour, and cover'd. And his Majeſty ſtaid here three or four days, not being able ſuddainly to reſolve which way he ſhould paſs into *France*. But he was not troubled long with that doubt; for the *French* thought to have ſurpriſed that Town, and to have caſt up their Line of Circumvallation before any Supplies could be put in; but the *Conde Fuenſaldagna* found a way to put ſeven or eight hundred Foot into the Town; upon which the *French* raiſed the Siege: and ſo the King made his Journey by the uſual way; and, near *Valenciennes*, had an Interview with the Arch-Duke; and, after ſome ſhort Ceremonies, continued on his Journey, and lodged at *Cambray*; where he was likewiſe treated by the *Conde de Garcies*, who was Governour there, and a very civil Gentleman.

The King had an interview with the Arch-Duke near Valenciennes.

ABOUT a week after the King left *Bruſſels*, the two Embaſſadours proſecuted their Journey for *Paris*; where they ſtaid onely one day, and then went to St *Germain's*; where the King and the Queen his Mother, with both their Families, and

and the Duke of *York's*, then were; by whom they were receiv'd graciouſly. They had no reaſon to repent their caution in ſtaying ſo long behind the King, for they found the Court ſo full of jealouſy and diſorder, that every Body was glad that they were come. After the firſt two or three days that the King and Queen had been together, which were ſpent in tears and lamentations for the great alteration that had happen'd ſince their laſt parting, the Queen begun to confer with the King of his buſineſs, and what courſe he meant to take; in which ſhe found him ſo reſerv'd, as if he had no mind ſhe ſhould be converſant in it. He made no Apologies to her; which ſhe expected; nor any profeſſions of reſigning himſelf up to her Advice. On the contrary, upon ſome expoſtulations, he had told her plainly, "That he would always per-"form his Duty towards her with great affection and exact-"neſs, but that in his buſineſs he would obey his own rea-"ſon and judgment; and did as good as deſire her not to trouble her ſelf in his Affairs: and finding her paſſions ſtrong, he frequently retired from her with ſome abruptneſs, and ſeem'd not to deſire to be ſo much in her Company as ſhe expected; and preſcribed ſome new rules to be obſerv'd in his own retirement, which he had not been accuſtom'd to.

THIS kind of unexpected behaviour gave the Queen much trouble. She begun to think, that this diſtance, which the King ſeem'd to affect, was more than the Chancellor of the Exchequer could wiſh; and that there was ſome Body elſe, who did her more diſſervice: inſomuch as to the Ladies who were about her, whereof ſome were very much his Friends, ſhe ſeem'd to wiſh, that the Chancellor were come. There was a Gentleman, who was newly come from *England*, and who came to the *Hague* after the Chancellor had taken his leave of the King, and had been ever ſince very cloſe about him, being one of the Grooms of his Bed-Chamber, one Mr *Thomas Elliot*, a Perſon ſpoken of before; whom the King's Father had formerly ſent into *France*, at the ſame time that he reſolv'd the Prince ſhould go for the Weſt; and for no other reaſon, but that he ſhould not attend upon his Son. And he had given order, "That if he ſhould return out of *France*, and "come into the Weſt, the Council ſhould not ſuffer him to be "about the Prince; with whom he thought he had too much "Credit, and would uſe it ill; and he had never ſeen the Prince from the time he left *Oxford* till now. He was a bold Man, and ſpoke all things confidently, and had not that reverence for the late King which he ought to have had; and leſs for the Queen; though he had great obligations to both; yet being not ſo great as he had a mind to, he look'd upon them as none

Mr Elliot *comes to the King: his influence upon his Majeſty.*

none at all. This Gentleman came to the King just as he left the *Hague*, and both as he was a new Comer, and as one for whom his Majesty had formerly much kindness, was very well receiv'd; and being one who would receive no injury from his modesty, made the favour the King shew'd him as bright, and to shine as much in the Eyes of all Men, as was possible. He was never from the Person of the King, and always whispering in his Ear, taking upon him to understand the sense and opinion of all the Loyal Party in *England*: And when he had a mind that the King should think well, or ill of any Man, he told him, "That he was much belov'd by, or "very odious to all his Party there. By these infusions, he had prevailed with him to look with less grace upon the Earl of *Bristol*, who came from *Caen* (where he had hitherto resided) to kiss his hands, than his own good Nature would have inclined him to; and more to discountenance the Lord *Digby*, and to tell him plainly, "That he should not serve "him in the place of Secretary of State; in which he had serv'd his Father, and from which Men have seldom been remov'd upon the Descent of the Crown; and not to admit either Father or Son to be of his Council; which was more extraordinary. He told the King, "It would be the most un-"popular thing he could do, and which would lose him more "Hearts in *England* than any other thing, if he were thought "to be govern'd by his Mother. And in a Month's time that he had been about the King, he begun already to be look'd upon as very like to become the Favourite. He had used the Queen with wonderful neglect when she spoke to him, and had got so much Interest with the King, that he had procured a promise from his Majesty to make Colonel *Windham*, whose Daughter Mr *Elliot* had Married, Secretary of State; an honest Gentleman, but extreme unequal to that Province; towards which he could not pretend a better qualification, than that his Wife had been Nurse to the Prince, who was now King.

In these kind of humours and indispositions the Embassadours found the Court, when they came to St *Germain's*. They had, during their stay at *Paris*, in their way to Court, conferr'd with the Earl of *Bristol*, and his Son the Lord *Digby*; who breath'd out their Griefs to them; and the Lord *Digby* was the more troubled to find that Mr *Elliot*, who was a known and declared Enemy of his, had gotten so much Credit with the King, as to be able to satisfy his own malice upon him by the countenance of his Majesty; in whom, he knew, the King his Father desired, that he should of all Men have the least Interest. After they had been a day or two there, the Chancellor of the Exchequer thinking it his Duty to say some-

ſomewhat to the Queen in particular, and knowing that ſhe expected he ſhould do ſo, and the King having told him at large all that had paſſed with his Mother, and the ill humour ſhe was in (all which his Majeſty related in a more exalted Dialect than he had been accuſtom'd to) and his Majeſty being very willing to underſtand what the Queen thought upon the whole, the Chancellor asked a private Audience; which her Majeſty readily granted. And after ſhe had gently expoſtulated upon the old paſſages at *Jerſey*, ſhe concluded with the mention of the great confidence the King her Husband had always repoſed in him, and thereupon renew'd her own gracious profeſſions of good will towards him. Then ſhe complain'd, not without tears, of the King's unkindneſs towards her, and of his way of living with her, of ſome expreſſions he had uſed in diſcourſe in her own preſence, and of what he had ſaid in other places, and of the great credit Mr *Elliot* had with him, and of his rude behaviour towards her Majeſty, and laſtly of the incredible deſign of making *Windham* Secretary; "Who, beſides his other unfitneſs, ſhe ſaid, "Would be ſure "to joyn with the other to leſſen the King's kindneſs to her "all they could. The Chancellor, after he had made all the profeſſions of duty to her Majeſty which became him, and ſaid what he really believ'd of the King's kindneſs and reſpect for her, ask'd her, "Whether ſhe would give him leave to take "notice of any thing ſhe had ſaid to him, or, in general, that "he found her Majeſty unſatisfied with the King's unkind-"neſs? The Queen replied, "That ſhe was well contented he "ſhould take notice of every thing She had ſaid; and, above "all of his purpoſe to make *Windham* Secretary: of which the King had not made the leaſt mention, though he had taken notice to him of moſt other things the Queen had ſaid to him.

A private Audience of the Chancellor with the Queen.

THE Chancellor, ſhortly after, found an opportunity to inform the King of all that had paſſed from the Queen, in ſuch a method as might give him occaſion to enlarge upon all the particulars. The King heard him very greedily, and proteſted, "That he deſir'd nothing more than to live very "well with the Queen; towards whom he would never fail "in his Duty, as far as was conſiſtent with his Honour, and "the good of his Affairs; which, at preſent, it may be, re-"quired more reſervation towards the Queen, and to have it "believ'd that he Communicated leſs with Her than he did, "or than he intended to do: that, if he did not ſeem to be "deſirous of her Company, it was only when ſhe griev'd him "by ſome Importunities, in which he could not ſatisfy her; "and that her exception againſt *Elliot* was very unjuſt; and

"that

"that he knew well the Man to be very honeſt, and that he "lov'd him well; and that the prejudice the King his Father "had againſt him, was only by the malice of the Lord *Digby*, "who hated him without a cauſe, and had likewiſe inform'd "the Queen of ſome falſhoods, which had incenſed her Ma- "jeſty againſt him; and ſeem'd throughout much concern'd to juſtify *Elliot*, againſt whom the Chancellor himſelf had no exceptions, but receiv'd more reſpects from him than he paid to moſt other Men.

When the Chancellor ſpoke of making *Windham* Secretary, the King did not own the having promiſed to do it, but "That he intended to do it: The Chancellor ſaid, "He was "glad he had not promiſed it; and that he hoped, he would "never do it: that he was an honeſt Gentleman, but in no "degree qualified for that Office. He put him in mind of Secretary *Nicholas*, who was then there to preſent his Duty to him; "That he was a Perſon of ſuch known affection and "honeſty, that he could not do a more ungracious thing than "to paſs Him by. The King ſaid, "He thought Secretary "*Nicholas* to be a very honeſt Man; but he had no title to "that Office more than another Man: that Mr *Windham* had "not any experience in that Employment, but that it de- "pended ſo much upon forms, that he would quickly be in- "ſtructed in it: that he was a very honeſt Man, for whom "he had never done any thing, and had now nothing elſe to "give him but this place; for which he doubted not but, in "a ſhort time, he would make himſelf very fit. All that the Chancellor could prevail with his Majeſty, was to ſuſpend the doing it for ſome time, and that he would hear him again upon the Subject, before he took a final Reſolution. For the reſt, he promiſed "To ſpeak upon ſome particulars with the "Queen, and to live with her with all kindneſs and free- "dom that ſhe might be in good humour. But he heard Her, and all others, very unwillingly, who ſpoke againſt Mr *Windham*'s Parts for being Secretary of State.

One day the Lord *Cottington*, when the Chancellor and ſome others were preſent, told the King very gravely (according to his cuſtom, who never ſmiled when he made others merry) "That he had an humble Suit to him, on the "behalf of an old Servant of his Father's, and whom, he aſ- "ſured him upon his knowledge, his Father lov'd as well as "he did any Man of that condition in *England*; and that he "had been for many years one of his Falconers; and he did "really believe him to be one of the beſt Falconers in *Eng-* "*land*; and thereupon enlarged himſelf (as he could do very well, in all the terms of that Science) to ſhew how very skil-

skilful he was in that Art. The King asked him, "What he "would have him do for him? *Cottington* told him, "It was "very true that his Majesty kept no Falconers, and the poor "Man was grown old, and could not Ride as he had used "to do; but that he was a very honest Man, and could Read "very well, and had as audible a voice as any Man need to "have; and therefore besought his Majesty, "That he would "make him his Chaplain; which speaking with so composed a Countenance, and somewhat of earnestness, the King looked upon him with a smile to know what he meant; when He, with the same gravity, assured him, "The Falconer was "in all respects as fit to be his Chaplain, as Colonel *Windham* "was to be Secretary of State; which so surprised the King, who had never spoken to him of the matter, all that were present being not able to abstain from laughing, that his Majesty was somewhat out of Countenance: and this being merrily told by some of the Standers by, it grew to be a story in all Companies, and did really divert the King from the purpose, and made the other so much ashamed of pretending to it, that there was no more discourse of it.

WHILST all Endeavours were used to compose all ill humours here, that the King might prosecute his intended Voyage for *Ireland*, there came very ill news from *Ireland*. Assoon as the Marquis of *Ormond* was arriv'd, as hath been said before, the Confederate Catholicks, who held their Assembly, as they had always done, at *Kilkenny*, sent Commissioners to him to Congratulate his Arrival, and to enter upon a Treaty of Peace, that they might all return to their Obedience to the King. But the inconstancy of that Nation was such, that, notwithstanding their experience of the ruin they had brought upon themselves by their falling from their former Peace, and notwithstanding that themselves had sent to *Paris* to importune the Queen and the Prince to send the Marquis of *Ormond* back to them, with all promises and protestations that they would not insist upon any unreasonable Concessions; now he was come upon their invitation to them, they made new demands in point of Religion, and insisted upon other things, which if he should consent to, would have irreconciled all the *English*, who were under the Lord *Inchiquin*, upon whom his principal confidence was placed: By this means so much time was spent, that the Winter passed without any agreement; whereby they might have advanc'd against the Parliament Forces, which were then weak, and in want of all manner of Supplies, whilst the distractions continu'd in *England* between the Parliament and the Army, the divisions in the Army, and the prosecution of the King; during

An account of the affairs in Ireland *after the Marquis of* Ormond's *arrival there.*

during which the Governours there had work enough to look to themſelves; and left *Ireland* to provide for it ſelf: and if that unfortunate People would have made uſe of the advantages that were offer'd, that Kingdom might indeed have been entirely Reduced to the King's Obedience.

THAT the Lord Lieutenant might even compel them to preſerve themſelves, he went himſelf to *Kilkenny*, where the Council ſate, about *Chriſtmas*, after three months had been ſpent from his arrival, that no more time might be loſt in their Commiſſioners coming and going, and that the Spring might not be loſt as well as the Winter. And at laſt a Peace was made and concluded; by which, againſt ſuch a day, the Confederate Catholicks oblig'd themſelves, "To bring into "the Field, a body of Horſe and Foot, with all proviſions "for the Field, which ſhould be at the diſpoſal of the Lord "Lieutenant, and to march as he ſhould appoint. The Treaty had been drawn out into the more length, in hope to have brought the whole Nation to the ſame agreement. And the General Aſſembly, to which they all pretended to ſubmit, and from which all had receiv'd their Commiſſions, as hath been ſaid, ſent to *Owen O Neile*, who remain'd in *Ulſter* with his Army, and came not himſelf to *Kilkenny*, as he had promis'd to have done, upon pretence of his Indiſpoſition of health. He profeſs'd "To ſubmit to whatſoever the General Aſſembly "ſhould determine: but when they ſent the Articles, to which they had agreed, to be ſign'd by him, he took ſeveral exceptions, eſpecially in matters of Religion; which he thought was not enough provided for; and in the end, poſitively declar'd "That he would not ſubmit, or be bound by them: and at the ſame time he ſent to the Marquis of *Ormond*, "That he "would treat with him apart, and not concern himſelf in what "the Aſſembly reſolv'd upon.

THE truth is, there was nothing of Religion in this contention; which proceeded from the Animoſity between the two Generals, *O Neile* and *Preſton*, and the bitter Faction between the old *Iriſh* and the other, who were as much hated by the old, as the *Engliſh* were; and laſtly, from the Ambition of *Owen O Neile*; who expected ſome Conceſſions to be made to him in his own particular, which would very much have offended and incenſed the other Party, if they had been granted to him: ſo that the Aſſembly was well pleaſed to leave him out, and concluded the Peace without him.

HEREUPON the Lord Lieutenant uſed all poſſible endeavours that the Army might be form'd, and ready to march in the beginning of the Spring. And though there was

was not an appearance anſwerable to their promiſe, yet their Troops ſeem'd ſo good, and were ſo numerous, that he thought fit to march towards *Dublin*; and, in the way, to take all Caſtles and Garriſons, which were poſſeſs'd by the Parliament: in which they had very good Succeſs. For many of the Parliament Soldiers having ſerv'd the King, they took the firſt opportunity, upon the Marquis of *Ormond*'s approach within any diſtance, to come to him; and by that means ſeveral places Surrender'd likewiſe to him. Colonel *Monk*, who had formerly ſerv'd the King, and remain'd, for the ſpace of three or four years, Priſoner in the Tower, had been at laſt prevailed with by the Lord *Liſle* to ſerve the Parliament againſt the *Iriſh*; pleaſing himſelf with an opinion that he did not therein ſerve againſt the King. He was at this time Governour of *Dundalk*, a Garriſon about thirty miles from *Dublin*; which was no ſooner ſummon'd (*Tredagh*, and thoſe at a nearer diſtance, being taken) but he was compell'd by his own Soldiers to deliver it up; and if the Officer who Commanded the Party which Summon'd him, had not been his Friend, and thereby hoped to have reduced him to the King's Service, his Soldiers would have thrown him over the Walls, and made their own conditions afterwards; and moſt of that Garriſon betook themſelves to the King's Service.

UPON all theſe Encouragements, before the Troops were come up to make the Army as numerous as it might have been, the Marquis was perſwaded to block up *Dublin* at a very little diſtance; having good reaſon to hope, from the ſmallneſs of the Garriſon, and a Party of well affected People within the Town, that it would in a ſhort time have been given up to him. In the mean time, he uſed all the means he could to haſten the *Iriſh* Troops, ſome whereof were upon their march, and others not yet raiſed, to come up to the Army. By all their Letters from *London* (with which, by the way of *Dublin*, and the Ports of *Munſter*, there was good Intelligence) they underſtood, that there were fifteen hundred, or two thouſand Men ſhipp'd for *Ireland*: and the wind having been for ſome time againſt their coming for *Dublin*, there was an apprehenſion that they might be gone for *Munſter*: whereupon the Lord *Inchiquin*, who was not confident of all his Garriſons there, very unhappily departed with ſome Troops of Horſe to look after his Province; there being then no cauſe to apprehend any ſally out of *Dublin*, where they were not in a condition to look out of their own Walls. But he was not gone above two days, when the Wind coming fair, the Ships expected, came into the Port of *Dublin*; and

The Marquis of Ormond *blocks up* Dublin.

The Lord Inchiquin *departs from him for* Munſter.

Recruits land at Dublin *from* England.

and landed a greater number of Soldiers, especially of Horse, than was reported; and brought the News that *Cromwell* himself was made Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and intended to be shortly there with a very great supply of Horse and Foot. This Fleet that was already come, had brought Arms, and Cloaths, and Money, and Victuals; which much exalted the Garrison and the City; which presently turn'd out of the Town some of those who were suspected to wish well to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and imprison'd others. The second day after the arrival of the Succour, *Jones*, who had been a Lawyer, and was then Governour of *Dublin*, at Noon-day, march'd out of the City, with a Body of three thousand Foot, and three or four Troops of Horse, and fell upon that Quarter which was next the Town; where they found so little resistance that they adventur'd upon the next; and in short so disorder'd the whole Army, one half whereof was on the other side the River, that the Lord Lieutenant, after he had, in the head of some Officers whom he drew together, Charg'd the Enemy with the loss of many of those who follow'd him, was at last compell'd to draw off the whole Army, which was so discomfited, that he did not think fit to return them again to their Posts, till both the Troops which he had were refresh'd, and composed, and their Numbers encreased by the Levies which ought to have been made before, and which were now in a good forwardness.

Jones sallies out of Dublin, *and beats the Marquis of* Ormond's *Army.*

It may be remember'd, that the general Insurrections in the last Year, the revolt of the Navy, and the Invasion of the *Scots*, encouraged and drawn in by the Presbyterian Party, had so disturb'd and obstructed the Counsels both in the Parliament, and in the Army, that nothing had been done in all that year towards the relief of *Ireland*, except the sending over the Lord *Lisle* as Lieutenant, with a Commission that was determin'd at the end of so many Months, and which had given so little relief to the *English*, that it only discover'd more their weakness, and animosity towards each other, than obstructed the *Irish* in making their progress in all the parts of the Kingdom; and the more confirm'd the Lord *Inchiquin*, to pursue his Resolution of serving the King, and receiving the Marquis of *Ormond*, how meanly soever attended, and to unite with the *Irish*; the perfecting of which conjunction, with so general a success, brought so great reproach upon the Parliament, with reference to the loss of *Ireland*, that the noise thereof was very great: So that *Cromwell* thought it high time, in his own Person, to appear upon a Stage of so great Action. There had been always Men enough to be spar'd out of the Army to have been sent upon that Expedition, when the

Cromwell *made Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland.

the other difficulties were at higheſt; but the conducting it then was of that importance, that it was, upon the matter, to determine which power ſhould be ſuperior, the Presbyterian or the Independent. And therefore the one had ſet up and deſign'd *Waller* for that command; and *Cromwell*, againſt Him and that Party, had inſiſted, that it ſhould be given to *Lambert*, the ſecond Man of the Army, who was known to have as great a deteſtation of the Presbyterian power, as he had of the Prerogative of the Crown: and the Conteſts between the two Factions, which of theſe ſhould be ſent, had ſpent a great part of the laſt year, and of their Winter Counſels. But now, when all the Domeſtick differences were compos'd by their ſucceſſes in the field, and the bloody proſecution of their civil Counſels, ſo that there could be little done to the diſturbance of the Peace of *England*, and when *Waller*'s Friends were ſo ſuppreſs'd, that he was no more thought of, *Cromwell* began to think that the committing the whole Government of *Ireland*, with ſuch an Army as was neceſſary to be ſent thither, was too great a Truſt even for his beloved *Lambert* himſelf, and was to leſſen his own power and authority, both in the Army which was commanded by *Fairfax*, and in the other, that, being in *Ireland*, would, upon any occaſion, have great influence upon the Affairs of *England*. And therefore, whilſt there appear'd no other obſtructions in the relief of *Ireland* (which was every day loudly call'd for) than the determining who ſhould take that Charge, ſome of his Friends, who were always ready upon ſuch occaſions, on a ſuddain propos'd *Cromwell* Himſelf the Lieutenant General, to conduct that Expedition.

CROMWELL himſelf was always abſent when ſuch Overtures were to be made; and whoever had propos'd *Lambert*, had propos'd it as a thing moſt agreeable to *Cromwell*'s deſire; and therefore, when they heard *Cromwell* Himſelf propoſed for the ſervice, and by thoſe who they were ſure intended him no affront, they immediately acquieſced in the Propoſition, and look'd upon the change as a good expedient: on the other ſide, the Presbyterian party was no leſs affected, and concluded that it was only a trick to defer the ſervice, and that he never did intend to go thither in Perſon; or that if he did, his abſence from *England* would give them all the advantages they could wiſh, and that they ſhould then recover entirely their General *Fairfax* to their Party; who was already much broken in Spirit upon the concurrence he had been drawn to, and declar'd ſome bitterneſs againſt the Perſons who had led him to it. And ſo in a moment both Parties were agreed, and *Oliver Cromwell* elected and declar'd to be Lord Lieute-

nant of *Ireland*, with as ample, and independent a Commiſſion, as could be prepar'd.

CROMWELL, how little ſurpriſed ſoever with this deſignation, appear'd the next day in the Houſe full of confuſion and irreſolution; which the natural temper, and compoſure of his underſtanding could hardly avoid, when he leaſt deſir'd it; and therefore, when it was now to his purpoſe, he could act it to the life. And after much heſitation, and many expreſſions of "His own unworthineſs, and diſability to ſupport "ſo great a Charge, and of the entire reſignation of himſelf "to Their commands, and abſolute dependence upon God's "providence and bleſſing, from whom he had receiv'd many "Inſtances of his Favour, he ſubmitted to their good will and "pleaſure; and deſir'd them "That no more time might be loſt "in the preparations which were to be made for ſo great a "Work; for he did confeſs that Kingdom to be reduced to "ſo great ſtreights, that he was willing to engage his own "Perſon in this expedition, for the difficulties which ap-"pear'd in it; and more out of hope, with the hazard of his "life, to give ſome obſtructions to the ſucceſſes which the Re-"bels were at preſent exalted with (for ſo he call'd the Marquis of *Ormond*, and all who joyn'd with him) "That ſo the Com-"mon-Wealth might retain ſtill ſome footing in that King-"dom, till they might be able to ſend freſh Supplies, than out of any expectation, that, with the ſtrength he carried, he "ſhould be able, in any ſignal degree, to prevail over them.

He provides forces for his going thither.

IT was an incredible expedition that he uſed from this minute after his aſſuming that Charge, in the raiſing of Money, providing of Shipping, and drawing of Forces together, for this enterpriſe. Before he could be ready himſelf to march, he ſent three thouſand Foot and Horſe to *Milford* Haven, to be Tranſported, aſſoon as they arriv'd there, to *Dublin*; all things being ready there for their Tranſportation; which Troops, by the contrary Winds, were conſtrain'd to remain there for many days. And that cauſed the report in *Ireland*, by the intelligence from *London*, that *Cromwell* intended to make a deſcent in *Munſter*; which unhappily divided the Lord *Inchiquin*, and a good Body of his Men from the Lord Lieutenant, as hath been ſaid, when he march'd towards *Dublin*. Nor did the Marquis of *Ormond* in truth at that time intend to have march'd thither with that expedition, until his Army ſhould be grown more numerous, and more accuſtom'd to diſcipline, but the wonderful ſucceſſes of thoſe Troops, which were ſent before, in the taking of *Trim*, *Dundalk*, and all the out Garriſons, and the invitation and intelligence he had from within *Dublin*, made him unwilling to loſe any more time,

time, since he was sure that the crosness of the Wind only hinder'd the arrival of those Supplies, which were design'd thither out of *England*: and the arrival of those Supplies, the very day before his coming before *Dublin*, enabled the Governour thereof to make that Sally which is mention'd before; and had that Success which is mention'd.

THE Marquis of *Ormond*, at that time, drew off his whole Army from *Dublin* to *Tredagh*, where he meant to remain till he could put it into such a posture, that he might prosecute his farther design. And a full account of all these particulars met *Cromwell* at his arrival at *Milford* Haven, when he rather expected to hear of the loss of *Dublin*, and was in great perplexity to resolve what he was then to do. But all those clouds being dispersed, upon the news of the great success his Party had that he had sent before, he deferr'd not to Embark his whole Army, and, with a very prosperous Wind, arriv'd at *Dublin* within two or three days after the Marquis of *Ormond* had retired from thence; where he was receiv'd with wonderful Acclamation; which did not retard him from pursuing his active resolutions, to improve those advantages had already befallen him. And the Marquis of *Ormond* was no sooner advertised of his arrival, than he concluded to change his former resolution, and to draw his Army to a greater distance, till those Parties which were marching towards him from the several Quarters of the Kingdom, might come up to him; and in the mean while to put *Tredagh* into so good a posture, as might entertain the Enemy, till he might be able to relieve them. And so he put into that place, which was looked upon, besides the strength of the Situation, to be in a good degree fortified, the flower of his Army, both of Soldiers, and Officers, most of them *English*, to the number of three thousand Foot, and two or three good Troops of Horse. provided with all things; and committed the charge and command thereof to Sr *Arthur Aston*, who hath been often mention'd before, and was an Officer of great name and experience, and who at that time made little doubt of defending it against all the power of *Cromwell*, for at least a Month's time. And the Marquis of *Ormond* made less doubt, in much less time to relieve and succour it with his Army; and so retired to those parts where he had appointed a Rendezvous for his new Levies.

Cromwell arrives at Dublin.

THIS News coming to St *Germain's*, broke all their Measures, at least as to the Expedition: the resolution continued for *Ireland*; but it was thought fit that they should expect another account from thence, before the King begun his Journey; nor did it seem counsellable that his Majesty should

This News delays the King's Voyage into Ireland.

venture to Sea whilſt the Parliament Fleet commanded the Ocean, and were then about the Coaſt of *Ireland*; but that he ſhould expect the Autumn, when the Seaſon of the year would call home, or diſperſe the Ships. But where to ſtay ſo long was the Queſtion; for it was now the Month of *Auguſt*, and as the King had receiv'd no kind of civility from *France*, ſince his laſt coming, ſo it was notorious enough that his abſence was impatiently deſir'd by that Court; and the Queen, who found her ſelf diſappointed of that Dominion which ſhe had expected, reſolv'd to merit from the Cardinal by freeing him from a Gueſt that was ſo unwelcome to them, though he had not been in any degree chargeable to them; and ſo was not at all ſollicitous for his longer ſtay. So his Majeſty conſider'd how he ſhould make his departure; and, upon looking round, he reſolv'd, that he would make his Journey through *Normandy*, and Embark himſelf for his Iſland of *Jerſey*; which ſtill continued under his obedience, and under the Government of Sr *George Carteret*, who had in truth the power over the place, though he was but the Lieutenant of the Lord *Jermyn*; who, in thoſe ſtreights the King was in, and the great plenty he himſelf enjoyed, was wonderfully jealous that the King's being there would leſſen ſome of the profit, which he challenged from thence; and therefore, when it was found, in order to the King's Support, whilſt he ſhould ſtay there, neceſſary to ſell ſome of the King's Demeſnes in that Iſland, the yearly rent whereof uſed to be receiv'd by that Lord towards the diſcharge of the Garriſon there, he inſiſted, with all poſſible importunity, "That ſome of the Money "which ſhould be raiſed upon that Sale, ſhould be paid to "Him, becauſe his receipt, for the time to come, would not "remain ſo great as it had been formerly: and though this demand appear'd ſo unjuſt, and unreaſonable, that the Council could not admit it, yet he did prevail with the King in private, to give him ſuch a Note under his hand, as enabled him to receive a good Sum of Money, after the return of his Majeſty into *England*, upon that conſideration. This Reſolution being taken for *Jerſey*, the King ſent to the Prince of *Orange*, "That he would cauſe two Ships of War to ride in "the rode before St *Maloes* (which they might do without notice) "and that he might have a Warrant remain in his "hands, by which the Ships might attend his Majeſty, when "he ſhould require them; which they might do in very few hours; and in theſe he meant to Tranſport himſelf, aſſoon as it ſhould be ſeaſonable, into *Ireland*. Theſe Ships did wait his pleaſure there accordingly.

FRANCE had too good an excuſe at this time for not giving

giving the King any assistance in Money, which he might expect, and did abundantly want, by the ill condition their own Affairs were in. Though the Sedition which had been raised in *Paris* the last Winter, was at present so much appeased by the Courage, and Conduct of the Prince of *Condè* (who brought the Army, which he commanded in *Flanders*, with so great Expedition before *Paris*, that the City yielded to reason) so that his most Christian Majesty, the Queen his Mother, and the whole Court, were at this present there; yet the wound was far from being closed up. The Town continued still in ill humour; more of the great Men adher'd to them than had done before; the Animosities against the Cardinal increased, and, which made those Animosities the more terrible, the Prince of *Condè*, who surely had merited very much, either unsatisfied, or not to be satisfied, broke his Friendship with the Cardinal, and spoke with much bitterness against him: So that the Court was far from being in that Tranquillity, as to concern it self much for the King our Master, if it had been otherwise well inclined to it.

The Affairs of France whilst the King was at Paris.

All things standing thus, about the middle of *September*, the King left St *Germain's*, and begun his Journey towards *Jersey*; and the Queen, the next day, remov'd from thence to *Paris* to the *Louvre*. The two Embassadours for *Spain* waited upon her Majesty thither, having nothing now to do but to prepare themselves for their Journey to *Spain*, where they longed to be, and whither they had sent for a Pass to meet them at St *Sebastian's*, and that they might have a House provided for them at *Madrid*, against the time they should come thither: both which they recommended to an *English* Gentleman, who liv'd there, to sollicite, and advertise them in their Journey of the temper of that Court.

The King leaves St Germain's and goes towards Jersey.

They thought it convenient, since they were to desire a Pass to go from *Paris* into *Spain*, that they should wait upon the Queen Mother of *France*, and the Cardinal; and likewise upon the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Condè*; who were then in a Cabal against the Court. The Prince of *Condè* spoke so publickly, and so warmly against the Cardinal, that most People thought the Cardinal undone; and he himself apprehended some attempt upon his Person; and therefore had not in many days gone out of his House, and admitted few to come to him, and had a strong guard in every Room; so that his fear was not dissembled.

In this so general disorder, the Embassadours declined any formal Audiences; for which their Equipage was not suitable: so the Lord *Cottington* went privately to the Queen Regent, who receiv'd him graciously, and desired him "To

"recommend her very kindly to her Brother the King of "*Spain*, without enlarging upon any thing elſe. From Her he went to the Duke of *Orleans*, whom he found in more diſorder; and when the Embaſſadour told him, "He came to "know whether he had any Service to command him into "*Spain*, the Duke, who ſcarce ſtood ſtill whilſt he was ſpeaking, anſwer'd aloud, "That he had nothing to do with *Spain*; and ſo went haſtily into another Room; and the Lord *Cottington* then withdrew. They intended both to have gone together to the Prince of *Condè*, and to the Cardinal. But when they ſent to the Prince, he wiſely, but with great Civility, ſent them word, "That they could not be ignorant of "the diſorder that Court was in, and of the jealouſies which "were of him; and therefore deſired them "To excuſe him, "that he did not ſee them.

THE Cardinal appointed them a time; and accordingly they met, and conferr'd together about half an hour, the Lord *Cottington* ſpeaking *Spaniſh*, and the Cardinal and He conferring wholely in that Language. The Cardinal acknowledg'd the apprehenſion he was in, in his looks; and took occaſion in his diſcourſe to mention "The unjuſt diſpleaſure "which Monſieur *le Prince* had conceiv'd againſt him. He ſeem'd earneſtly to deſire a Peace between the two Crowns; and ſaid, "That he would give a pound of his Blood to ob-"tain it; and deſir'd the Embaſſadours "To tell *Don Lewis* "*de Haro* from him, that he would with all his heart meet "him upon the Frontiers; and that he was confident, if "they two were together but three hours, they ſhould com-"poſe all differences: which Meſſage he afterwards diſavow'd, when *Don Lewis* accepted the motion, and was willing to have met him. When they took their leave of him, he brought them to the top of the Stairs in diſorder enough, his Guards being very circumſpect, and ſuffering no ſtranger to approach any of the Rooms.

The Lord Cottington *and the Chancellor begin their journey for* Spain, *and arrive at* Bourdeaux.

THEY begun their Journey from *Paris* upon *Michaelmas* day, and continu'd it, without reſting one day, till they came to *Bourdeaux*; which was then in Rebellion againſt the King. The City and the Parliament had not only ſent ſeveral complaints, and bitter invectives againſt the Duke of *Eſpernon*, their Governour, for his Acts of Tyranny in his Government, but had preſum'd, in order to make his Perſon the more ungracious, to aſperſe his life and manners with thoſe reproaches which they believ'd would moſt reflect upon the Court. And the truth is, their greateſt Quarrel againſt him was, that he was a faſt Friend to the Cardinal, and would not be divided from his Intereſt. They had driven the Duke out

out of the Town, and did not only desire the King "That "he might no more be their Governour; but that his Ma- "jesty would give the Government to the Prince of *Condè*; which made their complaints the less consider'd as just. And it was then one of the most avow'd exceptions that Prince had against the Cardinal, that he had not that Government upon the Petition of *Bourdeaux*, since he offer'd to resign his of *Burgundy*, which was held to be of as much Value, to accommodate and repair the Duke of *Espernon*. At *Blay*, the Embassadours were visited by the Marshal of *Plessy Prasslin*, who had been sent by the Court to treat with the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, but could bring them to no reason, they positively insisted upon the remove of their old Governour, and conferring the Command upon the Prince. When they came to *Bourdeaux* they found the *Château Trompette*, which still held for the King, shooting at the Town, the Town having invested it very close, that no Succour could be put into them, the Duke of *Espernon* being at his House at *Cadilliac*, from whence his Horse every day infested the Citizens when they stirr'd out of the Town. Here the Embassadours were compell'd to stay one whole day, the disorders upon the River, and in the Town, not suffering their Coaches and Baggage to follow them so soon as they should have done. They were here visited by some Counsellors, and Presidents of the Parliament; who profess'd duty to their King, but irreconcilable hatred to the Duke of *Espernon*; against whom they had publish'd several Remonstrances in Print, and dedicated them to the Prince of *Condè*. After a days rest there, which was not unwelcome to them, they continu'd their Journey to *Bayonne*; and arriv'd, upon the twentieth day from their leaving *Paris*, at the *Taio*; where they took Boat, and in an hour or two arriv'd at *Girona*. The next day they went by the River to *Passage*, and when they came out of their Boats, which were row'd by Women, according to their Privilege there, they found Mules, sent from St *Sebastian*'s to carry them thither. About half a Mile from the Town they were met by the Governour of *Guipuscoa*, *Don Antonio de Cardinas*, an old Soldier, and a Knight of the Order, the *Corregidor* and all the Magistrates of St *Sebastian*'s, and the *English* Merchants which Inhabited there; and were Conducted by the Governour to one of the best Houses in the Town, which was provided for their reception; where they no sooner were, than the Governour, and the rest of the Magistrates took their leave of them.

They had not been half an hour in their Lodging, conferring with the *English* Merchants, about conveniences to

proſecute their Journey, when the *Corregidor* came to them, and deſired to ſpeak with them in private, and after ſome compliment and apology, he ſhew'd them a Letter, which he had receiv'd from the Secretary of State; the contents whereof were, "That when the Embaſſadours of the Prince "of *Wales* ſhould arrive there, they ſhould be receiv'd with "all reſpect; but that he ſhould find ſome means to perſwade "them to ſtay and remain there, till he ſhould give the "King notice of it, and receive his farther pleaſure. And at the ſame time an *Engliſh* Merchant of the Town, who had told them before, that he had Letters from *Madrid* for them, and had gone home to fetch them, brought them a Pacquet from Sr *Benjamin Wright*; who was intruſted by them to ſollicite at *Madrid* for their Paſs, and for a Houſe to be prepared for them. In this Letter their Paſs was incloſed, under the ſame Style, as Embaſſadours from the Prince of *Wales*; which he had obſerv'd upon the place, and deſir'd to have it mended, but could procure no alteration, nor could he obtain any Order for the providing a Houſe for them; but was told, "That it ſhould be done time enough. This was an unexpected mortification to them; but they ſeem'd not to be troubled at it, as if they had intended to ſtay there a Month, to refreſh themſelves after their long Journey, and in expectation of other Letters from the King their Maſter. The *Corregidor* offer'd to ſend away an Expreſs the ſame Night, which they accepted of; and writ to *Don Lewis de Haro*, "That the King their Maſter had ſent them his Embaſſadours "to his Catholick Majeſty, upon Affairs of the higheſt Im"portance: that they were come ſo far on their way, but "had, to their great wonder, met there with a ſignification "of that King's pleaſure, that they ſhould ſtay and remain "there, till they ſhould receive his Majeſty's farther Orders; "which troubled them not ſo much, as to find themſelves "ſtyled the Embaſſadours of the Prince of *Wales*, which they "thought very ſtrange, after his Catholick Majeſty had ſent "an Embaſſadour to the King their Maſter before they left "him: they deſired therefore to know, whether their Per"ſons were unacceptable to his Catholick Majeſty, and if "that were the Caſe, they would immediately return to their "Maſter; otherwiſe, if his Majeſty were content to receive "them, they deſir'd they might be treated in that manner as "was due to the Honour and Dignity of the King their Ma"ſter. And they writ to Sr *Benjamin Wright*, to attend "*Don Lewis*, and if he found that they were expected at "*Madrid*, and that they reform'd the Errors they had com"mitted, he ſhould then uſe thoſe importunities, which were

"neceſſary

"neceſſary for the providing a Houſe for them againſt they "ſhould come.

THOUGH the Court was then full of buſineſs, being in daily expectation of their new Queen; who was landed, and at that time within few days Journey of *Madrid*; yet the very next day after the Letter was deliver'd to *Don Lewis de Haro*, he return'd an Anſwer full of civility, and imputed the error that was committed, to the negligence, or ignorance of the Secretary; and ſent them new Paſſes in the proper Style; and aſſured them, "That they ſhould find a very "good welcome from his Majeſty. And Sr *Benjamin Wright* ſent them word, "That he had receiv'd the Warrant for the "providing the Houſe; and the Officer, to whom it was di-"rected, had called upon him to view two or three Houſes; "and that *Don Lewis* told him, that aſſoon as he had found "a Houſe that pleaſed him, Orders ſhould be given to the "King's Officers of the Wardrobe to furniſh it; and then "when the Embaſſadours came, there ſhould be one of the "King's Coaches to attend them whilſt they ſtaid. Here-upon they made haſte in their Journey, with ſome ſatisfaction and confidence that they ſhould find a Court not ſo hard to treat with, that could begin to receive them with ſo bare faced and form'd an Affront, and then ſo eaſily recede from it with weak Apologies. And it was plain enough, that they heartily wiſh'd that they had not come; and imagin'd that this might put them to return again, and then were aſhamed of their own Expedient, and being preſſed, choſe rather to decline than avow it: So unnatural a thing it is for that Court to ſtoop to any ugly Action, without doing it ſo ungraciouſly, as to confeſs it in their own Countenance, and quickly receding from it.

Their Paſſes are ſent to them.

IT was about the middle of *November* when they left St *Sebaſtian's*, the Weather yet continuing fair; and a Gentleman of Quality of the Country was appointed to accompany them out of the juriſdiction of *Guipuſcoa*, which was to the City of *Victoria*; and from thence they enter'd into *Caſtile*. When they came to *Alcavendas*, within three Leagues of *Madrid*, they ſent to Sr *Benjamin Wright* to know what Houſe was provided for them: he came to them, and told them, "All things were in the ſame ſtate they were when he writ "to them to St *Sebaſtian's*; that though *Don Lewis* gave him "very good words, and ſeem'd much troubled and angry "with the Officers that the Houſe was not ready, and the "Officers excuſed themſelves upon the jollities the Town "was in during the *Fieſtas*, which were held every day for "the Queen's arrival, that no body could attend any particu-

"lar

"lar affair, yet it was evident there was not that care taken "from the Court that there ought to have been, and that "*Don Alonzo de Cardinas* from *England* had done the Em- "baſſadours all the ill offices poſſible, as if their good recep- "tion in *Spain* would incenſe the Parliament, and make them "more propitious to *France*, which valued it ſelf upon having "driven all the Royal Family from thence.

UPON this new Mortification, they writ again from thence to *Don Lewis*, to deſire "That they might not be put to ſtay "there for want of a Houſe, and ſo be expoſed to contempt. Nor were they accommodated in that place in any degree. He always Anſwer'd their Letters with great punctuality, and with courteſy enough, as if all things ſhould be ready by the next day. The *Engliſh* Merchants, who reſided at *Madrid*, came every day to viſit them, but ſtill brought them word, that there was no appearance of any proviſion made to receive them; ſo that, after a weeks ſtay in that little Town, and ill accommodation, they accepted the civil offer and invitation, which Sr *Benjamin Wright* made them, of repoſing themſelves *incognito* in his Houſe; which would only receive their Perſons with a *Valet de Chambre* for each; and the reſt of their family was quarter'd in the next adjacent Houſes for the reception of Strangers; ſo they went privately in the Evening into *Madrid* in Sr *Benjamin Wright*'s Coach, and came to his Houſe: and if, by His generoſity, they had not been thus accommodated, they muſt have been expoſed to reproach and infamy, by the very little reſpect they receiv'd from the Court. This Sr *Benjamin Wright* was a Gentleman of a good Family in *Eſſex*; and, being a younger Brother, had been bred a Merchant in *Madrid*; where he had great buſineſs, and great reputation; and, having married a Wife of the Family of *Toledo*, was become a perfect *Spaniard*, not only in the Language, but in the generous part of their Nature and Cuſtoms.

They go into Madrid incognito; *and lodge at firſt at Sir* Benjamin Wright's *Houſe.*

THE Court well enough knew of their Arrival, but took no notice of it. The Lord *Cottington* therefore ſent to *Don Lewis*, to deſire that he might have a private Audience of him *incognito*; which he preſently conſented to, and appointed, the next Morning, to meet in the King's Garden; which was at ſuch a diſtance from the Court, that it was not in the view of it. There they met at the hour: *Don Lewis* was a Man of little ceremony, and uſed no flouriſhes in his diſcourſes, which made moſt Men believe that he ſaid all things from his heart; and he ſeem'd to ſpeak ſo cordially, that the Lord *Cottington*, who was not eaſy to be impoſed upon, did think that they ſhould have a Houſe very ſpeedily, and

and that he had a good inclination to favour them in what they came about. He ſpoke with more commotion than was natural to him, in the buſineſs of the Murther of the King; excuſed all the omiſſions towards the Embaſſadours; "Which "ſhould be repair'd out of hand, after the few days, which "yet remain'd to be ſpent in *Fieſtas* for the Queen; during "which time, he ſaid, no Officers would obey any Orders that "diverted them from the ſight of the Triumphs; and wiſh'd "that the Embaſſadours would ſee the Maſquerade that After-"noon, and the *Toros* the Day following.

THE Lord *Cottington* return'd home very well ſatisfied; and had not been half an hour in the Houſe, when a Gentleman came from *Don Lewis* to invite the Embaſſadours to ſee thoſe Exerciſes, which were mention'd before; and ſent them word that there ſhould be places provided for them. The Chancellor went that Afternoon to the place aſſign'd, where he ſaw the Maſquerade, and the running of the Courſe, and, afterwards, the *Toros*.

AT the running of the Courſe, the King and *Don Lewis* run ſeveral Courſes, in all which *Don Lewis* was too good a Countier to win any prize, though he always loſt it by very little. The appearance of the People was very great, and the Ladies in all the Windows made a very rich ſhew, otherwiſe the ſhew it ſelf had nothing wonderful. Here there happen'd to be ſome ſuddain ſharp words between the *Admirante* of *Caſtile*, a haughty young Man, and the Marquis *de Liche*, the eldeſt Son of *Don Lewis de Haro*; the which being taken notice of, they were both diſmiſſed the Squadrons wherein they were, and committed to their Chambers.

AT the Entertainment of the *Toros* there was another accident, the mention whereof is not unfit to ſhew the diſcipline, and ſeverity of that Nation in the obſervation of order. It was remember'd, that at the Maſquerade, the *Admirante* and the Marquis of *Liche* were ſent to their Chambers: and afterwards, the matter being examin'd, they were both commanded to leave the Town, and retire each to a Houſe of his own, that was within three or four Leagues of the Town. The Marquis of *Liche* was known to have gone the next day, and no body doubted the ſame of the *Admirante*, thoſe orders being never diſputed or diſobey'd. The King as he was going to the *Toros*, either himſelf diſcern'd at another Balcony, or ſome Body elſe advertiſed him of it, that the Ducheſs, who was Wife to the *Admirante*, was, there; and ſaid, "He knew that Lady was a Woman of more "Honour than to come out of her Houſe, and be preſent at "the

"the *Fiesta*, whilst her Husband was under restraint, and in "his Majesty's displeasure; and therefore concluded that her Husband was likewise there; and thereupon sent an *Alguazil* to that Room, with command to examine carefully with his Eye, whether the *Admirante* was there; for there appear'd none but Women. The *Admirante* being a young rash Man, much in the King's favour, and a Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, thought he might undiscern'd see the Triumph of that day; and therefore caused himself to be dress'd in the habit of a Lady, which his age would well bear, and forced his Wife to go with him; who exceedingly resisted his Commands, well knowing to what reproach she exposed her own honour, though she had no fear of his being discover'd. The *Alguazil* brought the King word, that he was very sure that the *Admirante* was there, in the habit of a Woman, and sat next his Wife among many other Ladies. Whereupon the King sent the Officer to apprehend him in the habit he was in, and to carry him to the Officer's own House. And assoon as the King return'd to the Palace, there was an Order that the *Alguazil* should the next Morning carry the *Admirante* to *Valladolid*, four days Journey from *Madrid* to a House of his own there; where he was confin'd not to go out of the limits of that City; and under this restraint remain'd for the space of full three years: So penal a thing it is amongst that People, for any Man, of how great Quality soever (there was not in *Spain* a Man of greater than the *Admirante* of *Castile*) to disobey, or elude the judgment of the King.

The King remains several months in Jersey.

It may be thought impertinent to the work in hand, to make a digression upon this Embassy, and to enlarge upon many circumstances which occurr'd in it, of the formality and constitution of that Court, of the nature and humour of that People, which may seem forreign to the affairs of *England*. But since the King, after his leaving *Paris*, remain'd in *Jersey* for many Months, waiting such a revolution as might administer an opportunity and occasion to quit that retirement, in all which time there was no Action, or Counsel to be mention'd, and this being the first, and the only Embassy, in which his Majesty's Person was represented, until his blessed return into *England* (for though some other Persons were afterwards sent to other Princes, with Commissions to perform that function, if they found Encouragement so to do, yet none assum'd that Character, nor were treated as such in any Court in Christendom, *Spain* only excepted) it may therefore be reasonably thought not improper in this History, to give such a relation of this Negotiation

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that it may appear what ſenſe ſo great a Court as that of *Spain* had of thoſe Revolutions in *England*, and of the deplorable Condition to which this young innocent Prince was reduced, when it was fully preſſed to them in the moſt efficatious terms poſſible; and every circumſtance of their Reception, and Treatment, may ſerve to illuſtrate thoſe particulars; and therefore we ſhall proceed farther in the relation of them.

An account of the Embaſſadour's Audience.

BEFORE their Audience, *Don Lewis de Haro* ſent them word of the Impriſonment of the Prince of *Condè*, the Prince of *Conty*, and the Duke of *Longueville*, and that Marſhal *Turin* had made his Eſcape into *Flanders*; the news whereof gave the *Spaniſh* Court much trouble; for they had promiſed themſelves a better Harveſt from that Seed, which they had carefully and induſtriouſly Sown, and that thereby the Cardinal, whom they perfectly hated, would have been totally ſuppreſſed, and all his power entirely taken from him; which, they concluded, would forthwith produce a Peace, which was not leſs deſir'd in *France* than in *Spain*; or that thoſe Princes, and all their Dependents, would have appear'd in Arms in that Kingdom; by which the *Spaniards* ſhould be able to recover much of what they had loſt in *Flanders*; the hopes of either of which appear'd now blaſted by this unexpected revival of the Cardinal's power.

UPON the day aſſign'd for the Audience, it being reſolv'd that when they had ended with the King, they ſhould likewiſe have one of the Queen, *Don Lewis de Haro* ſent Horſes to their Lodging, for the accommodation of the Embaſſadours, and their Servants: it being the faſhion of that Court, that the Embaſſadours ride to their firſt Audience. And ſo they rode, being attended by all their own Servants, and all the *Engliſh* Merchants who liv'd in the Town, together with many *Iriſh* Officers who were in the Service of his Catholick Majeſty, all on Horſeback; ſo that their Cavalcade appear'd very fair, all the Coaches of other Embaſſadours likewiſe following them. In this manner they came to the Court about ten of the Clock in the Morning, being Conducted by an Officer, who had been ſent to their Lodging, and rode with them to the Court.

THROUGH ſeveral Rooms, where there was only one Officer, who attended to open and ſhut the doors, they came to the Room next that where his Majeſty was; where, after a little ſtay, whilſt their Conductor went in and out, they found the King ſtanding upright, with his back againſt the Wall, and the Grandees at a diſtance, in the ſame poſture, againſt the Wall. When they had made their ſeveral reſpects,

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and came to the King, he lightly mov'd his Hat, and bid them cover: The Lord *Cottington* ſpoke only general things, "Of "the confidence the King had in his Majeſty's kindneſs, and "that He believ'd his condition ſuch, as that all the Kings of "the World were concern'd to vindicate the wrong He ſu- "ſtain'd: That this was the firſt Embaſſy he had ſent, relying "more upon the Honour of his Majeſty's Nature and Genero- "ſity, than upon any other Prince; with diſcourſes of the ſame nature: Then they preſented their Credentials.

THE King expreſſed a very tender Senſe of our King's condition, and acknowledged, "That it concern'd all Kings to "joyn together for the puniſhment of ſuch an Impious Rebel- "lion and Parricide; and if his own Affairs would permit "it, he would be the firſt that would undertake it; but that "they could not but know how full his Hands were; and "whilſt he had ſo powerful an Adverſary to contend with, "he could hardly defend himſelf; but that when there ſhould "be a Peace with *France* (which he deſired) "the King, his "*Sobrino* (for ſo he ſtill call'd the King, his Nephew) "ſhould "find all he could expect from him; in the mean time he "would be ready to do all that was in his power towards his "aſſiſtance and relief. After the formal part was over, the King asked many Queſtions, moſt with reference to his Siſter, the Queen of *France*; and diſcourſed very intelligently of every thing; ſo that his defects proceeded only from the lazi- neſs of his mind, not from any want of underſtanding; and he ſeem'd then, when he was about eight and forty years of Age, to have great vigour of Body, having a clear ruddy Complection; yet he had been accuſtom'd to Fevers from his Debauches with Women, by which he was much waſted.

FROM the King they were Conducted to the Queen; who uſed very few words, and ſpoke ſo low that ſhe could ſcarce be heard; ſhe ſtood, in the ſame manner the King did, againſt a Wall, and her Ladies on both ſides as the Grandees did; the *Infanta* at a little diſtance from her, to whom likewiſe they made a Compliment from their Maſter. The Queen was then about eighteen years of Age, not Tall, round Faced, and inclined to be fat. The *Infanta* was much Lower, as ſhe ought to be by her Age, but of a very lovely Complection, without any help of Art, which every one elſe in the Room, even the Queen her ſelf, was beholding to: and ſhe was then the full- eſt of Spirit and Wit of any Lady in *Spain*, which ſhe had not improv'd afterwards, when ſhe had more years upon her.

They have an Houſe aſſign'd them. Their Audience ended, they return'd; and at laſt they had a Houſe provided for them in the *Calle de Alcala*, belonging to the

the Marquis of *Villa Magna*, to whom the King paid four hundred pounds Sterling by the year.

THE Council of State at this time conſiſted of *Don Lewis de Haro*, the Duke *de Medina de los Torres*, Duke *de Mounterey*, Marquis of *Caſtille Roderigo*, Marquis *de Vall-Periſo*, the *Conde* of *Caſtrilio*, and *Don Franciſco de Melo*; there were no more reſiding in that Court then; the Duke *de Medina Celi* reſiding conſtantly at his Government of St *Lucar*, the Marquis of *Leganez* being General againſt *Portugal*, and ſo remaining at *Badajoz*, and coming ſeldom to *Madrid*, and the Duke of *Arcos* ſtood confin'd to his Houſe, ſince the defection of *Naples* when it was under his Government; and the *Conde de Pignoranda* was not yet come out of *Flanders*.

The Character of Don Lewis de Haro.

DON *Lewis* was as abſolute a Favourite in the Eyes of his Maſter, had as entire a diſpoſal of all his Affections and Faculties, as any Favourite of that Age: Nor was any thing tranſacted at home, or abroad, but by his direction and determination: And yet of all the Favourites of that, or any other time, no Man ever did ſo little alone, or ſeem'd leſs to enjoy the delight and empire of a Favourite. In the moſt ordinary occurrences, which, for the difficulty, required little Deliberation, and in the nature of them required Expedition, he would give no Order without formal Conſultation with the reſt of the Council; which hinder'd diſpatch, and made his Parts the more ſuſpected. He was Son of the Marquis of *Carpio*, who had Married the Siſter of *Olivarez*, and had been put about the Perſon of the King, being about the ſame Age with his Majeſty, and had ſo grown up in his Affection, and was not thought to have been diſpleaſed at the diſgrace of his Uncle, but rather to have contributed to it, though he did not ſucceed in the place of Favourite in many years, nor ſeem'd to be concern'd in any buſineſs till after the death of the then Queen, and was rather drawn into it by the violence of the King's Affection, who had a great kindneſs for his Perſon, than by the Ambition of his own Nature, or any delight in buſineſs. His Education had not fitted him for it, and his natural Parts were not ſharp, yet his Induſtry was great, and the more commendable, becauſe his Nature had ſome repugnancy to it, and his Experience had ſo fitted him for it, that he never ſpoke impertinently, but diſcourſed reaſonably and weightily upon all Subjects. He was of a Melancholick Complection; which it may be, was the reaſon that he did not truſt himſelf to himſelf, which was his defect. He ſeem'd to be a very honeſt, and well natur'd Man, and did very rarely manifeſt his power in Acts of oppreſſion, or hard-heartedneſs; which made him grateful

grateful to moſt particular Men, when he was hated enough by the generality. His Port and Grandeur was very much inferior to that of either of the *French* Cardinals, the laſt of which was Favourite during his Adminiſtration. Nor did he affect Wealth as They did, not leaving a Fortune behind him much improv'd by his own induſtry: yet it cannot be denied, that the Affairs of *Spain* declined more, in the time they were under his Government, than at any time before; and that leſs was done with the conſumption of ſo much Money, than might have been expected. But it muſt be likewiſe conſider'd, that he enter'd upon that Adminiſtration in a very unhappy conjuncture, after the loſs of *Portugal*, and the defection in *Catalonia*, which made ſuch a rent in that Crown, as would have required more than an ordinary States-man to have repair'd, and make it flouriſh as before.

Of the Conde *of* Pignoranda.

THE Embaſſadours had not been long at *Madrid*, when the *Conde* of *Pignoranda* return'd thither from his Negotiation in the Treaty of *Munſter*. He had been declar'd to be of the Council of State, after he had made that Peace with *Holland*, and was admitted to it aſſoon as he return'd. He was *Conde* in the right of his Wife only; and before, being of a good Family, *Don Diego de Brachamonte*, and bred in the ſtudy of the Law, was looked upon as a good Man of buſineſs, and ſo imploy'd in matters of greateſt Truſt. He was indeed a Man of great Parts, and underſtood the Affairs of the World better than moſt in that Court. He was Proud to the height of his Nation, and retain'd too much of the Pedantry which he had brought with him from *Salamanca*. Aſſoon as he return'd, according to the method of that Court upon great and ſucceſful Employments, the Preſidentſhip *De los Ordines*, an Office of great Reputation, becoming void, it was the very next day conferr'd upon him. The Embaſſadours found no benefit by his Arrival, coming from *Bruſſels*, which was throughly infected by *Don Alonzo*. The truth is, *Don Alonzo*, who had no Affection for the King, upon the memory of ſome diſobligations when he firſt came over into *England*, and liked well his Imployment, and Reſidence there, uſed all the endeavours imaginable to have the King's Condition thought to be irrecoverable and deſperate, and that therefore all Civilities extended towards him were caſt away, and would yield no fruit, and that the Commonwealth was ſo eſtabliſhed, that it could never be ſhaken. So that *Spain* thought only how to make a firm Friendſhip there, and to forget that there ever had been a King of *England*, in the confidence that there would be no more. And therefore

fore when the Embaſſadours, after all Ceremonies were over, had a private Audience of the King, and deſir'd, "That he "would appoint Commiſſioners, with whom they might "treat about the renewing the Alliance between the two "Crowns, which had been provided for by the laſt Treaty "to be renew'd within ſo many Months after the death of "either King, and with whom they might likewiſe confer "upon ſuch relief in Arms, and Money, as his Catholick "Majeſty would think proper to ſend to their Maſter into "*Ireland* (whither one of the Embaſſadours deſired to haſten his Journey aſſoon as might be; and in that Memorial, which they then deliver'd to his Catholick Majeſty, they had deſired likewiſe "That he would write to *Owen O Neile* "to diſpoſe him to ſubmit to the King) they receiv'd ſhortly after an Anſwer, ſent to them by *Don Franciſco de Melo*, who told them, "That the King had ſent him to them, to confer "with them upon the ſubſtance of their laſt Memorial. He "ſaid, the King did not think it neceſſary to appoint any "Committee to renew the laſt Treaty of Peace; which was "ſtill in force, and might well be obſerv'd between the two "Nations; and that the renewing might be deferr'd till the "times ſhould mend; implying very little leſs than that when the King ſhould be in *England*, it would be a fit time to renew their Alliance. He ſaid, "He was ready to receive "any Propoſitions from them, wherein they might more "particularly ſet down their deſires, if they were ready to de- "part; and for writing to *Owen O Neile* (whom he called *Don Eugenio*) "He had ſo misbehaved himſelf towards his "Catholick Majeſty, by leaving his Service in *Flanders*, and "tranſporting himſelf into *Ireland* without his Licenſe, that "his Majeſty could not in Honour write to him; but that "he would take ſuch care, that he ſhould know it would be "agreeable to his Majeſty's good liking, that he betook him- "ſelf to the Service of the King of Great *Britain* without "reſerve; which he did believe would diſpoſe him to it: which Method the Embaſſadours conceiv'd was propoſed, becauſe they ſhould believe that the *Spaniard* had no hand in ſending him into that Kingdom, or in fomenting the Rebellion there; whereas at the ſame time *Don Diego de la Torre* was with the *Iriſh* as Reſident or Envoy from *Spain*.

The Embaſſadours private Audience and Demands.

The Anſwer they receive.

THIS Anſwer was evidence enough to them, how little they were to expect from any avow'd Friendſhip of that Crown, though they ſtill thought they might be able to obtain ſome little favour in private, as Arms, and Ammunition, and a ſmall ſupply of Money for the King's Subſiſtence, that could hardly be taken notice of. And therefore the

Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was design'd by the King to attend him in *Ireland*, expected only to hear that he was arriv'd there; till when, he could not present his Memorial so particularly as was demanded, nor prepare himself for his Voyage thither: and so they rested for some time without giving the Court any farther trouble by Audiences.

Prince Rupert comes upon the coast of Spain.

Now whilst they were in this impatient Expectation to hear from the King their Master, who yet remain'd at *Jersey*, by which they might take their own resolutions, Prince *Rupert* came upon the coast of *Spain* with the Fleet under his Command; which he had brought from *Ireland*; and had sent a Letter on Shore to be sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; which the Officer upon the place, sent presently to *Don Lewis de Haro*; who, in the same moment, sent it to him with a very civil salutation. The Prince writ him word, "That he had brought away all the Fleet from "*Ireland*, and that he had receiv'd an Assurance from *Portu-*
His Letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.
"*gal*, that he should be very welcome thither; upon which "he was resolv'd, after he had attended some days to meet "with any *English* Ships that might be prize, to go for *Lis-*"*bon*; and desir'd him to procure Orders from the Court, "that he might find a good reception in all the Ports of "*Spain*, if his occasions brought him thither. The Embassadours sent immediately for an Audience to *Don Lewis*; who receiv'd them with open Arms, and another kind of Countenance than he had ever done before. A Fleet of the King of *England*, under the Command of a Prince of the Blood, upon the Coast of *Spain*, at a Season of the year when they expected the return of their Galeons from the Indies, made a great consternation amongst the People, and the Court receiv'd the news of it with disorder enough. All that the Embassadours asked, was granted without hæsitation; and Letters were dispatched away that very Night (Copies whereof were sent to the Embassadours) by several Expresses, to all the Governours of the Ports, and other Officers, for the good reception of Prince *Rupert*, or any Ships under his Command, if they came into any of the Ports; and for the furnishing them with any Provisions they should stand in need of, with as many friendly Clauses as could have been inserted if the King had been in possession of his whole Empire: so great an influence a little appearance of Power had upon their Spirits; and the Embassadours found they liv'd in another kind of Air than they had done, and receiv'd every day Visits and Caresses from the Court, and from those in Authority.

BUT the Government of these benign Stars was very short: Within few days after, they receiv'd News, "That the Prince "with the gross of his Fleet, was gone into the River of "*Lisbon*, and that a Squadron of four or five Ships, under "the Command of Captain *Allen*, being sever'd from the "Prince by a Storm, was driven upon the Rocks at *Carta-* "*gena*; where the People of the Country had treated them "very rudely, and seised both upon the Ships, and Persons of "the Men, and the Storm continuing had wrecked two or "three of their Vessels in the Road, though the Guns and "all things in the Ships were saved. When the Embassa- dours demanded Justice, "And that restitution might be made "of all those Goods, and Ordnance, and rigging of the Ships, "which not only the People, but the Governours, and Of- "ficers themselves had seised upon, they were receiv'd with much more cloudy looks than before; nor was there the same Expedition in granting what they could not deny. Orders were at last given for the setting all the Men at liberty, and redelivery of the Goods, that thereby they might be enabled to mend their Vessels and Transport their Men.

The Prince with the gross of his Fleet goes into the River of Lisbon.

BUT as these Orders were but faintly given, so they were more slowly executed; and a stronger Fleet set out by the Parliament of *England* then appear'd upon the Coast, which came into the Road of St *Andero's*; from whence the Commander in chief writ a very insolent Letter in *English* to the King of *Spain*; wherein he requir'd, "That none of those "Ships under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, which had re- "volted from the Parliament, and were in Rebellion against "it, might be receiv'd into any of the Ports of *Spain*, and that "those Ships which were in the Ports of *Cartagena*, might be "deliver'd to him, and the Ordnance and tackling of the other "which were wrecked, might be carefully kept, and be de- "liver'd to such Person as should be authoriz'd to receive the "same by the Common-wealth of *England*; to whom they "belong'd: and concluded, "That as the Common-wealth of "*England* was willing to live in Amity, and good Intelligence with his Catholick Majesty, so they knew very well how "to do themselves right for any injury, or discourtesy, which "they should sustain.

The chief Commander of the Parliament's Fleet comes on the Spanish *Coast. His Letter to the King of* Spain.

THIS imperious style made such an Impression upon the Court, that all the importunity the Embassadours could use, could get nothing done at *Cartagena* in pursuance of the Orders they had sent from the Court; but the poor Men were, after long attendance, forced to Transport themselves as they were able; and two or three hundred of them march'd over Land, and were compell'd to List themselves in the *Spanish*

Service at Land; where they, for the moſt part periſh'd; care being in the mean time taken, that the Parliament Fleet ſhould be receiv'd in all places, with all poſſible demonſtration of reſpect and kindneſs; and the King ſent a Ring of the value of fifteen hundred pounds to the Commander. In This Triumph he Sail'd from thence into *Portugal*, and dropped his Anchors in the River of *Lisbon*, at a very ſmall diſtance from the Fleet of Prince *Rupert*; and ſuffer'd not any Ship to enter into that River; but denounced War againſt that Kingdom, if that Fleet were not preſently deliver'd up into his hands.

He ſails into the River of Lisbon. *Requires Prince* Rupert's *Fleet to be deliver'd up.*

THE *Portugueze* had receiv'd Prince *Rupert* very civilly, bought all the Prizes he had brought thither, gave him the free uſe of all their Ports, and furniſh'd him with all things he ſtood in need of. The Queen, and the Prince of *Portugal* then living, who was a young Man of great hope and courage, made great profeſſions of Friendſhip to our King, and of a deſire to aſſiſt him by all the ways and means which could be propoſed to them. But when their River was block'd up, their Ships taken, and the whole Kingdom upon the matter beſieged by the Parliament Fleet, of which they knew the *Spaniard* would quickly make uſe, the Council was aſtoniſh'd, and knew not what do do: their free Trade with *England* was not only their profit, but their reputation; and if they ſhould be depriv'd of that, they ſhould not be able to preſerve it any where elſe; which would put the whole Kingdom into a flame; and therefore they beſought their King, "that Prince "*Rupert* might be deſir'd to leave the River, and to carry "his Fleet from thence; which was not poſſible for him to do without fighting with the Enemy, to whom he was much inferior in ſtrength of Shipping, and number of Men, by the loſs he had ſuſtain'd at *Cartagena*.

THE Prince of *Portugal* had ſo great indignation at this overture made by the Council, that he declar'd "He would "have all the Ships in the Port made ready, and would him-"ſelf go on Board, and joyn with Prince *Rupert*, and fight the "*Engliſh*, and drive them from thence: and he manifeſted a great deſire to do ſo; but the Council prevail'd with the Queen not to conſent to that. So in the end, after ſome Months ſtay there, and the Fleet being fully ſupplied with whatever it ſtood in need of, Prince *Rupert* found it neceſſary, upon the aſſurance the *Portugueze* gave him that the other Fleet ſhould not follow him till after two Tides, to ſet Sail and leave that Kingdom; which he did with ſo full a Gale, that the Parliament's Commander, after ſo long a ſtay, found it to no purpoſe to follow him; but took full vengeance upon *Portu-*

Prince Rupert *eſcapes out of the River of* Lisbon *with his Fleet.*

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gal for reſcuing his Prey, from him; until they were compell'd, after great Sufferings, to purchaſe their peace from *Cromwell* upon very hard conditions.

It ſeem'd no good ſign to the Embaſſadours that Prince *Rupert* had left *Ireland*; where there were ſo many good Ports and where the Fleet had been ſo neceſſary for the carrying on his Majeſty's Service. But, in a ſhort time after, they received advertiſement, "That the King had laid aſide his purpoſe of going thither, and had taken new reſolutions. Before the Marquis of *Ormond* could draw his Army together, *Cromwell* had beſieg'd *Tredagh*: and though the Garriſon was ſo ſtrong in point of number, and that number of ſo choice Men, that they could wiſh for nothing more than that the Enemy would attempt to take them by ſtorm, the very next day after he came before the Town, he gave a general Aſſault and was beaten off with conſiderable loſs. But, after a day more, he Aſſaulted it again in two places, with ſo much courage, that he enter'd in both; and though the Governour and ſome of the chief Officers retir'd in diſorder into a Fort, where they hoped to have made conditions, a panick fear ſo poſſeſs'd the Soldiers, that they threw down their Arms upon a general offer of Quarter; ſo that the Enemy enter'd the Works without reſiſtance, and put every Man, Governour, Officer, and Soldier, to the Sword; and the whole Army being enter'd the Town, they executed all manner of cruelty, and put every Man that related to the Garriſon, and all the Citizens who were *Iriſh*, Man, Woman, and Child, to the Sword; and there being three or four Officers of Name, and of good Families, who had found ſome way, by the humanity of ſome Soldiers of the Enemy, to conceal themſelves for four or five days, being afterwards diſcover'd they were butcher'd in cold blood.

The affairs of Ireland *at this time.*

Tredagh taken by ſtorm.

This inſupportable loſs took away all hopes from the Marquis of *Ormond* of drawing an Army ſtrong enough, and reſolute enough, together, to meet *Cromwell* in the field, during the Summer, which was drawing to an end; and obliged him to retire into thoſe Quarters, where, in reſpect of the ſtrong Paſſes, he might be ſecure, and from whence might attempt upon the Enemy. *Cromwell* in the mean time took no reſt, but having made himſelf terrible by that exceſs of rigour and cruelty, march'd into *Munſter* againſt the Lord *Inchiquin*, and that Body of *Engliſh* which was under His Command. Here he defied Fortune again; and march'd ſo far out of the places devoted to him, and from whence he had any reaſonable hope to receive Supplies, that he muſt neceſſarily have been ſtarv'd, and could not have retir'd, all the Bridges over which

Cromwell marches into Munſter.

His success there.

which he had pass'd being broken down, if the City of *Cork*, which he could not have forced, had not been by the Garrison basely deliver'd up to him; those Officers who had been most obliged to the Lord *Inchiquin*, and in whom he had most confidence, unworthily betraying him, and every day forsaking him: so that by the Example of *Cork*, and by the terrour of *Tredagh*, the whole Province of *Munster*, in a very short time fell into *Cromwell*'s hands, except some few Towns and Sea Ports, which, being Garrison'd by the *Irish*, would, neither Officers nor Soldiers, receive or obey any Orders which were sent from the Lord of *Ormond*. The King receiving information of this at *Jersey*, gave over the thought very reasonably of adventuring himself into *Ireland*; and dismiss'd the two Ships, which by the direction of the Prince of *Orange*, had attended so long at St *Malo*'s, to have wafted him thither.

The King gives over the thought of going into Ireland.

THOUGH Duke *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and the other *Scotish* Lords, who remain'd in *Holland* when the King came into *France*, durst not return into their own Country, yet they held Intelligence with their Party there. And though the Marquis of *Argyle* had the sole power, yet he could not extinguish the impatient desire of that whole Nation, to have their King come to them. And every day produced instances enough, which inform'd him, how the affections of the People were generally disposed, and upon how slippery ground himself stood, if he were not supported by the King; and that the Government, he was then possess'd of, could not be lasting, except he had another Force to defend him, than that of his own Nation. And he durst not receive any from *Cromwell*, who would willingly have assisted him, for fear of being entirely deserted by all his Friends, who had been still firm to him. Hereupon he thought of drawing the King into *Scotland*, and keeping the *Hamiltonian* Faction from entring with him, by the Sentence that was already against them, and to oblige the King to submit to the Covenant, and all those other obligations which were at that time establish'd; and if his Majesty would put himself into his hands upon those conditions, he should be sure to keep the power in himself under the King's name, and might reasonably hope that *Cromwell*, who made no pretence to *Scotland*, might be well enough pleased that his Majesty might remain there under his Government, and Assurance, that he should not give *England* or *Ireland* any disturbance.

Argyle designs to invite the King into Scotland:

Provides, that a Message be sent to his Majesty to Jersey *upon the old Conditions.*

UPON this presumption, he wish'd the Council of *Scotland*, and that Committee of the Parliament in whom the Authority was vested, to send again to the King (who, they thought,

thought, by this time, might be weary of *Jerſey*) to invite him to come to them upon the old conditions; and by gratifying them in this particular, which all the People did ſo paſſionately deſire, he renew'd all the ſolemn obligations they had been before bound in, never to admit the King to come amongſt them, but upon his firſt ſubmitting to, and performing all thoſe conditions. All things being thus ſettled, and agreed, they ſent a Gentleman with Letters into *Jerſey*, to invite his Majeſty again to come into his Kingdom of *Scotland*, not without a rude inſinuation that it was the laſt invitation he ſhould receive. The *Scotiſh* Lords, who are mention'd before to be then in *Holland*, were glad of this advance; and believ'd that if the King were there, they ſhould eaſily find the way home again. And therefore they prevail'd with the Prince of *Orange*, to write very earneſtly to the King, and to recommend it to the Queen; and themſelves made great inſtance to the Queen, with whom they had much credit, "That the King would not loſe this opportunity to im-"prove his condition. No body preſum'd to adviſe him to ſubmit to All that was propos'd; and yet it was evident, that if he did not ſubmit to All, he could have the benefit of none; but "That he ſhould make ſuch an Anſwer as "might engage the *Scots* in a Treaty, for the King's better "information, and ſatisfaction in ſome particulars: which "being done, he ſhould imply a purpoſe to Tranſport his "Perſon thither.

THE Spring was now coming on, and though *Jerſey* was a convenient place to retire to, in order to conſider what was next to be done, yet it was not a place to reſide in, nor would be longer ſafe, than whilſt the Parliament had ſo much elſe to do, that it could not ſpare wherewithal to reduce it. The deſign for *Ireland* was at an end, and the deſpair of being welcome in any other place, compell'd the King to think better of *Scotland*, and ſo, according to the advice he had receiv'd, he return'd an Anſwer to the Meſſage from *Scotland*, "That there were many particulars contain'd in the Propoſitions "which he did not underſtand, and which it was neceſſary "for him to be adviſed in; and in order thereunto, and that "he might be well inform'd and inſtructed in what ſo near-"ly concern'd him, he reſolv'd, by ſuch a time, which was "ſet down, to find himſelf in *Holland*; where he deſir'd to "meet ſuch Perſons as his Kingdom of *Scotland* would ſend "to him, and to confer, and treat, and agree with thoſe upon "all things that might give his Subjects of that Kingdom ſa-"tisfaction; which his Majeſty did very much deſire to "do.

The King's Anſwer, "That he "would "have a "Treaty "with them "in Hol-"land.

THE Queen had ſo good an opinion of many of the *Scotiſh* Lords, and ſo ill a one of many of the *Engliſh* who were about the King (in truth, ſhe had ſo entire a deſpair of all other ways) that ſhe was very deſirous that the overtures from *Scotland* ſhould be hearken'd to, and embraced: beſides that ſhe found her Authority was not ſo great with the King, as ſhe expected, ſhe ſaw no poſſibility of their being long together: She knew well that the Court of *France*, that grew every day into a cloſer correſpondence with *Cromwell*, would not endure that the King ſhould make his Reſidence in any part of that Kingdom, and ſo ſhorten'd the Aſſignations which they had made for her own ſupport, that ſhe was at no eaſe, and begun to think of diſſolving her own Family, and of her own retiring into a Monaſtery; which from that time ſhe practiſed by degrees: and, no doubt, that conſideration which made moſt impreſſion upon the King, as it had done upon his Father, and terrified him moſt from complying with the *Scots* demands, which was the alteration it would make in Religion, and the Government of the Church, ſeem'd not to Her of moment enough to reject the other conveniencies; nor did ſhe prefer the order, and decency of the Church of *England*, before the ſordidneſs of the Kirk of *Scotland*, but thought it the beſt expedient to advance her own Religion, that the latter ſhould triumph over the former. She therefore writ earneſtly to the King her Son, "That he would en-"tertain this motion from *Scotland*, as his only refuge; and "that he would invite Commiſſioners to meet him in *Holland*, "in ſuch a place as the Prince of *Orange* ſhould adviſe; and deſir'd that, "In his paſſage thither, he would appoint ſome "place where her Majeſty would meet him; that they might "ſpend ſome days together in conſultation upon what might "concern them joyntly. In all which his Majeſty complying, the City of *Beauvais* in *Picardy* was appointed for the interview; where both their Majeſties met, and converſed together three or four days; and then the Queen return'd to *Paris*, and the King paſs'd through *Flanders* to *Breda*; which the Prince of *Orange* thought to be the fitteſt place for the Treaty, the States having no mind that the King ſhould come any more to the *Hague*.

The Queen adviſes the King to agree with the Scots *upon their terms.*

Their Majeſties meet at Beauvais.

The King goes to Breda.

THE *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners came to *Breda* with the very ſame Propoſitions which had been formerly ſent, and without the leaſt mitigation, and as poſitive an exception to Perſons: ſo that if the King ſhould incline to go thither, he muſt go without any one Chaplain of his own: there were Miniſters ſent from *Scotland* to attend, and to inſtruct him. His Majeſty muſt not carry with him any one Counſellor, nor any Perſon

The Scotiſh Commiſſioners come to Breda, *and the terms they bring.*

Perſon who had ever ſerv'd his Father in the War againſt the Parliament, without taking the Covenant. And, that no body might have cauſe to complain, if they did go thither, that they were worſe treated than they had reaſon to expect, the King himſelf, and all who ſhould attend upon him, were firſt to ſign the Covenant before they ſhould be admitted to enter into the Kingdom. Very fair warning indeed: nor could any Man juſtly except againſt any thing that was afterwards done to him.

HERE was no great Argument for conſultation: no Man had ſo ill an underſtanding, as not to diſcern the violence that was offer'd to Honour, Juſtice, and Conſcience; yet whoever objected againſt what was propoſed, upon any of thoſe conſiderations, was look'd upon as a Party, becauſe he himſelf could not be ſuffer'd to attend the King. It was thought to be of great Weight, that they who diſſwaded the King from going into *Scotland*, upon thoſe rude and barbarous terms, could not propoſe any thing elſe for him to do, nor any place where he might ſecurely repoſe himſelf with any hope of ſubſiſtence: a very ſad State for a Prince to be reduced to, and which made it manifeſt enough, that the Kings of the Earth are not ſuch a Body as is ſenſible of the Indignity, and Outrage, that is offer'd to any Member of it. The *Scotiſh Hamiltonian* Lords were thought to be the moſt competent Counſellors, ſince They, by going, were to be expoſed to great rigour, and to undergo the ſevereſt part of all Cenſures. They could not ſit in the Parliament, nor in the Council, and knew well that they ſhould not be ſuffer'd to be about the Perſon of the King: yet all theſe reſolv'd to wait upon him, and perſwaded him to believe, "That his "Majeſty's preſence would diſſipate thoſe Clouds; and that "a little time would produce many alterations, which could "not be preſently effected. For his Majeſty's ſigning the Covenant, "He ſhould tell the Commiſſioners, that he would "defer it till he came thither, that he might think better of "it; and that if then the Kirk ſhould preſs it upon him, he "would give them ſatisfaction. And they were confident, "that after he ſhould be there, he ſhould be no more immpor-"tuned in it, but that even the Church-men themſelves "would contend to make themſelves gracious to him.

THIS kind of Argumentation wrought much with the Prince of *Orange*, but more with the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had waited upon the King from the time of his Adventure with the Earl of *Holland* (againſt whoſe Perſon there was no exception) and with *Wilmot*, and *Wentworth*, (who reſolv'd to go with his Majeſty, and would ſubmit to any conditions, which

which would be required of them) and with others about the King, who could not digeſt the Covenant; yet the hope that it would not be required from them, and the many promiſes thoſe *Scotiſh* Lords made to them, who were like to grow into Authority again when they ſhould be once in their native Air and upon their own Soil, prevailed with them to uſe all their Credit with the King to Embark himſelf, and try how propitious Fortune would be to him in *Scotland*. In the end, a faint hope in that, and a ſtrong deſpair of any other expedient, prevailed ſo far with his Majeſty, that he reſolv'd, upon what terms ſoever, to Embark himſelf, in *Holland*, upon a Fleet which the Prince of *Orange* provided for him; and ſo with all the *Scotiſh*, and very few *Engliſh* Servants, to ſet Sail for *Scotland*.

The King reſolves for Scotland.

THERE were two very ſtrong Arguments, which made deep impreſſion on thoſe Lords who very vehemently diſſwaded, and ever proteſted againſt his Majeſty's going for *Scotland*, and which, as it often falls out in matters of the higheſt importance, they could not make uſe of to convert others, eſpecially in the place and company in which they were to urge them. The firſt, "That the Expedition of Duke "*Hamilton* the year before, with an Army as numerous, and "much better furniſh'd, and provided, than *Scotland* could in "many years be again enabled to ſend out, made it maniſeſt "enough, how little that Nation, how united ſoever, could "prevail againſt the force of *England*: The other, "That the "whole and abſolute power of *Scotland* being, at that time, "confeſſedly veſted in the Marquis of *Argyle*, it might rea-"ſonably be fear'd, and expected, that the King ſhould no "ſooner arrive there, and the leaſt appearance be diſcover'd "of ſuch reſolutions, or Alteration in the Affections of the "People, upon which the *Hamiltonian* Faction wholely and "ſolely depended, but *Argyle* would immediately deliver up "the Perſon of the King into the hands of *Cromwell*; and "with the Aſſiſtance He would willingly give, make that "Kingdom Tributary or Subſervient to him, whilſt the King "remain'd his Priſoner, and *Argyle* continued his Vice-gerent "in *Scotland*. No doubt theſe objections had too much weight in them not to be thought worthy of Apprehenſion, by many Men, who were not blinded with paſſion, or amazed with deſpair: and though they were not able to give any other Council, what Courſe the King might ſteer with reaſonable hope and ſecurity, they might yet warrantably diſſwade his expoſing himſelf to ſo many viſible dangers as that Voyage was ſubject to both at Sea and Land; and might prudently believe, that the enjoying the empty title of King, in what

Arguments of ſome Lords againſt the King's going to Scotland.

what obſcurity ſoever, in any part of the world, was to be preferr'd before the empty name of King in any of his own Dominions; which was the beſt that could reaſonably be expected from the conditions which were impoſed upon him; to which he was compell'd to ſubmit.

DURING this time, when the Embaſſadours who were in *Spain*, expected every day to hear of his Majeſty's being ariv'd in *Ireland*, and had thereupon importuned that Court for a diſpatch, the King gave them notice of this his reſolution, and directed them "To remain where they were, till "he could better judge of his own Fortune. They were extremely troubled, both of them having always had a ſtrong averſion that the King ſhould ever venture himſelf in the hands of that Party of the *Scotiſh* Nation, which had treated his Father ſo perfidiouſly. And they were now neceſſitated to ſtay there, where they had receiv'd ſo little Encouragement, and had no reaſon to expect more. They therefore reſolv'd to ſet the beſt face they could upon it, and deſired an Audience from the King: in which they told his Catholick Majeſty, "That they had receiv'd Letters from the King "their Maſter; who commanded them to inform his Majeſty, "who, he knew well, would be glad to hear of any good "fortune that befel him, that it had now pleaſed God to work "ſo far upon the hearts and affections of his Subjects of *Scot-*"*land*, that they had given over all thoſe Factions and A-"nimoſities, which had heretofore divided them, and made "them rather Inſtruments of miſchiefs, than benefit to his "bleſſed Father, and to himſelf: that they were now ſenſi-"ble of all thoſe Miſcarriages, and had ſent unanimouſly to "intreat his Majeſty to come into that Kingdom, and to take "them all into his Protection; with which his Majeſty was "ſo well ſatisfied, that he had laid aſide the thought of tranſ-"porting himſelf into *Ireland*; which he had intended to "do; and was gone into *Scotland*, where the Kingdom was "entirely at his devotion, and from whence he could viſit "*England*, or *Ireland*, as he found it moſt convenient: and "that he had reaſon to believe, that his friends in either of "the Kingdoms, would quickly appear in Arms, when they "were ſure to be ſo powerfully aſſiſted, and ſeconded. And they ſaid, "They would, from time to time, inform his Ma-"jeſty of the good ſucceſs that ſhould fall out. The King profeſſed "To be very glad of this good News; and that "they ſhould aſſure the King their Maſter, that he would be "always ready to make all the demonſtration of a Brotherly "Affection that the ill condition of his own Affairs would "permit, and that, if it pleaſed God to give a Peace to the "two

The two Embaſſadours in Spain *had Order from the King to ſtay where they were.*

They acquaint the King of Spain *with their Maſter's reſolution for* Scotland.

The King of Spain's *Anſwer to them.*

"two Crowns, the world ſhould ſee how forward he would "be to revenge the wrong, and indignity the King of great "*Britain* had undergone.

THOUGH the Embaſſadours themſelves were afflicted with the News of his Majeſty's being gone for *Scotland*, upon the too much knowledge they had of the treachery of that Faction there, yet they found his Majeſty was much the more eſteem'd in this Court by it. He was before looked upon as being diſpoſſeſſed, and diſinherited of all his Dominions, as if he had no more Subjects than thoſe few who were baniſh'd with him, and that there was an entire defection in all the reſt. But now that he was poſſeſſed of one whole Kingdom, in which no Man appear'd in Arms againſt him, a Kingdom which had been famous for many warlike Actions, and which always bred a very warlike People, which had borne good parts in all the Wars of *Europe* in this Age, and had been celebrated in them, was a happy advance, and adminiſter'd reaſonable hope that he might be eſtabliſh'd in the other two Kingdoms, in one of which he was thought to have a good, and was known to have a numerous Army on Foot at that very time: ſo that the Embaſſadours were much better look'd upon than they had been; and when they made any complaints of injuries done to any of the *Engliſh* Merchants who liv'd in the Ports of *Spain*, as they had ſometimes occaſion to do, upon Taxes and Impoſitions laid upon them, contrary to the Treaties which had been made, and which they ſaid were ſtill in force, they were heard with reſpect; the Merchants were reliev'd; and many favours were done to particular Perſons upon their deſires and interpoſition: ſo that they were not ſo much out of Countenance as they had been, and all Men ſpoke with more freedom and deteſtation againſt the Rebellion in *England*, and the barbarity thereof, than they had uſed to do.

THERE fell out at this time, and before the King left *Holland*, an acident of ſuch a prodigious nature, that, if Providence had not, for the reproach of *Scotland*, determin'd that the King ſhould once more make experiment of the courage and fidelity of that Nation, could not but have diverted his Majeſty from that Northern Expedition; which, how unſecure ſoever it appear'd to be for the King, was predeſtinated for a greater chaſtiſement and mortification of that People, as it ſhortly after prov'd to be. When the King had left *Holland*, the Summer before, and intended only to make *France* his way to *Ireland*, he had given his Commiſſion to the Marquis of *Mountroſe*, to gather ſuch a force together, as by the help of the Northern Princes he might be enabled

to

to do. Upon which the Marquis, who was naturally full of great thoughts, and confident of Succeſs, ſent ſeveral Officers who had ſerv'd in *Germany*, and promiſed very much, to draw ſuch Troops together as they ſhould be enabled to do, and himſelf, with a great Train of Officers and Servants, went for *Hamburg*, which he appointed for the Rendezvous for all theſe Troops, and from whence he could in the mean time viſit ſuch Courts of the Neighbour Princes and States, as he ſhould be encouraged to do; and keep ſuch Intelligence with his Friends in *Scotland*, as ſhould provide for his reception.

The Marquis of Mountroſe *goes for* Hamburg *to ſollicite for Forces.*

BESIDES the hopes and encouragement he had receiv'd from the Embaſſadour *Wolfelte*, to expect good Supplies in *Denmark*, there were many Officers of good Name and Account in *Sweden*, of the *Scotiſh* Nation, who were grown Rich, and liv'd in plenty in that Kingdom. With the principal of them, the Marquis had held Correſpondence; who undertook, as well for others as for themſelves, "That if the "Marquis engaged himſelf in the King's Service in the King-"dom of *Scotland*, they would give him notable Aſſiſtance "in Money, Arms, and Men. In a word, he ſent, or went in Perſon, to both thoſe Kingdoms; where he found the performance very diſproportionable to their promiſes. Queen *Chriſtina* had receiv'd an Agent from *England* with wonderful Civility and Grace, and expreſs'd a great eſteem of the Perſon of *Cromwell*, as a Man of glorious Atchievements; and before ſhe reſign'd the Crown, which ſhe in few years after did, ſhe engaged it in a faſt Alliance with the new Commonwealth, and diſpoſed her Succeſſor to look upon it as a neceſſary Support to his Crown. In *Denmark*, the Marquis found good Wiſhes enough, a hearty deteſtation of all the Villanies which had been acted in *England*, and as hearty wiſhes for the Advancement and Proſperity of the King's Affairs; but the Kingdom it ſelf was very Poor, and full of Diſcontent, the King not ſo much eſteem'd, becauſe not ſo much fear'd, as his Father had been, and he had been compell'd to make many unreaſonable Conceſſions to *Holland*, that he might have Aſſiſtance from them, to Protect him from thoſe Aſſaults and Invaſions which were threaten'd from *Sweden*. So that the Marquis was oblig'd to return to *Hamburg*, with very ſmall Supplies, from either or both thoſe Kingdoms: and there he receiv'd no better account from thoſe Officers who had been ſent into *Germany*. His deſign had always been to Land in the High-lands of *Scotland*, before the Winter Seaſon ſhould be over, both for the ſafety of his Embarkation, and that he might have time to draw

thoſe

thoſe People together, who he knew, would be willing to repair to him, before it ſhould be known at *Edenborough* that he was landed in the Kingdom. He had, by frequent Meſſages, kept a conſtant Correſpondence with thoſe principal Heads of the Clans who were moſt powerful in the Highlands, and were of known, or unſuſpected Affection to the King, and advertiſed them of all his motions and deſigns. And by them acquainted thoſe of the Low-lands of all his Reſolutions; who had promiſed, upon the firſt notice of his arrival, to reſort with all their Friends and Followers to him.

WHETHER theſe Men did really believe, that their own ſtrength would be ſufficient to ſubdue their Enemies, who were grown generally odious, or thought the bringing over Troops of Foreigners would leſſen the Numbers and Affections of the Natives, they did write very earneſtly to the Marquis, "To haſten his coming over with Officers, Arms, "and Ammunition; for which he ſhould find hands enough; and gave him notice, "That the Committee of Eſtates at "*Edenborough* had ſent again to the King to come over to them; and that the People were ſo impatient for his pre-"ſence, that *Argyle* was compell'd to conſent to the Invita-"tion. It is very probable that this made the greateſt impreſſion upon him. He knew very well how few Perſons there were about the King, who were like to continue firm in thoſe Principles, which could only confirm his Majeſty in his former Reſolutions againſt the perſwaſions, and importunities of many others, who knew how to repreſent to him the deſperateneſs of his Condition any other way, than by repairing into *Scotland* upon any Conditions. *Mountroſe* knew, that of the two Factions there, which were not like to be reconciled, each of them were equally his implacable Enemies; ſo that which ſoever prevail'd, He ſhould be ſtill in the ſame State, the whole Kirk, of what temper ſoever, being alike malicious to Him; and hearing likewiſe of the ſucceſſive Misfortunes in *Ireland*, he concluded, the King would not truſt himſelf there. Therefore upon the whole, and concluding that all his hopes from *Germany* and thoſe Northern Princes would not encreaſe the ſtrength he had already, he cauſed, in the depth of the Winter, thoſe Soldiers he had drawn together, which did not amount to above five hundred, to be Embarked, and ſent Officers with them, who knew the Country, with directions that they ſhould Land in ſuch a place in the High-lands, and remain there, as they might well do, till he came to them, or ſent them Orders. And then in another Veſſel Mann'd by People well known

to

to him, and Commanded by a Captain very faithful to the King, and who was well acquainted with that Coaſt, he Embarked himſelf, and near one hundred Officers, and Landed in another Creek, not far from the other place, whither his Soldiers were directed. And both the one and the other Party were ſet ſafely on Shore in the places they deſign'd; from whence the Marquis himſelf with ſome Servants, and Officers, repair'd preſently to the Houſe of a Gentleman of Quality, with whom he had correſponded, who expected him; by whom he was well receiv'd, and thought himſelf to be in ſecurity till he might put his Affairs in ſome method: And therefore order'd his other ſmall Troops to contain themſelves in thoſe uncouth Quarters, in which they were, and where he thought they were not like to be diſturb'd by the viſitation of any Enemy.

Mountroſe Embarks for Scotland: lands there in March 1649.

AFTER he had ſtay'd there a ſhort time, it being in *March* about the end of the year 1649, he quickly poſſeſs'd himſelf of an old Caſtle; which, in reſpect of the Situation in a Country ſo impoſſible for any Army to march in, he thought ſtrong enough for his purpoſe: thither he convey'd the Arms, Ammunition, and Troops, which he had brought with him. And then he publiſh'd his Declaration, "That he "came with the King's Commiſſion, to aſſiſt thoſe his good "Subjects, and to preſerve them from oppreſſion: That he "did not intend to give any interruption to the Treaty that "he heard was enter'd into with his Majeſty; but, on the "contrary, hoped, that his being in the head of an Army, how "ſmall ſoever, that was faithful to the King, might advance "the ſame. However, he had given ſufficient proof in his "former Actions, that if any Agreement were made with the "King, upon the firſt Order from his Majeſty, he ſhould lay "down his Arms, and diſpoſe himſelf according to his Ma"jeſty's good pleaſure. Theſe Declarations he ſent to his Friends to be ſcatter'd by them, and diſperſed amongſt the People, as they could be able. He writ likewiſe to thoſe of the Nobility, and the Heads of the ſeveral Clans, "To draw "ſuch Forces together, as they thought neceſſary to joyn with "him; and he receiv'd Anſwers from many of them, by which they deſired him "To advance more into the Land (for he was yet in the remoteſt parts of *Cathneſs*) and aſſured him, "That they would meet him with good Numbers: and they did prepare ſo to do, ſome really; and others, with a purpoſe to betray him.

Publiſhes his Declaration.

IN this ſtate ſtood the Affair in the end of the year 1649: but becauſe the unfortunate Tragedy of that Noble Perſon ſucceeded ſo ſoon after, without the intervention of any notable circum-

circumſtances to interrupt it, We will rather continue the relation of it in this place, than defer it to be reſum'd in the proper ſeaſon; which quickly enſued, in the beginning of the next year. The Marquis of *Argyle* was vigilant enough, to obſerve the motion of an Enemy that was ſo formidable to him; and had preſent information of his Arrival in the High-lands, and of the ſmall Forces which he had brought with him. The Parliament was then ſitting at *Edenborough*, their Meſſenger being return'd to them from *Jerſey*, with an account, "That the King would treat with their Commiſ-"ſioners at *Breda*; for whom they were preparing their Inſtructions.

The continuation of Mountroſe's Affairs, after the end of the year 49, to his death.

THE Alarm of *Mountroſe's* being Landed ſtartled them all, and gave them no leiſure to think of any thing elſe than of ſending Forces to hinder the recourſe of others to joyn with him. They immediately ſent Colonel *Straghan* a diligent and active Officer, with a choice Party of the beſt Horſe they had, to make all poſſible haſte towards him, and to prevent the Inſurrections, which they fear'd would be in ſeveral parts of the High-lands. And, within few days after, *David Leſley* followed with a ſtronger Party of Horſe and Foot. The encouragement the Marquis of *Mountroſe* receiv'd from his Friends, and the unpleaſantneſs of the Quarters in which he was, prevail'd with him to march, with theſe few Troops, more into the Land. And the High-landers flocking to him from all Quarters, though ill Arm'd, and worſe Diſciplin'd, made him undervalue any Enemy who, he thought, was yet like to encounter him. *Straghan* made ſuch haſte, that the Earl of *Southerland*, who at leaſt pretended to have gather'd together a Body of fifteen hundred Men to meet *Mountroſe*, choſe rather to joyn with *Straghan*: others did the like, who had made the ſame promiſes, or ſtay'd at home to expect the event of the firſt encounter. The Marquis was without any Body of Horſe to diſcover the motion of an Enemy, but depended upon all neceſſary Intelligence from the affection of the People; which he believ'd to be the ſame it was when he left them. But they were much degenerated; the Tyranny of *Argyle*, and his having cauſed very many to be barbarouſly Murder'd, without any form of Law or Juſtice, who had been in Arms with *Mountroſe*, notwithſtanding all Acts of Pardon, and Indemnity, had ſo broken their Hearts, that they were ready to do all offices that might gratify and oblige him. So that *Straghan* was within a ſmall diſtance of him, before he heard of his approach; and thoſe Highlanders, who had ſeem'd to come with much zeal to him, whether terrified, or corrupted, left him on a ſuddain, or threw

Colonel Straghan *ſent againſt him and his ſmall Forces.*

threw down their Armes, ſo that he had none left, but a Company of good Officers, and five or ſix hundred Forreigners, *Dutch* and *Germans*, who had been acquainted with their Officers. With theſe he betook himſelf to a place of ſome advantage by the inequality of the ground, and the buſhes and ſmall ſhrubs which fill'd it: and there they made a defence for ſome time with notable Courage.

BUT the Enemy being ſo much ſuperior in number, the Common Soldiers, being all Forreigners, after about a hundred of them were kill'd upon the Place, threw down their Arms; and the Marquis, ſeeing all loſt, threw away his Riban and *George* (for he was Knight of the Garter) and found means to change his Cloaths with a Fellow of the Country, and ſo after having gone on foot two or three Miles, he got into a Houſe of a Gentleman, where he remain'd conceal'd about two days: moſt of the other Officers were ſhortly after taken Priſoners, all the Country deſiring to merit from *Argyle* by betraying all thoſe into his hands which they believ'd to be his Enemies. And thus, whether by the owner of the Houſe. or any other way, the Marquis himſelf became their Priſoner. The Strangers who were taken, were ſet at Liberty, and Tranſported themſelves into their own Countries; and the Caſtle, in which there was a little Garriſon, preſently render'd it ſelf; ſo that there was no more fear of any Enemy in thoſe parts.

By whom Mountroſe is routed.

The Marquis of Mountroſe taken Priſoner.

THE Marquis of *Mountroſe*, and the reſt of the Priſoners, were the next day, or ſoon after, deliver'd to *David Leſley*; who was come up with his Forces, and had now nothing left to do but to carry them in Triumph to *Edenborough*; whither Notice was quickly ſent of their great Victory; which was receiv'd there with wonderful joy, and acclamation. *David Leſley* treated the Marquis with great inſolence, and for ſome days carried him in the ſame Cloaths and Habit, in which he was taken; but at laſt permitted him to buy better. His behaviour was, in the whole time, ſuch as became a great Man; his countenance Serene and Chearful, as one that was ſuperior to all thoſe reproaches, which they had prepar'd the People to pour out upon him in all the places through which he was to paſs.

WHEN he came to one of the Gates of *Edenborough*, he was met by ſome of the Magiſtrates, to whom he was deliver'd, and by them preſently put into a new Cart purpoſely made, in which there was a high Chair, or Bench, upon which he ſate, that the People might have a full view of him, being bound with a Cord drawn over his breaſt and ſhoulders, and faſten'd through holes made in the Cart. When he

Brought to Edenborough.

was in this posture, the Hangman took off his hat, and rode himself before the Cart in his Livery, and with his Bonnet on; the other Officers, who were taken Prisoners with him, walking two and two before the Cart; the Streets and Windows being full of People to behold the Triumph over a Person whose Name had made them tremble some few years before, and into whose hands the Magistrates of that place had, upon their knees, deliver'd the Keys of that City. In this manner he was carried to the Common Goal, where he was receiv'd and treated as a Common Malefactor. Within two days after, he was brought before the Parliament, where the Earl of *Lowden*, the Chancellor, made a very bitter and virulent Declaration against him: told him, "He had broken "all the Covenants by which that whole Nation stood ob- "lig'd; and had impiously rebell'd against God, the King, and "the Kingdom; that he had committed many horrible Mur- "ders, Treasons, and Impieties, for all which he was now "brought to suffer condign punishment; with all those insolent reproaches upon his Person, and his Actions, which the liberty of that place gave him leave to use.

He is brought before the Parliament.

His behaviour there.

PERMISSION was then given him to speak; and without the least trouble in his countenance or disorder, upon all the indignities he had suffer'd, he told them, "Since the King "had own'd them so far as to treat with them, he had appear'd "before them with reverence, and bare-headed, which other- "wise he would not willingly have done: that he had done "nothing of which he was asham'd, or had cause to repent; "that the first Covenant, he had taken, and comply'd with it, "and with them who took it, as long as the ends for which "it was ordain'd were observ'd; but when he discover'd, "which was now evident to all the world, that private and "particular Men design'd to satisfy their own ambition and "interest, instead of considering the Publick benefit; and that, "under the pretence of reforming some errors in Religion, "they resolv'd to abridge, and take away the King's just power, "and lawful authority, he had withdrawn himself from that "Engagement: that for the League and Covenant, he had "never taken it, and therefore could not break it: and it was "now too apparent to the whole Christian World, what "monstrous mischiefs it had produced: that when, under co- "lour of it, an Army from *Scotland* had invaded *England* "in Assistance of the Rebellion that was then against their "Lawful King, he had, by his Majesty's Command, receiv'd "a Commission from him to raise Forces in *Scotland*, that he "might thereby divert them from the other odious prosecu- "tion: that he had executed that Commission with the obe- "dience

"dience and duty he ow'd to the King, and in all the circum-
"ſtances of it, had proceeded like a Gentleman; and had ne-
"ver ſuffer'd any Blood to be ſhed but in the heat of the Bat-
"tle; and that he ſaw many Perſons there, whoſe lives he
"had ſaved: that when the King commanded him, he laid
"down his Arms, and withdrew out of the Kingdom; which
"they could not have compell'd him to have done. He ſaid,
"he was now again enter'd into the Kingdom by his Maje-
"ſty's Command, and with his Authority: and what Succeſs
"ſoever it might have pleaſed God to have given him, he
"would always have obeyed any commands he ſhould have
"receiv'd from him. He adviſed them, "To conſider well
"of the conſequence before they proceeded againſt him, and
"that all his Actions might be examin'd, and judg'd by the
"Laws of the Land, or thoſe of Nations.

ASSOON as he had ended his diſcourſe, he was order'd to withdraw; and, after a ſhort ſpace, was again brought in; and told by the Chancellor, "That he was, on the Morrow, "being the one and twentieth of *May* 1650, to be carried to "*Edenborough* Croſs, and there to be hanged upon a Gallows "thirty foot high, for the ſpace of three hours, and then "to be taken down, and his head to be cut off upon a Scaf-"fold, and hanged on *Edenborough* Tolbooth; His Legs and "Arms to be hanged up in other publick Towns of the "Kingdom, and his Body to be buried at the place where he "was to be executed, except the Kirk ſhould take off his Ex-"communication; and then his Body might be buried in the "common place of burial. He deſired, "That he might ſay "ſomewhat to them; but was not ſuffer'd, and ſo was carried back to the Priſon.

The Sentence againſt him.

THAT he might not enjoy any eaſe or quiet during the ſhort remainder of his life, their Miniſters came preſently to inſult over him with all the reproaches imaginable; pronounced his damnation; and aſſured him, "That the Judgment he was "the next day to ſuffer, was but an eaſy Prologue to that which "he was to undergo afterwards. After many ſuch barbarities, they offer'd to intercede for him to the Kirk upon his repentance, and to pray with him; but he too well underſtood the form of their Common Prayer, in thoſe Caſes, to be only the moſt virulent, and inſolent imprecations upon the Perſons of thoſe they prayed againſt "(Lord, vouchſafe Yet "to touch the obdurate heart of this proud incorrigible Sinner, "this wicked, perjured, traiterous, and prophane Perſon, who "refuſes to hearken to the voice of the Kirk, and the like charitable expreſſions) and therefore he deſired them "To ſpare "their pains, and to leave him to his own Devotions. He told

His diſcourſe with the Preſbyterian Miniſters.

told them, "That they were a miſerable, deluded, and de-
"luding People; and would ſhortly bring that poor Nation
"under the moſt inſupportable Servitude ever People had ſub-
"mitted to. He told them, "He was prouder to have his
"head ſet upon the place it was appointed to be, than he
"could have been to have had his Picture hang in the King's
"Bed-Chamber: that he was ſo far from being troubled that
"his four Limbs were to be hang'd in four Cities of the King-
"dom, that he heartily wiſh'd that he had fleſh enough to be
"ſent to every City in *Chriſtendom*, as a Teſtimony of the
"Cauſe for which he ſuffer'd.

His Execution. THE next day, they executed every part and circumſtance of that barbarous Sentence, with all the inhumanity imaginable; and he bore it with all the courage and magnanimity, and the greateſt piety, that a good Chriſtian could manifeſt. He magnified the Virtue, Courage, and Religion of the laſt King, exceedingly commended the Juſtice, and Goodneſs, and Underſtanding of the preſent King; and prayed, "That they
"might not betray Him, as they had done his Father. When he had ended all he meant to ſay, and was expecting to expire, they had yet one Scene more to Act of their Tyranny. The Hangman brought the Book that had been publiſh'd of his truly Heroick Actions, whilſt he commanded in that Kingdom, which Book was tied in a ſmall Cord that was put about his Neck. The Marquis ſmil'd at this new inſtance of their Malice, and thanked them for it; and ſaid, "He was
"pleaſed that it ſhould be there; and was prouder of wear-
"ing it than ever he had been of the Garter; and ſo renewing ſome devout Ejaculations, he patiently endured the laſt Act of the Executioner.

The Execution of his Officers. SOON after, the Officers who had been taken with him, Sr *William Urry*, Sr *Francis Hay*, and many others, of as good Families as any in the Kingdom, were executed, to the number of thirty or forty, in ſeveral quarters of the Kingdom; many of them being ſuffer'd to be beheaded. There was one whom they thought fit to ſave, one Colonel *Whitford*; who, when he was brought to dye, ſaid "He knew the reaſon why
"he was put to death; which was only becauſe he had killed
"*Doriſlaus* at the *Hague*; which was one of thoſe who had joyn'd in the Murder of the laſt King. One of the Magiſtrates, who were preſent to ſee the Execution, cauſed it to be ſuſpended, till he preſently inform'd the Council what the Man had ſaid, and they thought fit to avoid the reproach; and ſo preſerv'd the Gentleman; who was not before known to have had a hand in that Action.

THUS died the gallant Marquis of *Mountroſe*, after he had given

given as great a Teſtimony of Loyalty, and Courage, as a Subject can do, and perform'd as wonderful Actions in ſeveral Battles, upon as great inequality of Numbers, and as great diſadvantages in reſpect of Arms, and other preparations for War, as have been perform'd in this Age. He was a Gentleman of a very ancient Extraction, many of whoſe Anceſtors had exerciſed the higheſt Charges under the King in that Kingdom, and had been allied to the Crown it ſelf. He was of very good parts, which were improv'd by a good Education: he had always a great emulation, or rather a great contempt of the Marquis of *Argyle* (as he was too apt to contemn thoſe he did not love) who wanted nothing but honeſty and courage to be a very extraordinary Man, having all other good Talents in a very great degree. *Mountroſe* was in his nature fearleſs of danger, and never declined any Enterpriſe for the difficulty of going through with it, but exceedingly affected thoſe which ſeem'd deſperate to other Men, and did believe ſomewhat to be in himſelf above other Men, which made him live more eaſily towards thoſe who were, or were willing to be, inferior to him (towards whom he exerciſed wonderful civility, and generoſity) than with his Superiors or Equals. He was naturally jealous, and ſuſpected thoſe who did not concur with him in the way, not to mean ſo well as he. He was not without Vanity, but his Virtues were much ſuperior, and he well deſerv'd to have his Memory preſerv'd, and celebrated amongſt the moſt illuſtrious Perſons of the Age in which he liv'd. *His Character.*

THE King receiv'd an Account and Information of all theſe particulars, before he embarked from *Holland*, without any other Apology for the Affront and Indignity to himſelf, than that they aſſured him, "That the proceeding againſt the "late Marquis of *Mountroſe* had been for his Service. They who were moſt diſpleaſed with *Argyle* and his Faction, were not ſorry for this inhuman, and monſtrous proſecution; which at the ſame time muſt render him the more odious, and had rid them of an Enemy that they thought would have been more dangerous to them; and they perſwaded the King, who was enough afflicted with the News, and all the circumſtances of it, "That he might ſooner take revenge upon "that People by a temporary complying with them, and go-"ing to them, than ſtaying away, and abſenting himſelf, "which would inveſt them in an abſolute Dominion in that "Kingdom, and give them power to corrupt or deſtroy all "thoſe who yet remain'd faithful to him, and were ready to "ſpend their lives in his Service: and ſo his Majeſty purſued his former reſolution of embarking for *Scotland*. *The King receives the News of all this.*

The affairs of Ireland.

In *Ireland*, after the Maſſacre of that Body of *Engliſh* at *Tredagh*, and the treacherous giving up the Towns in *Munſter*, by the Officers of the Lord *Inchiquin*, there broke out ſo implacable a jealouſy amongſt the *Iriſh* againſt all the *Engliſh*, that no Orders of the Marquis of *Ormond* found any obedience, nor could he draw an Army together. At the making of the Peace, he had conſented that the Confederate Roman Catholicks ſhould name a Number of the Commiſſioners, by whoſe Orders and Miniſtry all Levies of Men, and all Collections of Money were to be made, according to the directions of the Lord Lieutenant. And ſuch Perſons were named, in whoſe Affections, for the moſt part, the Lieutenant was well ſatisfied, and the reſt were ſuch as were not like to be able to give any interruption. A certain Number of theſe were appointed to be always in the Army, and near the Perſon of the Lord Lieutenant, and the reſt in their ſeveral Stations, where they were moſt like to advance the Service. Many of theſe Commiſſioners were of the Roman Catholick Nobility, Perſons of Honour, and very ſenſible of the weakneſs, wilfulneſs, and wickedneſs of that Rebellion; and did manifeſt all poſſible zeal and affection to the King's Service, engaging their Perſons in all Enterpriſes of danger, and uſing all poſſible induſtry to raiſe Men and Money, whereby the Lord Lieutenant might be enabled to carry on the War in the Spring. But many of the other, after thoſe misfortunes had fallen out, which are mention'd before, either totally deſponded, and rather thought of providing for themſelves than for the preſervation of the Publick; or fomented the jealouſies which were amongſt the *Iriſh*, and incenſed them againſt the *Engliſh*, who were ſtill with the Lord Lieutenant; ſo that his Orders were not obey'd at all, or not in time, which was as bad; and their Clergy and Fryars publickly incenſed the People againſt the Articles of the Peace, and deſired to have an Army raiſed apart under a General of their own.

The Lord Lieutenant now diſcover'd the Reaſon, why *Owen O Neile* had refuſed to conſent to the Peace which the Confederate Roman Catholicks had made with the King, and kept his Army in *Ulſter* from ſubmitting thereunto, and pretended to deſire to treat apart with the Lord Lieutenant for himſelf; which was then thought to proceed from the jealouſy that was between Him and *Preſton*, and the Animoſity between thoſe old *Iriſh* of *Ulſter*, and the other of the other Provinces. But the truth was, from the time of the Marquis of *Ormond*'s tranſporting himſelf out of *France*, and that the correſpondence was diſcover'd to be between Him and

and the Lord *Inchiquin*, and the Treaty begun with the Confederate Catholicks, the close Committee at *Westminster* sent secret Instructions to *Monk*, who Commanded part of their Forces in *Ireland*, "That he should endeavour to treat with "*Owen O Neile*, and so divide him from the rest of the *Irish*; which *Monk* found opportunity to do: And it was no sooner proposed than hearken'd unto by *O Neile*; who presently sent a trusty Messenger with such Propositions to *Monk*, as he desired to have granted to him. He offer'd, "With his Army, "which should always consist of such a Number of Horse "and Foot, and Artillery, as should be agreed between them, "to serve the Parliament; and not to separate from their In- "terest; and proposed, "That he and all his party that should "adhere to him, should enjoy the Exercise of their Religion, "without any prejudice or disadvantage: That himself might "be restored to those Lands which his Ancestors had been "possessed of in *Tyrone*, *London-Derry*, or any other parts of "*Ireland*; and that all those, who had, or would adhere to "him, should be likewise restored to their Estates; and that "an Act of Oblivion might be granted. *Monk*, receiv'd these Propositions; and after he had perused them, he sent him word, "That there were some particulars, which he doubted "would shock and offend the Parliament, and therefore de- "sired they might be alter'd; and proposed the alterations he advised; which principally concern'd the Publick Exercise of their Religion; which he so qualified, that they might well enough satisfy; and proposed, "That, if *O Neile* would "consent to those alterations, he would return the Treaty "sign'd by him, which he would immediately send over to "the Parliament for their confirmation; and that in the mean "time, there might be a Cessation of Arms between them "for three Months; in which time, and much less, he pre- "sumed, he should receive a Ratification of the Treaty from "the Parliament.

OWEN *O Neile* consented to the alterations, set his Hand and Seal to the Treaty, and return'd it to *Monk*, with his consent likewise to the Cessation for three Months. And at this time it was, that he refused to agree with the Confederate Council at *Kilkenny* in the Peace with the King. *Monk* sent it presently to the Committee, which had given him Authority to do what he had done. But their Affairs were now better composed at home, and some preparations were made towards sending relief for *Ireland*; besides, they had not Authority to make any such Ratification, but presented it to the Parliament, which could only give it. It was no sooner reported there but the House was on fire; all Men inveigh'd

The House refuses to Ratify Monk's *Treaty with* Owen O Neile.

againſt "The preſumption of *Monk*, who deſerv'd to be diſ-"placed, and to have his Command taken from him, and to "have exemplary puniſhment inflicted on him. They re-"member'd how Criminal they had declared it to be in the "King himſelf, to have treated, and made a Peace with the "*Iriſh* Rebels: and what would the People think, and ſay, "if any countenance ſhould be given to the ſame tranſgreſ-"ſion by the Parliament? if they ſhould Ratify a Treaty made "by the moſt notorious of the Rebels, and with that Peo-"ple under his Command, who were the moſt notorious "Contrivers of that Rebellion, and the moſt bloody Execu-"tioners of it? for the moſt Mercileſs Maſſacres had been "committed in *Ulſter*, by that very People who now conſti-tuted that Army of which *Owen O Neile* was now General. After all the paſſion and choler which they thought neceſ-"ſary to expreſs upon this ſubject, they declar'd, "That they "had given no Authority to *Monk* to enter into that Treaty; "and therefore, that it was void, and ſhould never be con-"firm'd by them; but that, ſince he had proceeded out of "the ſincerity of his Heart, and as he thought (how er-"roneouſly ſoever) for the good and benefit of the Common-"wealth, he ſhould be excuſed; and no farther queſtion'd "thereupon. For they knew well, that he could produce ſuch a Warrant from thoſe in Authority, as would well ju-ſtify his proceeding: And ſo the Treaty with *Owen O Neile* became void, though they had receiv'd a very conſiderable benefit by it; for though the *Scots* in *Ulſter* had not yet ſub-mitted to the Peace, and had not yet receiv'd directions from *Edenborough* to acknowledge the Authority of the Lord Lieu-tenant, which they ought to have had before that time, yet, after the Murther of the late King, they had uſed all Acts of Hoſtility againſt the Parliament Forces, and had beſieged *London-Derry*; the only conſiderable place that yielded obe-dience to the Parliament; which was defended by Sr *Charles Coote*, and when it was brought to ſome extremity, by the Ceſſation made with *Owen O Neile*, and by his connivance and aſſiſtance, *London-Derry* was reliev'd; and *O Neile* find-ing himſelf deluded by the Parliament, ſent then to offer his Service and conjunction to the Lord Lieutenant, with abun-dant profeſſions of Fidelity, and Revenge.

CROMWELL made notable uſe of this Animoſity between the *Iriſh* amongſt themſelves, and of the jealouſy they all ap-pear'd to have of the Marquis of *Ormond* and of thoſe who adher'd to him; and uſed all the Endeavours he could, by ſome Priſoners who were taken, and by others who were in the Towns which were betray'd to him, and were well known

known to have affection for the Marquis, to procure a conference with him. He uſed to ask in ſuch Company, "What "the Marquis of *Ormond* had to do with *Charles Stuart*, and "what obligations he had ever receiv'd from him? And then would mention the hard meaſure his Grand-father had receiv'd from King *James*, and the many years Impriſonment he had ſuſtain'd by him, for not ſubmitting to an extrajudicial and private determination of his; which yet he was at laſt compell'd to do. He ſaid "He was confident, if the Marquis and "He could meet together, upon Conference, they ſhould "part very good Friends. And many of thoſe with whom he held theſe diſcourſes, by his permiſſion and licence, inform'd the Marquis of all he ſaid; who endeavour'd nothing but to put himſelf into ſuch a Poſture, as to be able to meet him as he deſired to do.

WHEN *Cromwell* ſaw that he ſhould be able to do nothing that way, and knew well enough that, beſides the Army that yet remain'd under *Owen O Neile* ſo much diſobliged, and provoked, there were ſtill vaſt Bodies of the *Iriſh*, which might be drawn together into ſeveral Armies, much greater and ſuperior in number to all his Forces, and that hey had ſeveral great Towns, and ſtrong Holds in their power, he declared a full Liberty, and Authority to all the Officers with the *Iriſh*, and to all other Perſons whatſoever, to raiſe what Men they would, and to Tranſport them for the Service of any Forreign Princes with whom they could make the beſt Conditions; and gave notice to the *Spaniſh* and *French* Miniſters, and Agents at *London*, of the Liberty he had granted. Upon which many Officers who had ſerv'd the King, and remain'd in *London* in great poverty and want, made Conditions with *Don Alonzo de Cordinas*, to raiſe Regiments and Tranſport them into *Spain*; and many Officers who were already in *Spain*, as well *Engliſh* as *Iriſh*, contracted with the Miniſters in that Court to raiſe and Tranſport ſeveral Regiments into that Kingdom from *Ireland*; for which they receiv'd very great Sums of Money in hand; many Merchants joyning with them in the Contract, and undertaking the Tranſportation upon very good conditions; there being no other danger but of the Sea in the undertaking; inſomuch that, in very few Months above a year, there were Embarked in the Ports of *Ireland* above five and twenty thouſand Men for the Kingdom of *Spain*; whereof not half were ever drawn into the Field there, and very few ever liv'd to return. For the Officers and Maſters of Ships, who contracted, and were bound to deliver their Men at ſuch Ports as were aſſign'd to them, and where care was taken for their

Cromwell *gives the* Iriſh *leave to Tranſport themſelves into any Prince's Service.*

their reception, and conduct to the Quarters which were appointed, according to the Service to which they were design'd, either for *Catalonia* or *Portugal* (after they had been long at Sea, by which the Soldiers, who were crowded more together into one Ship than was fit for so long Voyages, had contracted many diseases, and many were dead, and thrown over Board) assoon as they came upon the Coast, made all haste to Land, how far soever from the place at which they stood bound to deliver their Men; by which in those places that could make resistance, they were not suffered to Land, and in others no Provision was made for their reception or march, but very great Numbers were starv'd or knock'd in the Head by the Country People, and few ever came up to the Armies, except Officers; who flock'd to *Madrid* for the remainder of their Monies; where the Ministers receiv'd them with reproaches for not observing their Conditions, and refused to pay either them, or the Masters of the Ships, what remain'd to be paid by them. This was the Case of too many: though the truth is, where the Articles were punctually observ'd, and the Ships arriv'd in the very Ports assign'd, by the defect in the Orders sent from the Court, or the negligent execution of them, the poor Men were often kept from disembarking, till some Officers went to *Madrid*, and return'd with more positive Orders, and afterwards so ill Provision was made for their refreshing and march, that rarely half of those who were shipp'd in *Ireland*, over liv'd to do any Service in *Spain*: and nothing could be more wonderful, than that the Ministers there should issue out such vast Sums in Money for the raising of Soldiers, and bringing them into the Kingdom at very liberal and bountiful rates to the Officers, and take so very little care to cherish, and nourish them, when they came thither; which manifested how loose the Government was.

It is very true, that there was at that time a much greater inclination in the *Irish* for the Service of *Spain*, than of *France*; yet the Cardinal imploy'd more active and dexterous Instruments to make use of the Liberty that was granted, and Shipping was more easily procured, the passage being shorter; insomuch that there were not fewer than twenty thousand Men at the same time Transported out of *Ireland* into the Kingdom of *France*; of whose behaviour in the one Kingdom and the other, there will be abundant Argument hereafter to discourse at large. In the mean time, it is enough to observe that when the King's Lieutenant, notwithstanding all the promises, obligations, and contracts, which the Confederate Roman Catholicks had made to, and with him, could not draw together

together a Body of five thousand Men (by which he might have been able to have given some stop to the current of *Cromwell's* successes) *Cromwell* himself found a way to send above forty thousand Men out of that Kingdom for Service of Forreign Princes; which might have been enough to have driven him from thence, and to have restor'd it to the King's entire obedience.

The low condition of the Loyal Party in England.

In *England*, the Spirits of all the Loyal Party were so broken and subdued, that they could scarce breathe under the insupportable burthens which were laid upon them, by Imprisonments, Compositions, and Sequestrations. Whatever Articles they had made in the War, and whatever promises had been made of Pardon and Indemnity, they were now call'd upon to finish their Composition for their Delinquency, and paid dear for the Credit they had given to the Professions and Declarations of the Army, when it seem'd to have pity, and complain'd of the severe and rigorous proceeding against the King's Party, and extorting unreasonable penalties from them; which then they desir'd might be moderated. But now the Mask was off they Sequester'd all their Estates, and left them nothing to live upon, till they should compound; which they were forced to do at so unreasonable rates, that many were compell'd to sell half, that they might enjoy the other towards the support of their Families; which remainder was still liable to whatever impositions they at any time thought fit to inflict upon them, as their Persons were to Imprisonment, when any unreasonable and groundless report was rais'd of some Plot, and Conspiracy against the State.

The Levellers mutiny; and are suppressed by Fairfax.

The Parliament, which consisted only of those Members who had sate in Judgment, and solemnly Murder'd the King, and of those who as solemnly under their hands had approv'd and commended what the others had done, met with no opposition or contradiction from any, but an entire submission from all to all they did, except only from that part of their own Army which had contributed most to the Grandeur and Empire of which they were possess'd, the Levellers. That People had been countenanced by *Cromwell* to enter into Cabals and Confederacies to corrupt, and dissolve the discipline of the Army, and by his Artifices had been apply'd to bring all his crooked designs to pass. By them he broke the strict Union between the Parliament and the *Scots*, and then took the King out of the hands of the Parliament, and kept him in the Army, with so many fair professions of intending better to his Majesty, and his Party, than the other did; by them the Presbyterians had been affronted, and troden under foot, and the City of *London* exposed to disgrace and

and infamy; by them he had broken the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*; driven out of the Parliament, by force of Arms, all those who desir'd Peace, and at last executed his barbarous Malice upon the Sacred Person of the King: And when he had apply'd them to all those uses, for which he thought them to be most fit, he hoped, and endeavour'd to have reduced them again, by a severe hand, into that order and obedience from whence he had seduced them, and which was now as necessary to his future purpose of Government. But they had tasted too much of the pleasure of having their part, and share in it, to be willing to be stripped, and depriv'd of it; and made an unskilful computation of what they should be able to do for the future, by the great things they had done before in those Changes and Revolutions which are mention'd; not considering, that the superior Officers of the Army were now united with the Parliament, and concurr'd entirely in the same designs. And therefore when they renew'd their former Expostulations and Demands from the Parliament, they were Cashеer'd, and Imprison'd, and some of them put to death. Yet about the time that *Cromwell*, who had prosecuted them with great fury, was going for *Ireland*, they recover'd their Courage, and resolv'd to obtain those Concessions by force, which were refused to be granted upon their request: And so they mutiny'd in several Parts, upon presumption that the rest of the Army, who would not joyn with them in publick, would yet never be prevailed with to oppose, and reduce them by force. By this confidence deceiv'd them; for the Parliament no sooner commanded their General *Fairfax* to suppress them, than he drew Troops together, and fell upon them at *Banbury*, *Burford*, and in other places; and by killing some upon the place, and executing others to terrify the rest, he totally suppress'd that Faction; and the *Orders* of those at *Westminster* met with no more opposition.

This was the State and Condition of the three Kingdoms at the end of the year 1649, some few Months after the King Embarked himself in *Holland* for *Scotland*. And since the next year afforded great variety of unfortunate Actions, We will end this discourse, according to the method We have used, with this year: though hereafter We shall not continue the same method; but comprehend the occurrences of many years in less room, whilst the King rested in a patient Expectation of God's Blessing, and Deliverance.

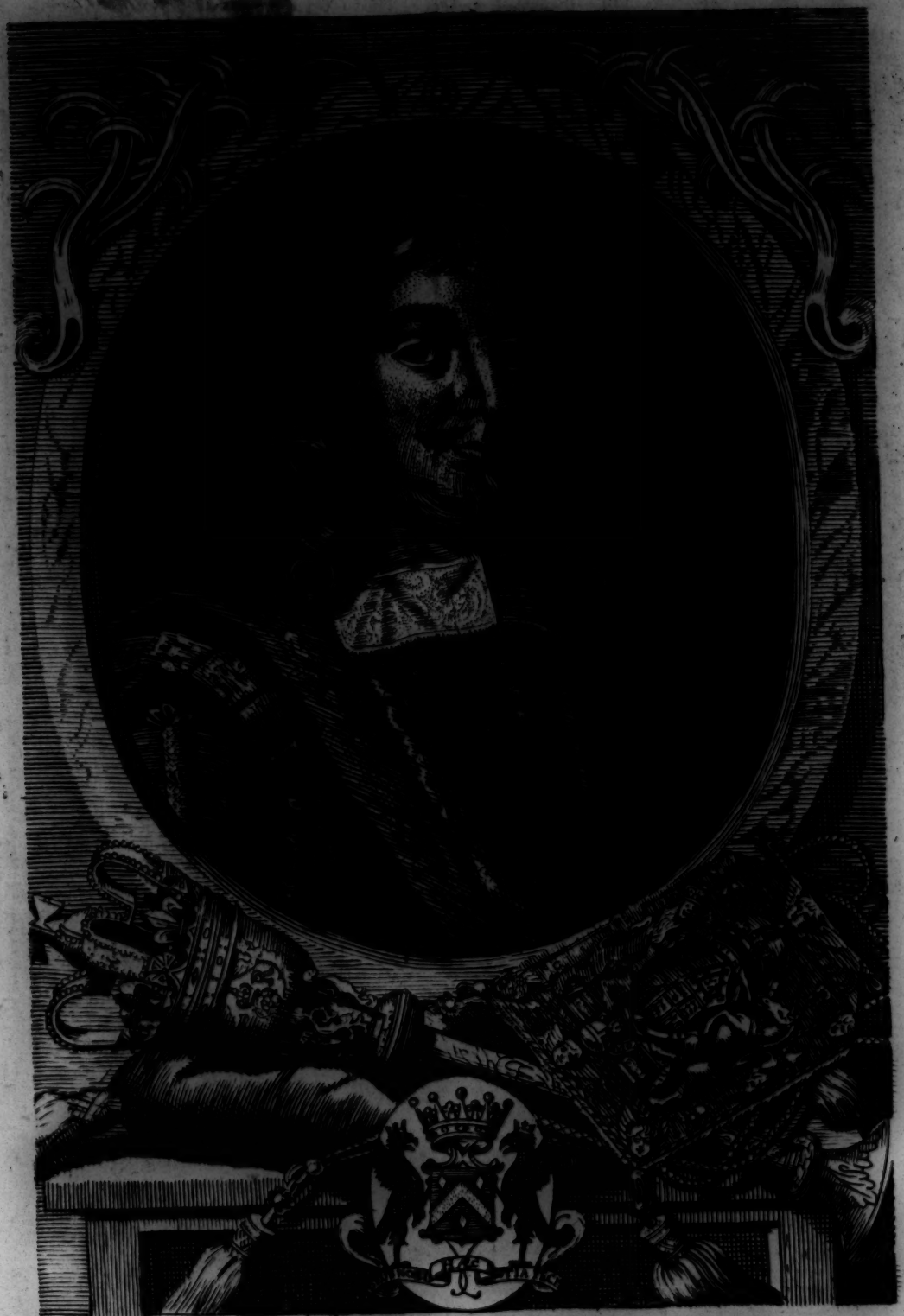
THE END OF THE TWELFTH BOOK.



Cambridge



BRITISH MUSEUM
30 APR 73



Edward Earle of CLARENDON Lord High CHANCELLOR of England and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Anº Dñi. 1667.

THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION and CIVIL WARS IN ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Paſſages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Concluſion thereof by the KING's bleſſed RESTORATION, and RETURN, upon the 29th of *May*, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honourable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High Chancellor of *England*, Privy Counſellor in the Reigns of King CHARLES the Firſt and the Second.

Κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. *Thucyd.*

Ne quid Falſi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

VOLUME III. PART 2.

OXFORD,

Printed at the THEATER, *An. Dom.* MDCCXVII.

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THE
History of the Rebellion, &c.
BOOK XIII.

Exod. IX. 16, 17.

And in very deed for this cauſe have I raiſed thee up, for to ſhew in thee my power, and that my name may be declared throughout all the Earth. As yet exalteſt thou thy ſelf againſt my People?

THE Marquis of *Argyle*, who did not believe that the King would ever have ventur'd into *Scotland* upon the conditions he had ſent, was ſurpriſed with the account the Commiſſioners had given him, "That his Majeſty reſolv'd to Embark the next day; that he would "leave all his Chaplains, and his other "Servants behind him, and only deferr'd to take the Covenant himſelf till he came thither, with a reſolution to ſatisfy the Kirk if they preſs'd it. Thereupon he immediately diſpatch'd away another Veſſel with new Propoſitions, which the Commiſſioners were to inſiſt upon, and not to conſent to the King's coming into that Kingdom, without he likewiſe conſented to thoſe. But that Veſſel met not with the King's Fleet, which, that it might avoid that of the Parliament, which attended to intercept the King, had held its courſe more Northward, where there are good Harbours; and ſo had put into a Harbour near *Sterlin*, that is, within a days Journey of it, but where there was no Town nearer than that for his Majeſty's reception, or where there was any accommodation even for very ordinary Paſſengers.

Argyle ſends new Propoſitions which miſſed the King.

FROM thence notice was ſent to the Council of the King's arrival: the firſt welcome he receiv'd, was a new demand "That he would ſign the Covenant himſelf, before he ſet his "foot

The King arrives in Scotland.

The King takes the Covenant.

"foot on ſhore; which all about him preſs'd him to do: and he now found, that he had made haſte thither upon very unskilful imaginations, and preſumptions: yet he conſented unto what they ſo imperiouſly required, that he might have leave to put himſelf into the hands of thoſe who reſolv'd nothing leſs than to ſerve him. The Lords of the other Party, who had prevailed with him to ſubmit to all that had been required of him, quickly found that they had deceiv'd both Him and Themſelves, and that no body had any authority but thoſe Men who were their mortal Enemies. So that they would not expoſe themſelves to be impriſon'd, or to be removed from the King; but, with his Majeſty's leave, and having given him the beſt advice they could, what he ſhould do for himſelf, and what he ſhould do for Them, they put themſelves on Shore before the King diſembark'd; and found means to go to thoſe places where they might be ſome time concealed, and which were like to be at diſtance enough from the King. And ſhortly after Duke *Hamilton* retired to the Iſland of *Arran*, which belonged to himſelf; where he had a little Houſe well enough accommodated, the Iſland being for the moſt part inhabited with wild Beaſts: *Lautherdale* concealed himſelf amongſt his Friends; taking care both to be well inform'd of all that ſhould paſs about the King, and to receive their advice upon any occaſions.

Hamilton and Lautherdale depart from the King.

Argyle receives the King.

THE King was receiv'd by the Marquis of *Argyle* with all the outward reſpect imaginable; but, within two days after his landing, all the *Engliſh* Servants he had of any Quality, were remov'd from his Perſon, the Duke of *Buckingham* only excepted. The reſt, for the moſt part, were receiv'd into the Houſes, of ſome Perſons of Honour, who liv'd at a diſtance from the Court, and were themſelves under a cloud for their known Affections, and durſt only attend the King to kiſs his hand, and then retired to their Houſes, that they might give no occaſion of jealouſy; others of his Servants were not ſuffer'd to remain in the Kingdom, but were forced preſently to reimbark themſelves for *Holland*; amongſt which was *Daniel O Neile*, who hath been often mention'd before, and who came from the Marquis of *Ormond* into *Holland*, juſt when his Majeſty was ready to Embark, and ſo waited upon him; and was no ſooner known to be with his Majeſty (as he was a Perſon very generally known) but he was apprehended by order from the Council, for being an *Iriſh* man, and having been in Arms on the late King's behalf in the late War; for which they were not without ſome diſcourſe of putting him to death; but they did immediately baniſh him the Kingdom, and obliged him to ſign a paper, by which he conſented to be put to death, if he were ever after found in the Kingdom.

Moſt of the King's Engliſh *Servants remov'd from him.*

Daniel O Neile apprehended by order of the Council of Scotland; *and baniſhed.*

THEY

THEY ſent away likewiſe Mr *Robert Long*, who was his Principal, not only, Secretary of State, and had very much perſwaded his going thither; and Sr *Edward Walker*, who was Clerk of the Council, and had been Secretary at War during the late War, and ſome others, upon the like exceptions. They placed other Servants of all conditions about the King, but principally relied upon their Clergy; who were in ſuch a continual attendance about him, that he was never free from their importunities, under pretence of inſtructing him in Religion: and ſo they obliged him to their conſtant hours of their long Prayers, and made him obſerve the *Sundays* with more rigour than the *Jews* accuſtom'd to do their Sabbath; and reprehended him very ſharply if he ſmiled on thoſe days, and if his looks and geſtures did not pleaſe them, whilſt all their Prayers and Sermons, at which he was compelled to be preſent, were libels, and bitter invectives againſt all the Actions of his Father, the Idolatry of his Mother, and his own Malignity.

Mr Long alſo ſent away.

Their Clergy always about the King.

Their Sermons before him.

HE was not preſent in their Councils, nor were the reſults thereof communicated to him; nor was he, in the leaſt degree, communicated with, in any part of the Government; Yet they made great ſhew of outward Reverence to him, and even the Chaplains, when they uſed Rudeneſs and Barbarity in their reprehenſions and reproaches, approached him ſtill with bended knees, and in the humbleſt poſtures. There was never a better Courtier than *Argyle*; who uſed all poſſible addreſs to make himſelf gracious to the King, entertain'd him with very pleaſant diſcourſes, with ſuch inſinuations, that the King did not only very well like his Converſation, but often believ'd that he had a mind to pleaſe and gratify him: but then, when his Majeſty made any attempt to get ſome of his Servants about him, or to reconcile the two Factions, that the Kingdom might be united, he gather'd up his countenance, and retir'd from him, without ever yielding to any one Propoſition that was made to him by his Majeſty. In a word, the King's Table was well ſerv'd; there he ſate in Majeſty, waited upon with decency: he had good Horſes to ride abroad to take the Air, and was then well attended; and, in all publick Appearances, ſeem'd to want nothing that was due to a great King. In all other reſpects, with reference to Power to oblige or gratify any Man, to diſpoſe or order any thing, or himſelf to go to any other place than was aſſign'd to him, he had nothing of a Prince, but might very well be look'd upon as a Priſoner.

Argyle's *behaviour to him.*

BUT that which was of ſtate and luſtre made moſt noiſe, and was induſtriouſly tranſmitted into all Nations and States; the other of diſreſpect or reſtraint, was not communicated;

and if it could not be entirely conceal'd, it was consider'd only as a Faction between particular great Men, who contended to get the Power into their hands, that they might the more notoriously and eminently serve that Prince whom they all equally acknowledg'd. The King's Condition seem'd wonderfully advanced, and his being possess'd of a Kingdom without a Rival, in which there was no appearance of an Enemy, look'd like an earnest for the Recovery of the other Two, and, for the present, as a great addition of Power to him in his Kingdom of *Ireland*, by a conjunction, and absolute Submission of all the *Scots* in *Ulster* to the Marquis of *Ormond*, the King's Lieutenant there.

ALL Men who had dissuaded his Majesty's repair into *Scotland*, were look'd upon as very weak Politicians, or as Men who opposed the Publick good, because they were excluded, and might not be suffer'd to act any part in the adventure; and they who had advanced the design, valu'd themselves exceedingly upon their activity in that Service. The States of *Holland* thought they had merited much in suffering their Ships to Transport him, and so being ministerial to his greatness; which they hoped would be remember'd; and they gave all Countenance to the *Scotish* Merchants and Factors who liv'd in their Dominions, and some secret Credit, that they might send Arms and Ammunition, and whatsoever else was necessary for the King's Service into that Kingdom. *France* it self look'd very chearfully upon the change; Congratulated the Queen with much Ceremony, and many Professions; and took pains to have it thought and believ'd, that they had had a share in the Counsel, and contributed very much to the reception the King found in *Scotland*, by their influence upon *Argyle* and his Party. And it hath been mention'd before, how great a Reputation this little dawning of Power, how clouded soever, gave to the Embassadours in *Spain*, and had raised them, from such a degree of disrespect, as was near to contempt, to the full dignity and estimation in that Court that was due to the Station in which they were.

THERE fell out there an accident at this time, which was a great manifestation of the Affection of that Court, and indeed of the Nation. As *Don Alonzo de Cardinas* had used all the Credit he had, to dispose that Court to a good correspondence with the Parliament, so he had employ'd as much care to encline those in *England* to have a confidence in the Affection of his Master, and assur'd them, "That if they would "send an Embassadour, or other Minister into *Spain*, he "should find a good reception. The Parliament, in the infancy of their Common-wealth, had more inclination to make a Friendship with *Spain* than with *France*, having at that time

time a very great prejudice to the Cardinal; and therefore, upon this encouragement from *Don Alonzo*, they reſolv'd to ſend an Envoy to *Madrid*; and made choice of one *Aſcham*, a Scholar, who had been concern'd in drawing up the King's Tryal, and had written a Book to determine in what time, and after how many years, the Allegiance which is due from Subjects to their Soveraigns, comes to be determin'd after a Conqueſt; and that, from that term, it ought to be paid to thoſe who had ſubdued them: A ſpeculation they thought fit to cheriſh.

Aſcham *ſent Agent into* Spain *from the Parliament of* England.

THIS Man, unacquainted with buſineſs, and unskill'd in language, attended by three others, the one a Renegado *Franciſcan* Fryar, who had been bred in *Spain*, and was well verſed in the Language; another, who was to ſerve in the condition of a Secretary; and the third, an inferior Fellow for any Service, arriv'd all in *Spain* in an *Engliſh* Merchant's Ship: Of which *Don Alonzo* gave ſuch timely notice, that he was receiv'd and entertain'd by the chief Magiſtrate at his landing, until they gave notice of it to the Court. The Town was quickly full of the rumour, that an Embaſſadour was Landed from *England*, and would be receiv'd there; which no body ſeem'd to be well pleaſed with. And the Embaſſadours expoſtulated with *Don Lewis de Haro* with ſome warmth, "That "his Catholick Majeſty ſhould be the firſt Chriſtian Prince "that would receive an Embaſſadour from the odious, and "execrable Murderers of a Chriſtian King, his Brother and "Ally; which no other Prince had yet done, out of the de-"teſtation of that horrible Parricide: And therefore they de-ſired him, "That *Spain* would not give ſo infamous an exam-"ple to the other parts of the World. *Don Lewis* aſſured them, "That there was no ſuch thing as an Embaſſadour com-"ing from *England*, nor had the King any purpoſe to re-"ceive any: That it was true, they were inform'd that there "was an *Engliſh* Gentleman Landed at *Cales*, and come to *Se-"vil*; who ſaid, he was ſent from the Parliament with Let-"ters for the King; which was teſtified by a Letter from "*Don Alonzo de Cardinas* to the Duke of *Medina Celi*; who "thereupon had given order for his Entertainment at *Sevil*, "till the King ſhould give further order: That it was not "poſſible for the King to refuſe to receive the Letter, or to "ſee the Man who brought it; who pretended no kind of "Character: That having an Embaſſadour reſiding in *Eng-"land* to preſerve the Trade and Commerce between the two "Nations, they did believe, that this Meſſenger might be "ſent with ſome Propoſitions from the *Engliſh* Merchants for "the advancement of that Trade, and if they ſhould refuſe "to hear what he ſaid, it might give a juſt offence, and de-

The Embaſſadours there expoſtulate with Don Lewis *about it.*

His Anſwer.

"stroy all the Commerce; which would be a great damage to "both Nations.

THAT this new Agent might come securely to *Madrid*, an old Officer of the Army was sent from *Sevil* to accompany him thither; who came with him in the Coach, and gave notice every night to *Don Lewis* of their advance. There were at that time, over and above the *English* Merchants, many Officers and Soldiers in *Madrid*, who had serv'd in the *Spanish* Armies, both in *Catalonia* and in *Portugal*; and these Men had consulted amongst themselves how they might kill this fellow, who came as an Agent from the new Republick of *England*; and half a dozen of them, having notice of the day he was to come into the Town, which was generally discoursed of, rode out of the Town to meet him; but, missing him, they return'd again, and found that he had enter'd into it by another way; and having taken a view of his Lodging, they met again the next Morning; and finding, accidentally, one of the Embassadours Servants in the streets, they perswaded him to go with them, and so went to the House where *Ascham* Lodged; and, without asking any Questions, walked directly up the stairs into his Chamber; leaving a couple of their number at the door of the street, lest, upon any noise in the House, that door might be shut upon them. They who went up, drew their Swords; and besides their intentions, in disorder, kill'd the Fryar as well as the Agent; and so return'd to their Companions with their swords naked and bloody, and some foolish expressions of triumph, as if they had perform'd a very gallant and a justifiable Service. Notwithstanding all which, they might have dispersed themselves, and been secure, the People were so little concern'd to enquire what they had done. But they being in confusion, and retaining no composed thoughts about them, finding the door of a little Chapel open, went in thither for sanctuary: Only he who was in the Service of Embassadours, separated himself from the rest, and went into the House of the *Venetian* Embassadour. By this time the People of the House where the Man lay, had gone up into the Chamber; where they found two dead, and the other two crept, in a terrible fright, under the Bed; and the Magistrates and People were about the Church, and talking with, and examining the Persons who were there: And the Rumour was presently divulged about the Town, "That one of the *English* Embassadours was "kill'd.

Ascham kill'd by some Officers at his Lodgings in Madrid.

All but one fly to a Chapel for sanctuary; he, to the Venetian *Embassadours.*

THEY were at that time entring into their Coach to take the Air, according to an appointment which they had made the day before. When they were inform'd of what had passed, and that *Harry Progers*, who was their Servant, had been in the

the Action, and was retir'd to the House of the *Venetian* Embassadour, they were in trouble and perplexity; dismiss'd their Coach, and return'd to their Lodging. Though they abhorr'd the Action that was committed, they foresaw the presence of one of their own Servants in it, and even some passionate words they had used in their expostulation with *Don Lewis*, against the reception of such a Messenger, as if "The King "their Master had too many Subjects in that place, for such a "fellow to appear there with any security, would make it be "believ'd by many, that the attempt had not been made with-"out their consent or privity. In this trouble of mind, they immediately writ a Letter to *Don Lewis de Haro*, to express the sense they had of this unfortunate rash Action; "Of "which, they hoped, he did believe, if they had had any no-"tice or suspicion, they would have prevented it. *Don Lewis* return'd them a very dry Answer; "That he could not ima-"gine that they could have a hand in so foul an Assassina-"tion in the Court (for all *Madrid* is call'd, and look'd upon as the Court) "of a Person under the immediate Protection "of the King: However, that it was an Action so unheard "of, and so dishonourable to the King, that his Majesty was "resolv'd to have it examin'd to the bottom, and that exem-"plary Justice should be done upon the Offenders: That his "own Embassadour in *England* might be in great danger upon "this Murther; and that they would send an Express presently "thither to satisfy the Parliament how much his Catholick "Majesty detested, and was offended with it, and resolv'd to "do Justice upon it; and if his Embassadour underwent any "inconvenience There, they were not to wonder, if his Ma-"jesty were severe Here; and so left it to them to imagine that their own Persons might not be safe.

The Embassadours write to Don Lewis *about this Action.*

His Answer.

But they knew the temper of the Court too well, to have the least apprehension of that: yet they were a little surprised, when they first saw the Multitude of People gather'd together about their House, upon the first News of the Action; insomuch that the street before their House, which was the broadest in *Madrid* (the *Calle de Alcala*) was so throng'd that Men could hardly pass. But they were quickly out of that apprehension, being assured, that the jealousy that one of the *English* Embassadours had suffer'd Violence, had brought that Multitude together; which they found to be true; for they no sooner shew'd themselves in a Balcony to the People, but they saluted them with great kindness, pray'd for the King their Master, curs'd and reviled the Murtherers of his Father; and so departed. They who had betaken themselves to the Chapel, were, the next day or the second, taken from thence by a principal Officer after Examination, and sent to the Prison:

Those that fled to the Chapel are taken thence, and Imprison'd; the other escapes into France.

ſon: the other was not inquir'd after; but, having conceal'd himſelf for ten or twelve days, he went out of the Town in the night; and, without any interruption or trouble, went into *France*.

Of all the Courts in Chriſtendom *Madrid* is that where Embaſſadours, and Publick Miniſters, receive the greateſt Reſpect, which, beſides the Honour and Punctuality of that People, bred up in the obſervation of diſtances and order, proceeds from the excellent method the Embaſſadours have of living with mutual reſpect towards each other, and in mutual concernment for each others Honour and Privileges: ſo that, if any Embaſſadour, in Himſelf or his Servants, receive any Affront or Diſreſpect, all the other Embaſſadours repair to him; and offer their Service, and Interpoſition, by which means they are not only preſerv'd from any Invaſion by any private and particular Inſolence, but even from ſome Acts of Power, which the Court it ſelf hath ſome time thought fit to exerciſe, upon an extraordinary occaſion, towards a Miniſter of whom they had no regard. All are united on the behalf of the Character; and will not ſuffer that to be done towards one, which by the conſequence, may reflect upon all.

It cannot be imagin'd, with what general compaſſion all the Embaſſadours look'd upon theſe unhappy Gentlemen, who had involv'd themſelves by their raſhneſs in ſo much peril. They came to the *Engliſh* Embaſſadours to Adviſe, and Conſult what might be done to preſerve them, every one offering his Aſſiſtance. The Action could in no degree be juſtified; all that could be urged and inſiſted upon in their behalf, was the Privilege of Sanctuary, "They had betaken "themſelves to the Church; and the taking them from thence, "by what Authority ſoever, was a violation of the Right and "Immunities of the Church, which, by the Laws of the King-"dom, was ever defended with all tenderneſs. So that be-"fore the guilt of the Blood could be examin'd, the Pri-"ſoners deſired that their Privilege might be examin'd and "that they might have Council aſſign'd them to that purpoſe; which were granted; and ſeveral Arguments were made upon the matter of Law before the Judges; who were favourable enough to the Priſoners. The King's Council urged, "That "in caſe of Aſſaſſination, the Privilege of Sanctuary was ne-"ver allow'd (which is true) and cited many Preſidents of late years in *Madrid* it ſelf, where for leſs Crimes than of Blood, Men had been taken out of the Sanctuary, and tried, and executed. The *Engliſh* Embaſſadours thought not fit to appear on their behalf, and yet were not willing that the new Republick ſhould receive ſo much Countenance from that Court, as would have reſulted from putting thoſe Gentlemen

to

to death as if they had kill'd a Publick Miniſter. The Pope's Nuntio, *Julio Roſpiglioſi*, who was afterwards *Clement* the Ninth, could not according to the Style of the Roman Court, either give or receive Viſits from the *Engliſh* Embaſſadours: but they perform'd Civilities to each other by Meſſages, and paſſed mutual Salutations, with all reſpect to each other, as they met abroad. And the *Venetian* Embaſſadour brought them frequent aſſurances, "That the Nuntio had ſpoken very ef-"fectually to the King, and to *Don Lewis*, for the redelivery "of the Priſoners to the Church, and preſſed it ſo hard upon "the Conſcience of the King, that he had ſome promiſe that "they ſhould not ſuffer.

The Nuntio Roſpiglioſi required them to be deliver'd back.

In the mean time, thundering Letters came from the Parliament, with great Menaces what they would do, if exemplary Juſtice was not inflicted upon thoſe who had Murder'd their Envoy; and *Don Alonzo* urged it, as if "He thought "himſelf in danger till full ſatisfaction ſhould be given in that "particular; all which for the preſent made deep impreſſion, ſo that they knew not what to do; the King often declaring "That he would not infringe the Privilege of the Church, and "ſo undergo the Cenſure of the Pope, for any advantage he "could receive with reference to any of his Dominions. In the end (that the diſcourſe of this Affair may not be reſum'd again hereafter) after a long Impriſonment (for during the Embaſſadours ſtay they would not bring them to any Trial, leſt they might ſeem to do any thing upon their ſollicitation) the Priſoners were proceeded againſt aſſoon, or ſhortly after the Embaſſadours had left *Madrid*, and were all condemn'd to dye; and aſſoon as the Sentence was declar'd, all the Priſoners were again deliver'd into the ſame Church; where they remain'd many days, having Proviſions of Victuals ſent to them by many Perſons of Quality, until they had all opportunity to make their Eſcape, which was very ſucceſsfully done by all but one; who, being the only Proteſtant amongſt them, was more maliciouſly look'd after and watch'd, and was follow'd, and apprehended after he had made three days Journey from *Madrid*, and carried back thither, and put to death: which was all the ſatisfaction the Parliament could obtain in that Affair; and is an inſtance, how far that People was from any Affection to thoſe of *England* in their Hearts, how much ſoever they comply'd with them out of the neceſſity of their Fortune.

The Iſſue of this buſineſs after the Embaſſadours departure.

When ſome weeks were paſſed after that unlucky accident, the Embaſſadours went to confer with *Don Lewis* upon ſome other occurrence, with no purpoſe of mentioning any thing of the Priſoners. *Don Lewis* ſpoke of it in a manner they did not expect, one expreſſion was "*Yo tengo invidia de*

"*eſtos*

"*estos, Cavaleros &c.* I envy those Gentlemen for having "done so noble an Action, how penal soever it may prove "to them, to revenge the Blood of their King. Whereas, he said, "The King his Master wanted such resolute Subjects; "otherwise he would never have lost a Kingdom, as he had "done *Portugal*, for want of one brave Man; who, by taking "away the Life of the Usurper, might at any time, during the "first two years, have put an end to that Rebellion.

To return now to the Affairs of *Scotland*: Whether when the Marquis of *Argyle* first knew that the King would venture himself into *Scotland*, he suspected his own strength, and so sent for his Friend *Cromwell* to assist them; or whether it seem'd more reasonable to the Parliament, when it was assured of the King's being there, to Visit him in that Kingdom, than to expect a Visit from him, is not enough clear at this time. But assoon as the King was in *Scotland*, *Cromwell*, being sent for by the Parliament, left what remain'd to be done in *Ireland* to *Ireton* (who had Married his Daughter) and made him Deputy; and transported himself into *England*; where the Parliament, not without great opposition from all the Presbyterian Party, resolv'd to send an Army into *Scotland*. Many opposed it, as they thought it an unjust and unprofitable War, and knew it must be a very expensive one; and others, because it would keep up, and increase the Power and Authority of the Army in *England*; which was already found to be very grievous.

Cromwell, *sent for by the Parliament out of* Ireland, *leaves* Ireton *his Deputy.*

The Parliament resolv'd to send an Army into Scotland.

THIS Resolution produced another great Alteration: *Fairfax*, who had hitherto worn the Name of General, declar'd positively that he would not Command the Army against *Scotland*. The Presbyterians said, "It was because he thought "the War unlawful, in regard it was against those of the same "Religion; but his Friends would have it believ'd, that he would not Fight against the King. Hereupon *Cromwell* was chosen General; which made no Alteration in the Army; which he had modell'd to his own mind before, and Commanded as absolutely. But in all other places he grew more absolute and more imperious; he discountenanced, and suppressed the Presbyterians in all places; who had been supported by *Fairfax*. The Independents had all Credit about him; and the Churches and Pulpits were open to all kind of People who would shew their Gifts there; and a general Distraction and Confusion in Religion cover'd the whole Kingdom; which raised as general a discontent in the minds of the People, who finding no ease from the Burthens they had so long sustain'd, but an increase of the Taxes and Impositions every day, grew weary of their new Government; and heartily pray'd, that their General might never return from *Scotland*,

Fairfax *gives up his Commission.*

Cromwell *made General.*

land, but that, he being deſtroy'd there, the King might return Victorious into *London*. The bitterneſs and perſecution againſt their Brethen in *England*, and the old Animoſity they had long borne againſt the Perſon of *Cromwell*, made thoſe in Authority in that Kingdom reſolve to defend themſelves againſt his Invaſion, and to draw together a very numerous Body of Men well provided, and ſupplied with all things neceſſary but Courage and Conduct. They were ſo careful in the modelling this Army, that they ſuffer'd few or no Officers or Soldiers, who had been in the Engagement of Duke *Hamilton*, or who gave the leaſt occaſion to be ſuſpected to wiſh well to the King or to the *Hamiltonian* Party, to be lifted or receiv'd into their Service. So that they had only ſome old diſcredited Officers, who, being formerly thought unworthy of Command, had ſtuck cloſe to *Argyle* and to the Party of the Kirk. The truth is, the whole Army was under the Government of a Committee of the Kirk and the State; in which the Miniſters exerciſed the ſole Authority, and pray'd and preach'd againſt the Vices of the Court, and the Impiety and Tyranny of *Cromwell*, equally; and promiſed their Army Victory over the Enemy as poſitively, and in as confident terms, as if God himſelf had directed them to declare it. The King deſir'd that he might Command this Army, at leaſt run the Fortune of it. But they were hardly prevail'd with to give him leave once to ſee it; and, after he had been in it three or four hours, upon the obſervation that the Common Soldiers ſeem'd to be much pleas'd to ſee him, they cauſed him to return, and the next day carried him to a place at a greater diſtance from the Army; declaring, "That they found "the Soldiers too much inclin'd to put their Confidence in the "Arm of Fleſh; whereas their hope and dependence was to be only in God; and they were moſt aſſur'd of Victory by the "Prayers, and Piety of the Kirk.

The Scots raiſe an Army againſt him.

In *July Cromwell* enter'd *Scotland*, and march'd without any oppoſition till he came within leſs than a days Journey of *Edenborough*; where he found the *Scotiſh* Army encamped upon a very advantageous ground; and he made his Quarters as near as he could conveniently, and yet with diſadvantages enough. For the Country was ſo deſtroyed behind him, and the Paſſes ſo guarded before, that he was compelled to ſend for all his Proviſion for Horſe and Foot from *England* by Sea; inſomuch as the Army was reduced to great ſtreights; and the *Scots* really believ'd, that they had them all at their Mercy, except ſuch as would Embark on board their Ships. But aſſoon as *Cromwell* had recover'd ſome Proviſions, his Army begun to remove, and ſeem'd to provide for their March. Whether that March was to retire out of ſo barren a Coun-

Cromwell enters Scotland.

Country for want of Provisions (which no doubt were very scarce; and the Season of the year would not permit them to depend upon all necessary Supplies by Sea, for it was now the Month of *September*) or whether that motion was only to draw the *Scots* from the advantageous post of which they were possessed, is not yet understood. But it was confessed on all sides, that, if the *Scots* had remain'd within their Trenches, and sent Parties of Horse to have follow'd the *English* Army closely, they must have so disorder'd them, that they would have left their Cannon, and all their heavy Carriage behind them, besides the danger the Foot must have been in. But the *Scots* did not intend to part with them so easily; they doubted not but to have the Spoil of the whole Army. And therefore they no sooner discern'd that the *English* were upon their march, but they decamped, and follow'd with their whole Body all the Night following, and found themselves in the Morning within a small distance of the Enemy: for *Cromwell* was quickly advertised that the *Scotish* Army was dislodged, and marched after him; and thereupon he made a stand, and put his Men in good order. The *Scots* found they were not upon so clear a chase as they imagin'd, and placed themselves again upon such a side of a Hill, as they believ'd the *English* would not have the Courage to attack them there.

The distress of Cromwell's *Army.*

Cromwell *entirely routs the* Scots *in the Battle of* Dunbar.

But *Cromwell* knew them too well to fear them upon any ground, when there were no Trenches, or Fortifications to keep him from them; and therefore he made haste to charge them on all sides, upon what advantage-ground soever they stood. Their Horse did not sustain one Charge; but fled, and were pursued with a great execution. The Foot depended much upon their Ministers, who preach'd, and pray'd, and assur'd them of the Victory, till the *English* were upon them; and some of their Preachers were knock'd in the head, whilst they were promising the Victory. Though there was so little resistance made, that *Cromwell* lost very few Men by that days Service, yet the Execution was very terrible upon the Enemy; the whole Body of the Foot being, upon the matter, cut in pieces; no quarter was given till they were weary of killing; so that there were between five and six thousand dead upon the place; and very few, but they who escaped by the heels of their Horse, were without terrible wounds; of which very many died shortly after; especially such of their Ministers who were not kill'd upon the place, as very many were, had very notable marks about the head, and the face, that any Body might know that they were not hurt by chance, or in the croud, but by very good will. All the Cannon, Ammunition, Carriages, and Baggage, were entirely

tirely taken, and *Cromwell* with his victorious Army march'd directly to *Edenborough*; where he found plenty of all things which he wanted, and good accommodation for the refreshing his Army, which ſtood in need of it. *Cromwell enters Edenborough.*

NEVER Victory was attended with leſs lamentations: for as *Cromwell* had great argument of Triumph in the total Defeat and deſtruction of the only Army that was in *Scotland*; which Defeat had put a great part of that Kingdom, and the chief City of it, under his Obedience; ſo the King, who was then at St *Johnſton's*, was glad of it, as the greateſt happineſs that could befall him, in the loſs of ſo ſtrong a Body of his Enemies; who, if they ſhould have prevailed, his Majeſty did believe that they would have ſhut him up in a Priſon the next day; which had been only a ſtricter confinement than he ſuffer'd already: For the Lord *Lorne*, eldeſt Son to the Marquis of *Argyle*, being Captain of his Guard, had ſo watchful a care of him both night and day, that his Majeſty could not go any whither without his leave. But, after this Defeat, they all look'd upon the King as one they might ſtand in need of: they permitted his Servants, who had been ſequeſter'd from him from his Arrival in the Kingdom, to attend and wait upon him, and begun to talk of calling a Parliament, and of a time for the King's Coronation; which had not hitherto been ſpoken of. Some Miniſters begun to Preach obedience to the King; the Officers, who had been caſhier'd for their Malignity, talked aloud of "The miſcarriages in the "Government, and that the Kingdom was betrayed to the "Enemy for want of confidence in the King, who alone "could preſerve the Nation. They of the Council ſeem'd not to have ſo abſolute a dependence upon the Marquis of *Argyle*, but ſpoke more freely than they had uſed to do; and the Marquis applied himſelf more to the King, and to thoſe about him: ſo that the King did, in a good degree, enjoy the fruit of this victory, as well as *Cromwell*, though his Majeſty's advantage was diſcern'd by a few Men only, and thoſe reduced into an obſcure quarter of the Kingdom; but the other made the *éclat*. The deſtruction of the only Army, and the poſſeſſing of *Edenborough*, was look'd upon, in all places, as the entire conqueſt of the whole Kingdom. *The King gets advantage by this.*

DON *Alonzo* made haſte to ſend the News into *Spain* of "The total and irrecoverable defeat of the King; that he was "driven into the High-lands; from whence he would be "compell'd to fly, aſſoon as he could get means to eſcape: that "the Republick was now ſettled, and no more fear or hope "of the King: the effect of all which, the Embaſſadours quickly found at *Madrid*, by the carriage and countenance of that King and the Council; though it cannot be denied that the

the Common People appear'd to have a much more generous ſenſe of the Alteration, than the others did. The Embaſſadours receiv'd ſhortly a full advertiſement of the truth; and "that the King thought his condition much improv'd by the "defeat; and they uſed all the means they could, by ſeveral Audiences, to inform the King of *Spain* and *Don Lewis* of the truth; and "That they were misinform'd, as if the Army "overthrown was the King's; whereas they were indeed as "much his Enemies, as *Cromwell's* was. But in this they could obtain no credit, and all ways were taken to make them perceive, that it was heartily wiſh'd they were gone; which they were reſolv'd to take no notice of.

The Secretary of State brings a meſſage from the King of Spain *to the Embaſſadours to deſire them to be gone.*

In the end, one morning, the Secretary of State came to them from the King; and told them, "That they had been "now above a year in that Court, where they had been well "treated, notwithſtanding ſome miſcarriages, which might "very juſtly have incenſed his Catholick Majeſty (mentioning the death of *Aſcham*) "That they were Extraordinary Embaſſadours, and ſo needed not any Letters of Revocation; "that they had receiv'd Anſwers to all they had propoſed, and "were at liberty to depart; which his Catholick Majeſty de"ſired they would do, ſince their preſence in the Court would "be very prejudicial to his Affairs. This unexpected and unuſual Meſſage, deliver'd ungracefully enough by an old Man, who, notwithſtanding his Office, was look'd upon with little reverence to his parts, made them believe "That he had "miſtaken his Meſſage, at leaſt that he had deliver'd it with "leſs Courtly circumſtances than he ought to have done. And therefore they return'd no other Anſwer, than "That they "would attend *Don Lewis de Haro*, and underſtand from Him "the King's pleaſure. The next day, they ſent for an Audience to *Don Lewis*; whom they found with a leſs open Countenance than he uſed to have; nor did he appear any thing more Courtly than the Secretary had done; but told them, that there were Orders ſent to ſuch a Perſon (whom he nam'd) to prepare their preſent; which ſhould be ready within very few days; and preſs'd them very plainly, and without any regard to the ſeaſon of the year, it being then towards the end of *January*, to uſe all poſſible expedition for their departure, as a thing that, even in that reſpect, did exceedingly concern the ſervice of the King. This made the Embaſſadours imagine, which was likewiſe reported, that there was a formal Embaſſadour upon his way from *England*, and that the Court would be no more liable to the like Accidents. But they knew afterwards, that the cauſe of all this haſte was, that they might bring into the Town as many Pictures, and other choice and rich Furniture, as did load eighteen Mules; which, as

They apply to Don Lewis.

The reaſon of thier being preſt to depart Madrid *in ſuch haſte.*

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was ſaid before, *Don Alonzo* had bought of the King's goods, and then ſent to *Groyne*, and which they did not then think could be decently brought to the Palace, whilſt the Embaſſadours ſhould continue and remain in the Town.

THIS injunction to leave *Madrid*, in ſo unſeaſonable a time of the year, was very ſevere to the Embaſſadours. The Lord *Cottington* was at this time ſeventy ſix years of Age, once or twice in a year troubled with the Gout, in other reſpects of great vigour of Body and Mind; nor did there appear in his natural parts any kind of decay. He had reſolv'd, when he firſt propoſed this Embaſſy to the King, and it may be, it was the chief reaſon of propoſing it, that, if there ſhould be no door open to let him return into *England*, by the time that his Embaſſy ſhould expire, he would remain and die in *Spain*. But he did then believe, that he ſhould have found another kind of Entertainment there than he had done. He had, without doubt deſerv'd very well from that Nation, having always perform'd thoſe Offices towards them which made him look'd upon at home as too well affected to that People, which, together with his conſtant oppoſition of the *French*, had render'd him very ungracious to the Queen: yet there were ſome ſeaſons, in which his credit and authority was not great enough to obtain all things for them which they deſir'd, and expected; as when their Fleet, under the command of *Oquendo*, about the year 1639, had been aſſaulted in the *Downs*, and defeated by the *Dutch* Fleet, for want of that protection which they thought the King might have given to them. And it is probable their Embaſſadours, who were then in *England*, whereof *Don Alonzo* was one, did not find that readineſs and alacrity in him to appear in their ſervice, as they had formerly done; he very well knowing, that the being ſollicitous for them, in that conjuncture, might do Himſelf Harm, and could do Them no good. But theſe Omiſſions were now remember'd, and all his ſervices forgotten: ſo that (as hath been touch'd before) his reception, from the firſt hour of his coming laſt thither, was very cold both from the King and the Court. And though he was now willing to reſume his former reſolution of ſtaying there; yet the treatment he had receiv'd, and this laſt farewell, made him doubt, very reaſonably, whether he ſhould be permitted to ſtay there or not.

THERE was another circumſtance, which was neceſſary to his reſiding in *Spain*, in which he met with ſome difficulties that he had not foreſeen, and which did exceedingly perplex him; and which he plainly enough diſcern'd, and knew to be the true cauſe of all the diſcountenance he had met with in that Court (though he was willing the other Embaſſadour, who knew nothing of it, ſhould believe that it proceeded from

from what had paſſed in *England*) which was then remember'd in the diſcourſe of the Court, and was the true cauſe of the general prejudice to him there. He had been formerly reconciled in that Kingdom to the Church of *Rome*, and had conſtantly gone to the Maſs there; and declaring himſelf afterwards in *England* to be of the Religion of the Church of *England*, he was Apoſtatiz'd from the other; which, in that Country, is look'd upon as ſuch a Brand, as the infamy of it can never be wiped out; and this indeed was the reaſon of that King's ſo notable averſion from him. The truth is, he had never made any enquiry into Religion to inform himſelf, but had conform'd to that which the Province he held oblig'd him to; and though he could never get the reputation in *England* of being well affected to that Church, and was always look'd upon as moſt inclin'd to the *Roman*, yet he convinced thoſe who would have taken advantage of that guilt, by being preſent at Prayers, and Sermons, and ſometimes receiving the Sacrament as he did the very laſt *Sunday* he ſtay'd in the *Hague* before he begun his Journey towards *Spain*; and even after his arrival there, was conſtant at the reading the Common Prayers both Morning, and Evening, by their own Chaplain, in their Houſe, as long as the Chaplain liv'd: and many, who knew him very well, did believe that if he had died in *England*, he would have died in the Communion of that Church. But there is no doubt, he did reſolve, from the time that he meant to remain and die in *Spain*, that he would become a *Roman* Catholick again, which he thought to be a much eaſier thing than it was, and that he might have been reconciled by any Prieſt in as private a manner as he could deſire. But when he conſulted that affair with a Jeſuit, who frequently came to the Houſe, he found, that after an Apoſtacy, as they term'd it, it was not in the power of any Prieſt to reconcile him, but that it was reſerv'd to the Pope himſelf, who rarely gives the faculty to any but to his own Nuntio's. This obliged him to reſort thither; which he could not eaſily do without communicating it to the other Embaſſadour; towards whom this was the only ſecret he reſerv'd. And he found a way, as he thought, to elude him in this particular. He told him, ſeveral days, that the Nuntio had ſent him ſuch and ſuch Meſſages by that Jeſuit concerning thoſe Gentlemen who were in Priſon, the ſubſtance whereof did not differ from what the *Venetian* Embaſſadour had formerly deliver'd from him: at laſt, he told him, "That he found the "Nuntio had ſomewhat to ſay in that Affair which he would "not communicate by Meſſage, but wiſh'd to ſpeak with him "in private; for publickly he muſt not be known to have "any conference with him; and that hereupon he reſolv'd to

go

"go *incognito* in Sr *Benjamin Wright*'s Coach to him: which he did, and was then reconciled; and return'd home, making such a relation of their conference to his Companion as he thought fit; and deliver'd the Nuntio's salutation to him. But within two or three days he knew what the Affair was: for, besides that the Nuntio could not perform the Office alone, but was to have the assistance of two or three so qualified, there was really care taken that the other Embassadour might know it. And, before that time, when they both visited the President *de la Hazienda*, who carried them into his Library, whilst the other Embassadour was casting his Eyes upon some Books (it being the best private Library in *Madrid*) the Lord *Cottington* told the President, "That he was "himself a Catholick, but that his Companion was an obsti-"nate Heretick: of which the President sent him information the next day. But since himself forbore ever to Communicate this secret to him, out of an opinion, it is very probable, that he might give some disturbance to his resolution, he likewise took no manner of notice of it to him to the minute of their parting.

The Lord Cottington resolves to stay as a private Man in Spain.

THIS difficulty being over, there remain'd yet another; which was, his having permission to stay in that Country; for which he address'd himself to *Don Lewis*; mentioned "his Age; his infirmity of the Gout; which would infallibly "seize upon him, if, in that season of the year, he should pro-"voke it by an extraordinary Motion; in a word, that it "was impossible for him to make the Journey. *Don Lewis* told him, "He could answer him to part of what he said without "speaking to the King; that he must not think of staying "with the Character of an Embassadour, nor of residing in "*Madrid*, in how private a condition soever; if he desired "any thing with these two restraints, he would move the "King in it. The other told him, "That he submitted to both "these conditions; and only desired Licence to reside in *Val-"ladolid*, where he had liv'd many years, when the Court re-"main'd there, in the time of King *Philip* the third.

THIS place was not dislik'd; and within few days, *Don Lewis* sent him word "That the King approv'd it; and that "he should have a Letter to the chief Magistrate there, to treat "him with all respect; and that his Majesty would take care "that he should not undergo any distress, but would supply "him as his necessities required. And, shortly after, a Mes-sage was sent to the Embassadours to let them know, that the King had appointed such a day for to give them an Audience to take their leave. This new importunity was as extraordinary as the former; however, they perform'd their Ceremonies; and about the beginning of *March*, after they had been

The Embassadours have Audience of leave.

in that Court near fifteen Months, they both left *Madrid* in the ſame hour: the Lord *Cottington* taking his Courſe for *Valladolid*; where he had the ſame Houſe provided, and made ready for him by the care of the *Engliſh* Jeſuits there, in which he had dwelt at the time of his Agency, when the Court reſided there; where he died within one year after, in the 77th year of his Age.

The Lord Cottington *lives at* Valladolid *till he dies.*

His Character.

He was a very wiſe man, by the great and long experience he had in buſineſs of all kinds; and by his natural temper, which was not liable to any tranſport of Anger, or any other paſſion, but could bear contradiction, and even reproach, without being moved, or put out of his way: for he was very ſteady in purſuing what he propoſed to himſelf, and had a courage not to be frighted with any oppoſition. It is true he was illiterate as to the Grammar of any Language, or the principles of any Science, but by his perfectly underſtanding the *Spaniſh* (which he ſpoke as a *Spaniard*) the *French*, and *Italian* Languages, and having read very much in all, he could not be ſaid to be ignorant in any part of Learning, Divinity only excepted. He had a very fine and extraordinary underſtanding in the Nature of Beaſts and Birds, and above all in all kind of Plantations and Arts of Husbandry. He was born a Gentleman both by Father and Mother, his Father having a pretty entire Seat near *Bruton* in *Somerſet-ſhire*, worth above two hundred pounds a year, which had deſcended from Father to Son for many hundred years, and is ſtill in the poſſeſſion of his Elder Brother's Children, the Family having been always Roman Catholick. His Mother was a *Stafford*, nearly allied to Sr *Edward Stafford*; who was Vice-Chamberlain to Queen *Elizabeth*, and had been Embaſſadour in *France*; by whom this Gentleman was brought up, and was Gentleman of his Horſe, and left one of his Executors of his Will, and by him recommended to Sr *Robert Cecil*, then Principal Secretary of State; who preferr'd him to Sr *Charles Conwallis*, when he went Embaſſadour into *Spain*, in the beginning of the Reign of King *James*; where he remain'd, for the ſpace of eleven or twelve years, in the condition of Secretary or Agent, without ever returning into *England* in all that time. He raiſed by his own Virtue and Induſtry a very fair Eſtate, of which, though the Revenue did not exceed above four thouſand pounds by the year; yet he had four very good Houſes, and three Parks, the value whereof was not reckon'd into that computation. He liv'd very Nobly, well ſerv'd, and attended in his Houſe; had a better Stable of Horſes, better proviſion for Sports (eſpecially of Hawks, in which he took great delight, than moſt of his Quality, and liv'd always with great ſplendour; for though he lov'd Money very well, and did not warily enough

enough consider the circumstances of getting it, he spent it well all ways but in giving, which he did not affect. He was of an excellent humour, and very easy to live with; and, under a grave countenance, cover'd the most of mirth, and caused more, than any Man of the most pleasant disposition. He never used any Body ill, but used many very well for whom he had no regard: his greatest fault was, that he could dissemble, and make Men believe that he lov'd them very well, when he cared not for them. He had not very tender Affections, nor Bowels apt to yearn at all objects which deserv'd compassion. He was heartily weary of the world, and no Man was more willing to die; which is an Argument that he had peace of Conscience. He left behind him a greater esteem of his Parts, than love to his Person.

The other Embassadour dismiss'd very courteously.

THE other Embassadour was dismissed with much more Courtesy: for when they heard that his Family remain'd at *Antwerp* in *Flanders*, and that he intended to go thither, and stay there till he receiv'd other Orders from the King his Master, they gave him all dispatches thither which might be of use to him in those Parts. The King of *Spain* himself used many gracious Expressions to him at his last Audience, and sent afterwards to him a Letter for the Arch-Duke *Leopold*; in which he expressed the good opinion he had of the Embassadour; and commanded "That, whilst he should choose to reside in "those Parts, under his Government, he should receive all "Respect, and enjoy all Privileges as an Embassadour: and *Don Lewis de Haro* writ likewise to the Arch-Duke, and the Count of *Fuensaldagna*, "To look upon him as His particular "Friend: all which Ceremonies, though they cost them nothing, were of real benefit and advantage to the Embassadour: for besides the Treatment he receiv'd from the Arch-Duke himself in *Brussels*, as Embassadour, such directions, or recommendations, were sent to the Magistrates at *Antwerp*, that he enjoy'd the privilege of his Chappel, and all the *English*, who were numerous then in that City, repair'd thither with all freedom for their Devotion, and the exercise of their Religion: which liberty had never been before granted to any Man there, and which the *English*, and *Irish* Priests, and the Roman Catholicks of those Nations, exceedingly murmured at, and used all the Endeavours they could to have taken away, though in vain.

In his passage through France *he waits on the Queen Mother.*

IN his passage through *France* he waited upon the Queen Mother, who received him very graciously; and he found there, that the success which *Cromwell* had obtained in *Scotland* (though the King was still there, and in a better condition than before) had the same effect in the Court of *Spain*; it gave over all thoughts of the King, as in a con-

dition not only deplorable, but as absolutely desperate.

THERE had, a little before, fallen out an accident that troubled *France* very much, and no less pleased *Spain*; which was the death of the Prince of *Orange*; a young Prince of great hope and expectation, and of a Spirit that desir'd to be in Action. He had found, that the Peace between *Spain* and the Low-Countries, which his Father had been so sollicitous to make, even at his expiration, was not like to preserve him in equal lustre to what the three former Princes had enjoy'd; and therefore he wished nothing more, than that an opportunity might be offer'd to enter upon the War. He complain'd loudly, that the Court of *Spain* had not observ'd, nor perform'd, many of those Conditions which it was oblig'd to do for the particular benefit of him, and his Family: whereby he continued involv'd in many Debts, which were uneasy to him; and so, upon all occasions which fell out, he adher'd to that Party in the States which were known most to favour the Interest of *France*; which inclination the Cardinal, and the other Ministers of that Crown, used all possible care and endeavour to cultivate: and *Spain* was so much affected with the apprehension of the consequence of that alteration, and with the Conscience of their own having promoted it, by not having complied with their obligations, that they resolv'd to redeem their error, and to reconcile him again, if possible, to them. To this purpose, a very great present was prepar'd at *Madrid* to be sent to him, ten brave *Spanish* Horses, the worst of which cost there three hundred pounds Sterling, with many other rarities of great value, and likewise a present of Plate, Jewels, and perfum'd Leather, to the Princess Royal his Wife; and a full assurance, "That they would forth-"with begin to perform all the Articles which were to be "done by them, and finish all within a short time.

The Death of the Prince of Orange.

THE Express, who was appointed to accompany the present, and to perform the other functions, was to begin his Journey within two days, when the News, arriv'd by an Express from *Brussels*, who came in as short a time as could be imagin'd, that the Prince of *Orange* was dead of the small Pox, and had left the Princess with Child, and very near her time; who was brought to bed of a Son within few days after his decease. The Court at *Madrid* could not conceal its joy, nor dissemble their opinion, that the Enemy whose influence they most apprehended, was fortunately taken out of the way. On the other hand, *France* own'd a great sorrow and grief for the loss of a Man whom they believed to be more than ordinary affected to them; and who, by a conjunction with their Friends in *Holland*, might, in a short time, be much superior to that Party in the States which adher'd to the *Spanish* Interest.

His Princess deliver'd of a Son shortly after.

BUT

BUT no Body receiv'd ſo inſupportable prejudice, and damage, by this fatal blow, as the King of great *Britain* did; towards whom that brave Prince gave all the teſtimony and manifeſtation of the moſt entire, faſt, and unſhaken Affection and Friendſhip, that hath ever been perform'd towards any Perſon under any ſignal Misfortune. Beſides the aſſiſting him, upon ſeveral emergent occaſions, with greater Sums of Money than were eaſy to his incumber'd Fortune, his Reputation, and his declar'd Reſolution, "That he would venture all he "had in that Quarrel, diſpoſed many to be more concern'd for his Majeſty. Though he could not prevail over that Faction in *Holland*, which were known to favour *Cromwell*, (and the more out of their averſion to him, and to his Power and Greatneſs) to induce them to ſerve the King, yet he kept the States General from conſenting to that infamous Alliance and Conjunction, which, ſhortly, after his death, they enter'd into with the new Republick; and which they would never have yielded to, if He had liv'd. And no doubt, the reſpect both *France* and *Spain* had for Him, and his Interpoſition, had prevail'd with both to be more reſtrain'd than they afterwards appear'd to be, in a total declining all conſideration of the King, and rejecting all thoughts of his Reſtoration. It contributed very much to the negligent Farewel the Embaſſadours had receiv'd in *Spain*: For the news of the Prince's death had arriv'd there ſome time before their departure; and it did not only extinguiſh all imaginations in *France* of any poſſible hope for our King, but very much leſſen'd the Reſpect and Civility, which that Court had always ſhew'd to the Queen her ſelf, as a Daughter of *France*; towards whom they expreſſed not that regard they had formerly done.

The King loſt a ſure Friend in the Prince.

BUT there was another accident, which, at this time, gave the Queen more trouble than this; and of which her Majeſty made great complaint to the Chancellor of the Exchequer at his return from *Spain*. Upon the Interview which had been between the King and the Queen at *Beauvais*, when the King went for *Holland*, upon the foreſight, if not the reſolution, that it would be fit for him to adventure his own Perſon into *Scotland*, he had left his Brother the Duke of *York* with the Queen, with direction "That he ſhould conform himſelf en- "tirely to the will and pleaſure of the Queen his Mother, "matters of Religion only excepted. And there was the leſs doubt of his conformity to her Commands, becauſe, beſides his Piety and Duty, which was very entire towards her, he was to depend wholely upon her Bounty for his Support; the Court of *France* not taking any notice of this increaſe of her expence, nor paying her own narrow aſſignation with any punctuality; ſo that ſhe was not able, beſides the reſervedneſs

Touching the Duke of York *left with the Queen.*

in her Nature, ſo to ſupply him as to make his Condition pleaſant to him; but exerciſed the ſame Auſtere Carriage towards him, which ſhe had done to the Prince his Brother, and as unſuccesfully. The Duke was very young, with a numerous Family of his own, not well enough inclin'd to be contented, and conſiſting of Perſons who lov'd not one another, nor their Maſter well enough to conſider him before themſelves: which wrought that effect upon him, that none of them had that Credit with him, that, at ſuch an Age, ſome good Men ought to have had: which proceeded from want of reaſonable providence and circumſpection. For when he made his Eſcape out of *England* (as is mention'd before) he had only one Perſon attending him (who had, before, no relation or pretence to his Service) whoſe Merit might have been otherwiſe requited, than by giving him a title and dependence upon him; and he quickly appear'd to be ſo unworthy of it, that he was remov'd from it. Then was the time that ſuch Perſons ſhould have been placed about him, as might have both diſcover'd ſuch infirmities, as his Nature might incline him to, and have infuſed thoſe Principles of Virtue, and Honour, as he was moſt capable of, and diſpoſed to; and which had been as proper for his preſent Misfortune, as for his higheſt Dignity. But that province was wholely committed to the Queen his Mother by the late King, who was then in Priſon; and her Majeſty being then at *Paris*, when the Duke Landed in *Holland*, ſhe could not deliberate ſo long upon it as ſuch a ſubject requir'd; and ſo was perſwaded by others to conſider them more than her Son; and made haſte to put ſuch a Family about him, with reference to the Number, and to the Offices which they were deſign'd to ſerve in, as was above the greatneſs to which the younger Son of the Crown of *England* could pretend, by the Uſage and Cuſtom of that Kingdom, when it was in the greateſt Splendour; and all this, when there was not in view the leaſt Revenue to Support it, but that the whole Charge and Burden of it muſt inevitably fall upon Her; of which her Majeſty was quickly ſenſible, and paid the penalty at leaſt in the peace and quiet of her Mind.

THE Duke was full of Spirit and Courage, and naturally lov'd deſigns, and deſir'd to engage himſelf in ſome Action that might improve and advance the low Condition of the King his Brother; towards whom he had an inviolable Affection and Fidelity, ſuperior to any Temptation. He was not pleaſed with the treatment he receiv'd in *France*, nor had confidence enough in any of his Servants, to be adviſed by them towards the contriving any expedient that he might reaſonably diſpoſe himſelf to, or to be diſſwaded from any Enterpriſe

terpriſe which his own Paſſion might ſuggeſt to him; though too many had too much Credit with him in contributing to his diſcontents, and in repreſenting the uncomfortableneſs of his own Condition to him; "The little regard the Queen ap-"pear'd to have of him, the luſtre that ſome of her Servants "liv'd in, and thoſe who depended upon them, whilſt his "Royal Highneſs wanted all that was neceſſary, and his Ser-"vants were expoſed to the moſt ſcandalous neceſſities and "contempt; which ſuggeſtions, by degrees, began to abate that reverence in him to the Queen his Mother, to which he was very dutifully inclin'd.

THERE were at that time two Perſons, who, though without any relation to the Court, very much frequented the Duke's Lodgings, and had frequent diſcourſes with him, Sr *Edward Herbert*, and the late King's Atturney General (of whom much is ſaid before) and Sr *George Ratcliff*, who had been deſign'd by that King to attend upon the Duke of *York* into *Ireland*, when he once thought of ſending him thither. But that deſign being quickly laid aſide, there was no more thought of uſing his Service there. The Duke look'd upon them both as Wiſe Men, and fit to give him advice; and finding that they both applied themſelves to him with diligence, and addreſs, he communicated his thoughts more freely to them than to any others. And they took pains to perſwade him to diſlike the Condition he was in, and that he might ſpend his time more to his advantage in ſome other place than in *France*. They ſpoke often to him of the Duke of *Lorraine*, "As a pattern and example for all unfortunate Princes to fol-"low: That he being, by the power and injuſtice of the King "of *France*, driven out of his Principality and Dominions, "had, by his own Virtue and Activity, put himſelf in the "head of an Army; by which he made himſelf ſo conſiderable, "that he was Courted by both the Crowns of *France* and "*Spain*, and might make his Conditions with either accord-"ing to his own election; and in the mean time liv'd with "great Reputation, and in great Plenty, eſteem'd by all the "World for his Courage and Conduct. With theſe, and the like diſcourſes, the Duke was much pleaſed, and amuſed, and wiſh'd in himſelf that he could be put into ſuch a Condition, when in truth there could not a more improper example have been propoſed to him, whoſe Condition was more unlike his, or whoſe Fortune and Manners he was leſs to wiſh to follow, or leſs able to imitate. For the Duke of *Lorraine* had for many years before his Misfortunes, had a great name in War, and was look'd upon as one of the greateſt Captains of *Chriſtendom*; and had drawn the Arms and Power of *France* upon him, by his inconſtancy, and adhering to *Spain*, contrary

Sr Edward Herbert *and* *Sr* G. Ratcliff *have great intereſt in him.*

They recommend to him the pattern of the Duke of Lorraine

The Duke of Lorraine's *Character.*

to his Treaty and obligation with the other Crown; and when he was driven out of his own Country, and not able to defend it, he was in the head of a very good Army, and poſſeſſed of great wealth, which he carried with him, and could not but be very welcome, as he well knew, into *Flanders*, both as his Misfortune proceeded from his Affection to their King, and as his Forces were neceſſary for their defence. And ſo he made ſuch Conditions with them, as were moſt beneficial to himſelf, and yet, in the conſequence, ſo unſucceſful, as might well terrify all other Princes from treading in the ſame footſteps.

The King believ'd in France *to be dead.*

WITH the report of the defeat of that Army by *Cromwell* in *Scotland* (which was the firſt good fortune to the King) or ſhortly after, ſome Letters from *England* brought Intelligence, without any ground, that the King was dangerouſly Sick; and ſhortly after, that he was Dead; which was believ'd in *England*, and from thence tranſmitted into *France*. This gave a new Alarm to thoſe two Gentlemen mention'd before, who receiv'd this information from ſuch Friends in *England*, that they did really believe it to be true; and thereupon concluded, that both the place and the company would not be fit for the new King to be found in: and therefore that it would be neceſſary for him to remove from thence, before the report ſhould be confirm'd, and believ'd.

The Duke of York *acquaints his Mother that he will go to* Bruſſels; *whither he goes.*

WHETHER they imparted this nice conſideration to the Duke or not, his Highneſs, without any Preface of the Motives, told the Queen, "He was reſolv'd to make a Journey to "*Bruſſels*; who, being exceedingly ſurpriſed, ask'd him the reaſon; and "How he could be able to make ſuch a Journey? which ſhe in truth believ'd impoſſible for him, ſince ſhe knew he had no Money. His Anſwer in ſhort was, "That he would "viſit the Duke of *Lorraine*, who had been always a Friend "to his Father, and continued his Affection to the King his "Brother; and he had ſome reaſon to believe, that Duke "would enable him to appear in action, that might be for his "Majeſty's ſervice; and that he was reſolv'd to begin his Journey the next day; from which, neither the Queen's advice, nor Authority, could divert him. Her Majeſty quickly diſcern'd, that neither the Lord *Byron*, nor Sr *John Berkley*, nor Mr *Bennet*, his Secretary, knew any thing of it; and therefore eaſily concluded who the Councellors were; who were both very ungracious to her, and ſhe had long done all ſhe could to leſſen the Duke's eſteem of them. They well foreſaw that the want of Money would be of that force, that, without any other difficulty, the Journey would be render'd impoſſible. They had therefore, upon their own credit, or out of their own ſtore, procur'd as much as would defray the Journey to *Bruſſels*;

Bruſſels; which, by the Duke's directions, was put into the hands of Sr *George Ratcliff*, and to be managed by his providence and diſcretion. And then he publickly declar'd his reſolution to begin his Journey the next day for *Bruſſels*, leaving his Servants to make what ſhift they could to ſtay there, or follow him.

SINCE there was no remedy, the Queen thought it neceſſary that his chief Servants ſhould wait on him, that ſhe might receive an Account what progreſs he made, and what his deſign could be: ſo the Lord *Byron*, and Mr *Bennet*, made themſelves ready for the Journey; Sr *John Berkley* chooſing to ſtay behind, that he might not appear inferior where he had exerciſed the ſupreme Charge. And ſo, with the other two Counſellors, and many of the inferior Servants, the Duke according to his reſolution, left the Queen; and, when he came to *Bruſſels*, he lodged at the Houſe of Sr *Henry de Vic* the King's Reſident, without being taken notice of by any of that Court. There the two Counſellors begun to form his Family, and to confer Offices upon thoſe who were moſt acceptable to them; preſuming that they ſhould ſhortly receive News from *England*, which would confirm all that they had done under other Titles. In the mean time the Government of the Houſe, and ordering the expence, was committed wholely to Sr *George Ratcliff*, whilſt the other contented himſelf with preſiding in the Councils, and directing all the politick deſigns. The Duke of *Lorraine* had viſited the Duke upon his firſt Arrival, and being inform'd of the ſtreights his Royal Highneſs was in, preſented him with one thouſand Piſtols. But now the ſecret ground of all their Counſels was found to be without any reality: the King was not only alive, and in good health, but known to be in the head of an Army that look'd *Cromwell* in the Face; which deſtroy'd all the Machine they had raiſed: yet, being too far Embark'd to retire with any grace, and being encouraged by the civility the Duke of *Lorraine* had ſhew'd towards the Duke, they had the preſumption to propoſe that there might be a Marriage between the Duke of *York*, and the Daughter of the Duke of *Lorraine* by the Counteſs of *Canteroy*; whom he had publickly Married, but which Marriage was declared at *Rome* to be void, by reaſon that his former Wife was ſtill alive.

His two Counſellors propoſe a Match for him with the Duke of Lorraine's *Baſtard Daughter.*

WHEN the Duke of *Lorraine* ſaw how the Affairs of this young Prince were conducted, and that the Lord *Byron*, and Mr *Bennet*, who were Men well bred, and able to have diſcourſed any buſineſs to him, one whereof was his Governour, and the other his Secretary, who by their Offices ought to be more truſted in an Affair of that moment, were not at all acquainted with it, and that the other two Perſons, who were

Men

Men of a very unuſual mien, appear'd in it, and that only Sr *George Ratcliff* undertook to ſpeak to him about it, who could only make himſelf underſtood in *Latin*, which the Duke cared not to ſpeak in, he declin'd entertaining the motion, till he might know that it was made with the King's approbation; which the other did not pretend it to be, but "That he "did not doubt it would be afterwards approv'd by his Ma- "jeſty. Thus they were at the end of their projects; and there being no means to ſtay longer at *Bruſſels*, they perſwaded the Duke to viſit his Siſter at the *Hague*, and there to conſider, and adviſe what was next to be done.

The Duke viſits his Siſter at the Hague.

OF all theſe particulars the Queen complain'd to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with great bitterneſs againſt the folly and preſumption of thoſe two Gentlemen, whoſe fidelity to the King ſhe did not ſuſpect; nor could ſhe imagine the motive that had engaged them in ſuch a bold undertaking; but ſhe requir'd him, "That aſſoon as he ſhould come into *Flan-* "*ders*, he would make a Journey to the *Hague*, and prevail "with the Duke (to whom ſhe writ to the ſame purpoſe) "to "return again to *Paris*; which the Chancellor promiſed to endeavour heartily to do, being exceedingly troubled at the general diſcourſe, which that Sally had adminiſter'd, as if there were a Schiſm in the Royal Family in a ſeaſon when ſo much union was requiſite.

THERE was another inſtance of the King's extreme low condition, and of the higheſt diſrepect the Court of *France* could expreſs towards him, and of which all the Proteſtant Party of the Queen's Family complain'd very vehemently. From the time of the Queen's being in *France*, the late King had appointed a Chaplain of his own, Dr *Coſins*, who was afterwards Biſhop of *Durham*, to attend upon her Majeſty for the conſtant ſervice of that part of her Houſhold, the number of her Proteſtant Servants being much ſuperior to thoſe who were Roman Catholicks. And the Queen had always punctually comply'd with the King's directions, and uſed the Chaplain very graciouſly, and aſſign'd him a competent ſupport with the reſt of her Servants. An under Room in the *Louvre*, out of any common paſſage, had been aſſign'd for their Morning and Evening Devotions; the Key whereof was committed to the Chaplain; who cauſed the Room to be decently furniſh'd, and kept; being made uſe of to no other purpoſe. Here, when the Prince firſt came thither, and afterwards, whilſt he ſtay'd, he perform'd his Devotions all the Week, but went *Sundays* ſtill to the Reſident's Houſe to hear Sermons. At this time an Order was ſent from the Queen Regent, "That that Room ſhould be no more apply'd to that "purpoſe, and that the *French* King would not permit the "Exerciſe

Dr Coſins *forbid to officiate to the Proteſtants in the Queen's Family at Paris.*

"Exerciſe of any other Religion in any of his Houſes than the "Roman Catholick: and the Queen gave notice to the Chaplain "That ſhe was no longer able to continue the payment "of the Exhibition ſhe had formerly aſſign'd to him. The Proteſtants, whereof many were the beſt Quality, lamented this Alteration to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and deſired him to intercede with the Queen, which he had the more title to do, becauſe, at his going into *Spain*, ſhe had vouchſafed to promiſe him (upon ſome Rumours, of which he took notice) "That the ſame Privilege, which had been, "ſhould ſtill be continued, and enjoy'd by the Proteſtants of "her Houſhold; and that ſhe would provide for the Chap- "lain's Subſiſtence. He preſum'd therefore to ſpeak with her Majeſty upon it; and beſought her to conſider, "What ill im- "preſſion this new Order would make upon the Proteſtants "of all the King's Dominions; upon whom he was chiefly to "depend for his Reſtauration; and how much prejudice it "might be to her ſelf, to be look'd upon as a greater Enemy "to Proteſtants, than ſhe had been taken notice of to be; "and likewiſe whether this Order, which had been given "ſince the departure of the Duke of *York*, might not be made "uſe of as an excuſe for his not returning, or indeed for his "going away at firſt, ſince the preciſe time when it iſſued, "would not be generally underſtood. The Queen heard him very graciouſly, and acknowledged "That what he ſaid had "reaſon in it; but proteſted that ſhe knew not what remedy "to apply to it; that ſhe had been her ſelf ſurpriſed with that "Order, and was troubled at it; but that the Queen Regent "was poſitive in it, and blamed her for want of Zeal in her "Religion; and that ſhe cared not to advance it, or to con- "vert any of her Children. She wiſh'd him "To confer with "Mr *Mountague* upon it; and imply'd, "That His bigotry in "his new Religion, had contributed much to the procuring "that Order. He had newly taken Orders, and was become Prieſt in that Church, and had great power with the Queen Regent, as well for his Animoſity againſt that Religion he Had profeſſed, as for his vehement Zeal for the Church of which he now was. Upon this occaſion, her Majeſty expreſſed a great ſenſe of the loſs ſhe had ſuſtain'd by the death of her old Confeſſor, Father *Philips*; who, ſhe ſaid, "Was a "prudent and diſcreet Man; and would never ſuffer her to be "preſſed to any paſſionate undertakings, under pretence of "doing good for Catholicks; and always told her, that as ſhe "ought to continue firm and conſtant to her own Religion, "ſo ſhe was to live well towards the Proteſtants, who deſerv'd "well from her, and to whom ſhe was beholding. She ſaid, "it would not be poſſible to have the ſame or any other Room

The Chancellor ſpeaks with the Queen about it.

The Queen's Anſwer.

"ſet

"ſet aſide, or allow'd to be uſed as a Chapel; but that ſhe "would take ſuch courſe, that the Family might meet for the "Exerciſe of their Devotion in ſome private Room that be-"long'd to their Lodgings: and that though her own Exhibi-"tion was ſo ill paid, that ſhe was indebted to all her Ser-"vants, yet ſhe would give order that Doctor *Coſins* (againſt "whom ſhe had ſome perſonal exceptions) ſhould receive his "Salary, in proportion with the reſt of her Servants. She bid him "aſſure the Duke of *York*, that he ſhould have a free Ex-"erciſe of his Religion, as he had before, though it muſt not "be in the ſame place.

The Chancellor confers with Mr Mountague about it.

THE Chancellor conferr'd with Mr *Mountague* upon the Subject; and offer'd the ſame reaſons which he had done to the Queen; which he look'd upon as of no moment; but ſaid, "That the King of *France* was Maſter in his own Houſe, "and he was reſolv'd, though the King of *England* himſelf "ſhould come thither again, never to permit any ſolemn ex-"erciſe of the Proteſtant Religion in any Houſe of his. The conſideration of what the Proteſtants in *England* might think on this occaſion, was of leaſt moment to him; and it was indeed the Common diſcourſe there, "That the Proteſtants of the "Church of *England* could never do the King Service, but that "all his hopes muſt be in the Roman Catholicks, and the "Presbyterians; and that he ought to give all ſatisfaction "to both thoſe Parties.

WHEN the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to *Antwerp*, with a purpoſe to make a Journey ſpeedily to the *Hague*, he was inform'd, "That the States were much offended that the "Duke of *York* remain'd there; and therefore that the Princeſs "Royal (who now more depended upon their favour than ever; her own Joynture, as well as the fortune of her Son, being to be ſettled in their Judicatory) "could no longer en-"tertain him, but that he would be the next day at *Breda*.

The Chancellor finds the Duke of York at Breda; and the factions of the Duke's family there.

Thither the Chancellor immediately went; and found the Duke there with a Family in all the confuſion imaginable, in preſent want of every thing, and not knowing what was to be done next. They all cenſur'd and reproach'd the Counſel by which they had been guided, and the Counſellors as bitterly inveigh'd againſt each other, for undertaking many things which had no foundation in truth. They who concurr'd in nothing elſe, were equally ſevere againſt the Atturney, as a Man of that intolerable pride that it was not poſſible for any Man to converſe with him. He as frankly reproach'd them all with being Men of no parts, of no underſtanding, nor learning, no principles, and no reſolution, and was ſo juſt to them all, as to contemn every Man of them alike. In truth he had render'd himſelf ſo grievous to them all, that there was

no

no Man who desired to be in his Company; yet by the knack of his talk, which was the most like reason without being it, he retain'd still too much credit with the Duke; who, being amused and confounded with his positive discourse, thought him to be wiser than those who were more easily understood; and was himself so young, that he was rather delighted with the Journeys he had made, than sensible that he had not enter'd upon them with reason enough; and was fortified with a firm resolution never to acknowledge that he had committed any error. However, he was very glad to receive the Queen's Letter, which the Chancellor delivered to him; heard his advice very willingly, and resolv'd to begin his Journey to *Paris* without any delay; and looked upon the occasion, as a very seasonable redemption. The next day he went to *Antwerp*; and from thence, with the same retinue he had carried with him, made haste to *Paris*, and was receiv'd by the Queen his Mother without those expostulations and reprehensions which he might reasonably have expected; though her severity was the same towards all those, who, she thought, had had the credit and power to seduce him; and they were not sollicitous, by any Apologies or Confession, to recover her favour: for the true reason that had swayed them being not to be avow'd, any other that they could devise and suggest, would have render'd them more inexcusable.

The Duke returns to Paris *to the Queen.*

DURING this time, the King underwent all kind of Mortifications in *Scotland*. But after the defeat of the *Scotish* Army in *September*, with which the King and *Cromwell* were equally delighted, as hath been said before, the Marquis of *Argyle*'s Empire seem'd not to be so absolute. A new Army was appointed to be raised; the King himself interposed more than he had done; and the Noblemen and Officers came to him with more confidence; and his Majesty took upon him to complain and expostulate, when those things were done which he did not like: Yet the Power was still in *Argyle*'s hands; who, under all the professions of Humility, exercised still the same Tyranny; insomuch as the King grew weary of his own Patience, and resolv'd to make some attempt to free himself. Dr *Frazier*, who had been the King's Physician many years before, and had constantly attended upon his Person, and very much contributed to the King's Journey into *Scotland*, was, shortly after his coming thither, disliked by *Argyle*; who knew that he was a Creature of the *Hamiltonians*, and found him to be of an unquiet and over-active Spirit; and thereupon sequestered him from his Attendance. There were many Officers who had served in Duke *Hamilton*'s Engagement, as *Middleton*, and others, who had very entire Affections for the King; and many of them had corresponded with

The King's affairs in Scotland.

Moun-

Mountroſe, and reſolv'd to have joyn'd with him; and finding themſelves excluded, as all of them were, from any Employment by the Power of *Argyle*, had retired into the Highlands, and remained there concealed in expectation of ſome good Seaſon, in which they might avowedly appear. With ſome of theſe Dr *Frazier* had held correſpondence whilſt he was in the Court, and had often ſpoken to the King of their Affection, and readineſs to ſerve him, and of their power to do it, and had returned his Majeſty's gracious Acceptation of their Service, and his Reſolution to employ them. And now not being himſelf ſuffer'd to come to the Court, he found means to meet and confer with many of them; and held Intelligence with the Lord *Lautherdale*, who had always great confidence in him; and the Officers undertaking to do more than they could, or the Doctor underſtanding them to undertake more than they did (for his Fidelity was never ſuſpected) he gave the King ſuch an Account of their Numbers, as well as Reſolutions, that his Majeſty appointed a day for their Rendezvous, and promiſed to be preſent with them, and then to publiſh a Declaration (which was likewiſe prepared) of the ill treatment he had endured, and againſt the Perſon of *Argyle*; to whom the Duke of *Buckingham* gave himſelf wholely up, and imparted to him all this correſpondence, having found ſome of the Letters which had paſſed, by the King's having left his Cabinet open; for he was not at all truſted in it.

The King withdraws towards the High-lands; which was called the Start.

But *Argyle* did not think the time ſo near; ſo that the King did proſecute this purpoſe ſo far, that he rode one day, with a dozen or twenty Horſe, into the High-lands, and lodged there one night; neither the Marquis of *Argyle*, nor any Body elſe, knowing what was become of him; which put them all into great diſtraction. It was indeed a very empty and unprepared deſign, contriv'd and conducted by Dr *Frazier*, without any foundation to build upon; and might well have ruin'd the King. It was afterwards call'd the *Start*; yet it proved, contrary to the expectation of Wiſe Men, very much to his Majeſty's advantage. For though he was compell'd the next day to return with a circumſtance that ſeemed to have ſomewhat of Force in it (for as the Company he looked for failed to appear, ſo there was a Troop of Horſe, which he looked not for, ſent by *Argyle*, who uſed very effectual Inſtance with him to return) yet notwithſtanding, this Declaration of his Majeſty's reſentment, together with the obſervation of what the People generally ſpoke upon it, "That "the King was not treated as he ought to be, made the Marquis of *Argyle* change his Counſels, and to be more ſollicitous to ſatisfy the King. A Summons was ſent out, in the King's name,

But is perſwaded to return the next day.

The King better uſed afterwards by Argyle.

A Parliament ſummon'd in the King's name.

name, to call a Parliament; and great preparations were really made for the Coronation; and the Seaſon of the year, againſt which *Cromwell* was ſecuring himſelf in *Edenborough*, and making Proviſions for his Army, the Winter coming on, and the ſtrong Paſſes which were eaſy then to be guarded, hindred the Enemies advance: ſo that the King reſided, ſometimes at *Sterling*, and ſometimes at St *Johnſton*'s, with convenience enough. The Parliament met at *Sterling*, and ſhortly after brought all the Lords of the other Party thither, who appear'd to have credit enough to wipe off thoſe ſtains with which the Engagement had defaced them, yet with ſubmiſſion to ſtand publickly in the Stool of Repentance, acknowledging their former Tranſgreſſions; as they all did.

It meets at Sterling, and reconciles the Lords.

DUKE *Hamilton* and *Lautherdale* were welcome to the King, and neareſt his Confidence; which neither the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had caſt off their Friendſhip as unuſeful, nor the Marquis of *Argyle*, were pleaſed with. The King himſelf grew very Popular, and by his frequent conferences with the Knights and Burgeſſes, got any thing paſſed in the Parliament which he deſired. He cauſed many infamous Acts to be repeal'd, and provided for the raiſing an Army, whereof himſelf was General; and no exceptions were taken to thoſe Officers who had formerly ſerv'd the King his Father.

An Army raiſed, of which the King is General.

THE Coronation was paſſed with great Solemnity and Magnificence, all Men making ſhew of Joy, and of being united to ſerve his Majeſty: yet the Marquis of *Argyle* preſerv'd his greatneſs and intereſt ſo well, and was ſtill ſo conſiderable, that it was thought very expedient to raiſe an imagination in him, that the King had a purpoſe to Marry one of his Daughthers; which was carried ſo far, that the King could no otherwiſe defend himſelf from it, than by ſending an Expreſs into *France* for the Queen his Mother's conſent (which ſeemed not to be doubted of) and to that purpoſe Captain *Titus*, a Perſon grateful to *Argyle*, and to all the Presbyterian Party, was ſent; who, finding the Queen leſs warm upon the Propoſition than was expected, made leſs haſte back; ſo that the Fate of *Scotland* was firſt determin'd.

The Coronation.

THE King's Army was as well modelled, and in as good a Condition as it was like to be whilſt he ſtayed in *Scotland*. By that time that *Cromwell* was ready to take the Field, his Majeſty was perſwaded to make *David Leſley* his Lieutenant General of the Army; who had very long experience, and a very good Name in War; and *Middleton* Commanded the Horſe. The Artillery was in very good order under the Command of *Wemmes*, who had not the worſe Reputation there for having been ungrateful to the King's Father. He was a confeſſed good Officer; and there were, or could be,

very

very few Officers of any ſuperiour Command, but ſuch who had drawn their Swords againſt his late Majeſty; moſt of thoſe who had ſerv'd under the Marquis of *Mountroſe*, having been put to death. Many of the greateſt Noblemen had raiſed Regiments, or Troops; and all the young Gentlemen of the Kingdom appear'd very hearty and chearful in Commands, or Voluntiers: and, in all appearance, they ſeem'd a Body equal in any reſpect, and ſuperior in Number, to the Enemy; which advanced all they could, and made it manifeſt that they deſir'd nothing more than to come to Battle; which was not thought Counſellable for the King's Army to engage in, except upon very notable Advantages; which they had reaſon every day to expect; for there was a very broad and a deep River between them; and if they kept the Paſſes, of which they were poſſeſſed, and could hardly chooſe but keep, *Cromwell* muſt in a very few days want Proviſions, and ſo be forced to retire, whilſt the King had plenty of all things which he ſtood in need of, and could, by the advantages of the Paſſes, be in his Rere aſſoon as he thought fit.

Cromwell *endeavours to fight the King's Army.*

Both Armies near each other in the Months of June *and* July.

In this poſture both Armies ſtood in view of each other near the two Months of *June* and *July*, with ſome ſmall attempts upon each other, with equal Succeſs. About the end of *July*, by the cowardiſe or treachery of Major General *Brown*, who had a body of four thouſand Men to keep it, *Cromwell*'s Forces under *Lambert*, gain'd the Paſs, by which they got behind the King; and though they could not compel his Majeſty to fight, for there was ſtill the great River between them, they were poſſeſſed, or might quickly be, of the moſt fruitful part of the Country; and ſo would not only have ſufficient Proviſion for their own Army, but in a ſhort time would be able to cut off much of that which ſhould ſupply the King's. This was a great ſurpriſe to the King, and put him into new Counſels; and he did, with the unanimous Advice of almoſt all the principal Officers, and all thoſe who were admitted to the Council, take a reſolution worthy of his Courage; which, how unfortunate ſoever it prov'd, was evidence enough that the ſame misfortune would have fallen out if he had not taken it.

Cromwell *gains a Paſs, and gets behind the King.*

The King was now, by *Cromwell*'s putting himſelf behind him, much nearer to *England* than He: nor was it poſſible for him to overtake his Majeſty, in regard of the ways he was unavoidably to paſs, till after the King had been ſome days march before him: his Majeſty's fate depended upon the Succeſs of one Battle: for a poſſible Eſcape into the High-lands, after a Defeat, there was no Kingly proſpect: all the Northern parts of *England* had given him cauſe to believe that they were very well affected to his Service, and if he could reach

thoſe Countries, he might preſume to encreaſe his Army, which was numerous enough, with an Addition of ſuch Men as would make it much more conſiderable. Hereupon, with the concurrence aforeſaid, it was reſolv'd that the Army ſhould immediately march, with as much Expedition as was poſſible, into *England*, by the neareſt ways, which led into *Lancaſhire*, whither the King ſent Expreſſes to give thoſe, of whom he expected much (by reaſon ſome of them had been in *Scotland* with him, with promiſe of large undertakings) notice of his purpoſe, that they might get their Soldiers together to receive him. His Majeſty ſent likewiſe an Expreſs to the Iſle of *Man*, where the Earl of *Derby* had ſecurely repos'd himſelf from the end of the former War, "That he ſhould "meet his Majeſty in *Lancaſhire*. The Marquis of *Argyle* was the only Man who diſſwaded his Majeſty's march into *England*, with reaſons which were not frivolous; but the contrary prevailed; and he ſtayed behind; and, when the King begun his march, retired to his Houſe in the High-lands. Some were of opinion, that he ſhould then have been made Priſoner, and left ſo ſecured that he might not be able to do miſchief when the King was gone, which moſt Men believ'd he would incline to. But his Majeſty would not conſent to it, becauſe he was confident "He would not attempt any thing "while the Army was entire: if it prevailed, he neither "would, nor could do any harm; and if it were defeated, it "would be no great matter what he did.

The King reſolves to march into England.

The Marquis of Argyle only diſſwaded it, and ſtayed behind, and retired to his Houſe.

THOUGH *Cromwell* was not frequently without good Intelligence what was done in the King's Army, and Councils, yet this laſt reſolution was conſulted with ſo great ſecrecy, and executed with that wonderful expedition, that the King had marched a whole day without his comprehending what the meaning was, and before he receiv'd the leaſt advertiſement of it. It was not a ſmall ſurpriſe to him, nor was it eaſy for him to reſolve what to do. If he ſhould follow with his whole Army, all the Advantages he had got in *Scotland*, would be preſently loſt, and the whole Kingdom be again united in any new miſchief. If he followed but with part, he might be too weak when he overtook the King; whoſe Army he knew, would bear the fatigue of a long march better than His could do. There were two conſiderations which troubled him exceedingly; the one, the terrible conſternation he foreſaw the Parliament would be in, when they heard that the King with his Army was nearer to them, than their own Army was for their defence; and he knew that he had Enemies enough to improve their fear, and to leſſen his Conduct: the other was, the Apprehenſion, that, if the King had time given to reſt in any place, he would infinitely en-

Cromwell's Reſolutions and Counſels upon this News.

creaſe and ſtrengthen his Army by the reſort of the People, as well as the Gentry and Nobility, from all parts. And though he did ſo much undervalue the *Scotiſh* Army, that he would have been glad to have found himſelf engaged with it, upon any inequality of Numbers, and diſadvantage of ground, yet he did believe, that, by a good mixture with *Engliſh*, they might be made very conſiderable. He took a very quick reſolution to provide for all the beſt he could: he diſpatched an Expreſs to the Parliament, to prevent their being ſurpriſed with the News; and to aſſure them, "That he would himſelf "overtake the Enemy before they ſhould give them any trou-"ble; and gave ſuch farther Orders for drawing the Auxiliary Troops together in the ſeveral Counties, as he thought fit.

Orders Lambert to follow the King with a Body of Horſe.

HE gave *Lambert* Order "Immediately to follow the King "with ſeven or eight hundred Horſe, and to draw as many "others, as he could from the Country Militia; and to di-"ſturb his Majeſty's march the moſt he could, by being near, "and obliging him to march cloſe; not engaging his own "Party in any ſharp Actions, without a very notorious advan-"tage; but to keep himſelf entire till he ſhould come up to "him. With this Order *Lambert* marched away the ſame day the Advertiſement came.

Leaves Monk in Scotland.

CROMWELL reſolv'd then to leave Major General *Monk*, upon whom he look'd with moſt confidence, as an excellent Officer of Foot, and as entirely devoted to him, with a ſtrong Party of Foot, and ſome Troops of Horſe, ſtrong enough to ſuppreſs any Forces which ſhould riſe after his departure, "To "keep *Edenborough*, and the Harbour of *Leith*; to ſurpriſe "and apprehend as many of the Nobility, and conſiderable "Gentry, as he ſhould ſuſpect, and keep them under cuſto-"dy; to uſe the higheſt ſeverity againſt all who oppoſed him; "and, above all, not to endure or permit the Licence of the "Preachers in their Pulpits; and to make himſelf as formida-"ble as was poſſible: in the laſt place, that, aſſoon as there "appear'd no viſible force in the Field, he ſhould beſiege *Ster-"lin*; whither moſt Perſons of condition were retired with their Goods of Value, as to a place of ſtrength, and capable of being defended; where the Records of the Kingdom, and many other things of moſt account were depoſited; it being the place where the King had, for the moſt part reſided. He charged him, "If at St *Johnſton's*, or any other place, he "found a ſtubborn reſiſtance, and were forced to ſpend much "time, or to take it by Storm, that he ſhould give no Quar-"ter, nor exempt it from a general Plunder; all which Rules *Monk* obſerv'd with the utmoſt rigour; and made himſelf as terrible as Man could be.

WHEN *Cromwell* had diſpatch'd all theſe Orders and Directions,

ctions, with marvellous Expedition, and ſeen moſt of them advanced in ſome degree, he begun his own March with the remainder of his Army, three days after the King was gone, with a wonderful chearfulneſs, and aſſurance to the Officers and Soldiers, that he ſhould obtain a full Victory in *England* over thoſe who fled from him out of *Scotland*. *And follows the King three days after.*

THE King had, from the time that he had recover'd any Authority in *Scotland*, granted a Commiſſion to the Duke of *Buckingham*, to raiſe a Regiment of Horſe which *Maſſey* was to command under him, and to raiſe another Regiment of Foot. And the *Engliſh* which ſhould reſort thither, of which they expected great Numbers, were to Liſt themſelves in thoſe Regiments. And there were ſome who had Liſted themſelves accordingly; but the diſcipline the *Scots* had uſed to the King, and their adhering to their old Principles, even after they ſeem'd united for his Majeſty, had kept the King's friends in *England* from repairing to them in *Scotland*. They who came from *Holland* with the King, had diſpoſed themſelves as is ſaid before, and there was little doubt but that, aſſoon as the King ſhould enter *England*, thoſe two Regiments would be immediately full. The Duke of *Buckingham* had loſt much ground (and the more becauſe the King was not pleaſed with it) by his having broken off all manner of Friendſhip with Duke *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale* (to whom he had profeſſed ſo much) and had enter'd into ſo faſt a conjunction with the Marquis of *Argyle*, their declar'd irreconcilable Enemy, and adhered ſo firmly to him, when he was leſs dutiful to the King than he ought to have been. *Maſſey* had got a great Name by his defending *Gloceſter* againſt the late King, and was look'd upon as a Martyr for the Presbyterian Intereſt, and ſo very dear to that Party; and therefore, aſſoon as they came within the borders of *England*, he was ſent with ſome Troops before, and was always to march at leaſt a day before the Army, to the end that he might give notice of the King's coming, and draw the Gentry of the Counties through which he paſs'd, to be ready to attend upon his Majeſty. Beſides, he had particular acquaintance with moſt of the Presbyterians of *Lancaſhire*; whom no Body imagin'd to be of the *Scotiſh* temper, or unwilling to unite and joyn with the Royal Party; nor indeed were they. *Maſſey ſent to march before the King.*

BUT it was fatal at that time to all *Scotiſh* Armies, to have always in them a Committee of Miniſters, who ruin'd all; and though there had been now all the care taken that could be, to chooſe ſuch Men for that Service as had the reputation of being the moſt Sober, and Moderate of that whole Body, and who had ſhew'd more Affection, and advanc'd the King's Service more than the reſt; yet this moderate People no *A Committee of Miniſters in the King's Army, who ruin all.*

ſooner heard that *Maſſey* was ſent before to call upon their Friends, and obſerv'd that, from the entrance into *England*, thoſe about the King ſeem'd to have leſs regard for the Covenant than formerly, but they ſent an Expreſs to him, without communicating it in the leaſt degree with the King, with Letters, and a Declaration, wherein they requir'd him "To "publiſh that Declaration, which ſignified the King's, and the "whole Army's Zeal for the Covenant, and their Reſolution "to proſecute the true intent of it; and forbid him "To re-"ceive or entertain any Soldiers in his Troops, but thoſe "who would ſubſcribe that obligation. The King had ſoon notice of this, and loſt no time in ſending to *Maſſey* "Not to "publiſh any ſuch Declaration, and to behave himſelf with "equal civility towards all Men who were forward to ſerve "his Majeſty. But before this inhibition was receiv'd, the matter had taken Air in all places, and was ſpread over the Kingdom; all Men fled from their Houſes, or concealed themſelves, who wiſhed the King very well; and beſides, his Motion was ſo quick, that none of them could repair to him.

The Earl of Derby *met the King in* Lancaſhire.

IN *Lancaſhire* the Earl of *Derby* met him; who, aſſoon as he receiv'd his Summons, left the Iſle of *Man*. When the King's Army came about *Warrington* in *Cheſhire*, they found, that there was a Body of the Enemy drawn up in a fair Field, which did not appear conſiderable enough to ſtop their march.

Lambert *follows, but is forced to retire.*

This was *Lambert*; who had made ſo much haſte, that he had that day fallen upon ſome of their Troops, and beaten them into the Army; but when the Army came up, *Lambert*, according to his Order and purpoſe, retir'd, and being purſued by the King's Horſe with a greater party, made more haſte than a well order'd retreat requires, but with no conſiderable loſs. This Succeſs made a great noiſe, as if *Lambert* had been defeated.

At Warrington *the Earl of* Derby *parts from the King, and is ſent to* Lancaſhire *with other Officers to raiſe Forces.*

AT *Warrington* it was thought Counſellable, very unfortunately, that the Earl of *Derby*, with the Lord *Withrington*, and ſeveral other Officers of good Name, ſhould return into *Lancaſhire*, in order to raiſe the well affected in thoſe two Counties of *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire*; who could not come in upon ſo quick a march, as the King had made: and yet it being out of the road that *Cromwell* was to follow, who was enter'd into *York-ſhire*, the remaining of thoſe Perſons there, was thought a good Expedient to gather a Body of *Engliſh*, which the King extremely deſir'd: and if they found any great difficulties, they were to follow the Army. In order to which, the Earl had a Body of near two hundred Horſe, conſiſting, for the moſt part, of Officers, and Gentlemen; which depriv'd the Army of a ſtrength they wanted; and was afterwards,

terwards acknowledged to be a Counſel too ſuddainly enter'd upon.

UPON appearance of that Body of *Lambert's*, the whole Army was drawn up, and appear'd very chearful. The King having obſerv'd *David Leſley*, throughout the whole march, ſad and melancholy, and, at that time when the Enemy retir'd, and plainly in a quicker pace than a good Retreat uſed to be made, ſlow in giving Orders, and reſiding by himſelf, his Majeſty rode up to him, and ask'd him, with great alacrity, "How he could be ſad, when he was in the Head of ſo brave "an Army? (which he ſaid look'd well that day) and demanded of him, "How he liked them? To which *David Leſley* anſwer'd him in his Ear, being at ſome diſtance from any other, "That he was melancholly indeed, for he well knew "that Army, how well ſoever it look'd, would not Fight: which the King imputed to the chagrin of his Humour, and gave it no Credit, nor told it to any Man, till ſome years after, upon another occaſion which will be remember'd in it's place, he told the Chancellor of the Exchequer of it.

David Leſley's *ſaying, concerning the* Scotiſh *Army.*

IT was not thought fit to purſue *Lambert*; who, being known to be a Man of Courage and Conduct, and his Troops to be of the beſt, was ſuſpected, by ſo diſorderly a Retreat, to have only deſign'd to have drawn the Army another way, to diſorder and diſturb their march; which they reſolv'd to continue with the ſame Expedition they had hitherto uſed, which was incredible; until they ſhould come to ſuch a Poſt as they might ſecurely reſt themſelves. And there was an imagination, that they might have continu'd it even to *London*; which would have produced wonderful Effects. But they quickly found that to be impoſſible, and that both Horſe and Foot grew ſo weary, that they muſt have reſt: The weather was exceedingly hot; the march having been begun near the beginning of *Auguſt*; ſo that if they had not ſome reſt before an Enemy approach'd them, how willing ſoever they might be, they could not be able to Fight.

THERE was a ſmall Garriſon in *Shrewsbury* Commanded by a Gentleman, who, it was thought, might be prevail'd with to give it up to the King; but his Majeſty ſending to him, he return'd a rude denial: So that his Majeſty's Eyes was upon *Worceſter*; that was ſo little out of his way to *London*, that the going thither would not much retard the march, if they found the Army able to continue it. *Worceſter* had always been a place very well affected in it ſelf, and moſt of the Gentlemen of that County had been engaged for the King in the former War, and the City was the laſt that had Surrender'd to the Parliament, of all thoſe which had been Garriſon'd for his Majeſty; when all the Works were thrown down, and no

The King's Summon's Shrewsbury *in vain.*

Garriſon from that time had been kept there; the Sheriff, and Juſtices, and Committees, having had power enough to defend it againſt any malignity of the Town, or County; and at this time, all the principal Gentry of that County had been ſeiz'd upon, and were now Priſoners there. Thither the King came with his Army even aſſoon as they had heard that he was in *England*: whereupon the Committee, and all thoſe who were imploy'd by the Parliament, fled in all the confuſion imaginable, leaving their Priſoners behind them, leſt they themſelves ſhould become Priſoners to them; and the City open'd their Gates, and receiv'd the King, with all the demonſtration of Affection and Duty that could be expreſſed; and made ſuch proviſion for the Army, that it wanted nothing it could deſire; the Mayor taking care for the preſent proviſion of Shoes and Stockings, the want whereof, in ſo long a march, was very apparent and grievous. The principal Perſons of the Country found themſelves at liberty; and They, and the Mayor and Aldermen, with all the Solemnity they could prepare, attended the Herald, who proclaim'd the King, as he had done, in more haſte, and with leſs Formality, in all thoſe conſiderable Towns through which his Majeſty had paſſed.

The King marches to Worceſter.

Where he is proclaimed.

THE Army liked their Quarters h're ſo well, that neither Officer, nor Soldier was in any degree willing to quit them, till they ſhould be throughly refreſh'd: And it could not be deny'd that the fatigue had been even inſupportable; never had ſo many hundred Miles been march'd in ſo few days, and with ſo little reſt; nor did it in truth appear reaſonable to any that they ſhould remove from thence, ſince it was not poſſible that they ſhould be able to reach *London*, though it had been better prepar'd for the Kings reception than it appear'd to be before *Cromwell* would be there: who, having with great haſte continu'd his march in a direct Line, was now as near to it as the King's Army was, and ſtood only at a gaze to be inform'd what his Majeſty meant to do. *Worceſter* was a very good Poſt, ſeated almoſt in the middle of the Kingdom, and in as fruitful a Country as any part of it; a good City, ſerv'd by the noble River of *Severn* from all the adjacent Counties; *Wales* behind it, from whence Levies might be made of great Numbers of ſtout Men: It was a place where the King's Friends might repair, if they had the Affections they pretended to have; and it was a place where he might defend himſelf, if the Enemy would attack him, with many advantages, and could not be compell'd to engage his Army in a Battle, till *Cromwell* had gotten Men enough to encompaſs him on all ſides: And when the King might chooſe on which ſide to Fight, ſince the Enemy muſt be on both

both sides the River, and could not come suddainly to relieve each other, and the straitning the King to this degree would require much time; in which there might be an opportunity for several Insurrections in the Kingdom, if they were so weary of the present Tyranny, and so sollicitous to be restor'd to the King's Government, as they were conceiv'd to be: For no Body could ever hope for a more secure season to manifest their Loyalty, than when the King was in the heart of the Kingdom, with a form'd Army of about fifteen thousand Men, Horse, and Foot, (for so they might be accounted to be) with which he might relieve those who were in danger to be oppressed by a more powerful Party. These considerations produced the Resolution to provide, in the best manner, to expect *Cromwell* there; and a hope that he might be delay'd by other diversions: And there was like to be time enough to cast up such Works upon the Hill before the Town, as might keep the Enemy at a distance, and their own Quarters from being suddainly streighten'd: All which was recommended to General *Lesley* to take care of, and to take such a perfect view of the Ground, that no advantage might be lost when the time requir'd it.

The ill success of the Earl of Derby.

THE first ill Omen that happen'd, was the News of the defeat of the Earl of *Derby*, and the total destruction of those gallant Persons who accompanied him. The Earl of *Derby* within two or three days after he had left the King, with a Body of near two hundred Horse, all gallant Men, imploy'd his Servants, and Tenants, to give the Country notice of his staying behind the King, to Head and Command those Persons who should repair to his service; which the quick march his Majesty made through the Country would not permit them to do. In expectation of a good appearance of the People, he went to a little Market Town, call'd *Wigan* in *Lancashire*, where he staid that Night; when in the Morning a Regiment or two of the Militia of the Neighbour Counties, and some other Troops of the Army, Commanded by a Man of Courage, whom *Cromwell* had sent to follow in the track of the King's march to gather up the Straglers, and such as were not able to keep pace with the Army, having receiv'd some Advertisement that a Troop of the King's Horse were behind the Army in that Town, fell very early into it, before the Persons in the Town were out of their Beds, having assurance, upon all the enquiry they could make, that there was no Enemy near them. Nor indeed was there any suspicion of those Forces, which consisted of the several Troops of the several Counties with others of the Army, and passed that way by accident. As many as could get to their Horses, presently Mounted; they who could not, put themselves together on

Foot, and all endeavour'd to keep the Enemy from entring into the Town; and the few who were got on Horſeback, Charg'd them with great Courage. But the Number of the Enemy was too great, and the Town too open, to put a ſtop to them in any one place, when they could enter at ſo many, and encompaſs thoſe who oppoſed them. The Earl of *Derby*, after his Horſe had been kill'd under him, made a ſhift to mount again; and ſo, with a ſmall Party of Horſe, through many difficulties and dangers, eſcaped wounded to the King to *Worceſter*.

The Lord Withrington kill'd upon the place.

THE Lord *Withrington*, after he had receiv'd many wounds, and given as many, and merited his death by the vengeance he took upon thoſe who aſſaulted him; was kill'd upon the place; and ſo was Sr *Thomas Tildeſley*, and many other gallant Gentlemen, very few eſcaping to carry News of the defeat. Sr *William Throgmorton*, who had been formerly Major General of the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*'s Army, and was left to Command in the ſame function, receiv'd ſo many wounds, that he was look'd upon as dead, and not fit to be carried away with the Priſoners: and ſo fell into ſuch charitable and generous hands in the Town, that being believ'd to be dead, he was afterwards ſo well recover'd, though with great Maimes and loſs of Blood, that he at laſt got himſelf Tranſported into *Holland*; where he was, at firſt appearance, taken for a Ghoſt, all Men believing him to have been buried long before. Moſt of thoſe who were taken Priſoners, of any Quality, were afterwards Sacrificed as a ſpectacle to the People, and Barbarouſly put to death in ſeveral places; ſome, with the Earl of *Derby*; and others, near the ſame time, in other places.

The Lord Withrington's Character.

THE Lord *Withrington* was one of the moſt goodly Perſons of that Age, being near the head higher than moſt tall Men, and a Gentleman of the beſt and moſt ancient Extraction of the County of *Northumberland*, and of a very fair Fortune, and one of the four which the laſt King made choice of to be about the Perſon of his Son the Prince as Gentleman of his Privy Chamber, when he firſt ſettled his Family. / His Affection to the King was always remarkable; and ſerving in the Houſe of Commons as Knight of the Shire for the County of *Northumberland*, he quickly got the reputation of being amongſt the moſt Malignant. / Aſſoon as the War broke out, he was of the firſt who raiſed both Horſe and Foot at his own Charge, and ſerv'd eminently with them under the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*; with whom he had a very particular and entire Friendſhip. / He was very nearly allied to the Marquis; and by his Teſtimony that he had perform'd many ſignal Services, he was, about the middle of the War, made a Peer

of

of the Kingdom. He was a Man of great Courage, but of ſome Paſſion, by which he incurr'd the ill Will of many, who imputed it to an inſolence of Nature, which no Man was farther from; no Man of a Nature more civil, and candid towards all, in buſineſs, or converſation. / But having ſate long in the Houſe of Commons, and obſerv'd the diſingenuity of the proceedings there, and the groſs cheats, by which they deceiv'd and couſen'd the People, he had contracted ſo hearty an indignation againſt them, and all who were couſen'd by them, and againſt all who had not his Zeal to oppoſe and deſtroy them, that he often ſaid things to ſlow and flegmatick Men, which offended them, and, it may be, injured them; which his good nature often obliged him to acknowledge, and ask Pardon of thoſe who would not queſtion him for it. He Tranſported himſelf into the parts beyond the Sea at the ſame time with the Marquis of *New-Caſtle*, to accompany him, and remain'd ſtill with him till the King went into *Scotland*; and then waited upon his Majeſty, and endured the ſame Affronts which others did, during the time of his Reſidence there. And, it may be, the obſervation of their behaviour, the knowledge of their Principles, and the diſdain of their Treatment, produced that averſion from their Converſation, that prevail'd upon his impatience to part too ſoon from their Company, in hope that the Earl of *Derby*, under whom he was very willing to ſerve, and he himſelf, might quickly draw together ſuch a Body of the Royal Party, as might give ſome check to the unbounded imaginations of that Nation. / It was reported by the Enemy, that, in reſpect of his brave Perſon and behaviour, they did offer him Quarter; which he refuſed; and that they were thereby compell'd, in their own defence, to kill him; which is probable enough; for he knew well the Animoſity the Parliament had againſt him, and it cannot be doubted but that, if he had fallen into their hands, they would not have uſed him better than they did the Earl of *Derby*; who had not more Enemies. /

And Sir Thomas Tildeſley's.

Sir *Thomas Tildeſley* was a Gentleman of a good Family, and a good Fortune, who had raiſed Men at his own Charge at the beginning of the War, and had ſerv'd in the Command of them till the very end of it, with great Courage; and refuſing to make any Compoſition after the Murder of the King, he found means to Tranſport himſelf into *Ireland* to the Marquis of *Ormond*; with whom he ſtay'd, till he was, with the reſt of the *Engliſh* Officers, diſmiſſed, to ſatisfy the barbarous Jealouſy of the *Iriſh*; and then got over into *Scotland* a little before the King march'd from thence, and was deſir'd by the Earl of *Derby* to remain with him. The Names of the other Perſons of Quality who were kill'd in that Encounter, and thoſe who

who were taken Prisoners, and afterwards put to death, ought to be discover'd, and mention'd honourably, by any who shall propose to himself to communicate particularly those Transactions to the view of Posterity.

When the News of this Defeat came to *Worcester*, as it did even almost assoon as the King came thither, it exceedingly afflicted his Majesty, and abated much of the hope he had of a general Rising of the People on his behalf. His Army was very little increased by the access of any *English*; and though he had passed near the habitation of many Persons of Honour and Quality, whose Affections and Loyalty had been eminent, not a Man of them repair'd to him. The sense of their former sufferings remain'd, and the smart was not over; nor did his stay in *Worcester* for so many days add any resort to his Court. The Gentlemen of the Country whom his coming thither had redeem'd from Imprisonment, remain'd still with him, and were useful to him; they who were in their Houses in the Country, though as well affected, remain'd there, and came not to him; and though Letters from *London* had given him cause to believe that many prepared to come to him, which for some days they might easily have done, none appear'd, except only some few Gentlemen, and some common Men who had formerly serv'd the last King, and repaired again to *Worcester*.

Transactions of the King at Worcester.

There were some other Accidents and Observations which administer'd matter of Mortification to the King. The Duke of *Buckingham* had a mind very restless, and thought he had not Credit enough with the King if it were not made manifest that he had more than any Body else: And therefore, assoon as the King had enter'd *England*, though he had reason to believe that his Majesty had not been abundantly satisfied with his behaviour in *Scotland*, he came to the King, and told him, "The business was now to reduce *England* to his Obe-"dience; and therefore he ought to do all things gracious, and "popular in the Eyes of the Nation; and nothing could be "less so, than that the Army should be under the Command "of a *Scotish* General: That *David Lesley* was only Lieutenant "General; and it had been unreasonable, whilst he remain'd "in *Scotland*, to have put any other to have Commanded over "him; but that it would be as unreasonable, now they were "in *England*, and had hope to increase the Army by the ac-"cess of the *English*, upon whom his principal dependence "must be, to expect that they would be willing to serve un-"der *Lesley*: That it would not consist with the Honour of any "Peer of *England* to receive his Orders; and, he believ'd, "that very few of that Rank would repair to his Majesty till "they were secure from that apprehension; and used much more

more discourse to that purpose. The King was so much surprised with it, thas he could not imagine what he meant, and what the end of it would be; and asked him, "Who it was "that he thought fit his Majesty should give that Command "to? when, to his astonishment, the Duke told him, "He "hoped his Majesty would confer it upon himself. At which the King was so amazed, that he found an occasion to break off the discourse, by calling upon some Body who was near, to come to him; and, by asking many questions declined the former Argument. The Duke would not be so put off; but, the next day, in the march, renew'd his Importunity; and told the King, "That, he was confident, what he had "proposed to him, was so evidently for his Service, that *Da-*"*vid Lesly* himself would willingly consent to it. The King angry at his prosecuting it in that manner, told him, "He could "hardly believe that he was in earnest, or that he could in "truth believe that he could be fit for such a Charge; which the Duke seem'd to wonder at, and asked, "Wherein his un-"fitness lay; To which the King replied, "That he was too "young: And he as readily alledged, "That *Harry* the Fourth "of *France* Commanded an Army, and won a Battle, when "he was younger than He: so that, in the end, the King was compell'd to tell him, "That he would have no Generalissimo "but himself: upon which the Duke was so discontented, that he came no more to the Council, scarce spoke to the King, neglected every Body else and himself, insomuch as for many days he scarce put on clean Linen, nor conversed with any Body; nor did he recover this ill humour whilst the Army stay'd at *Worcester*.

THERE was another worse Accident fell out soon after the King's coming thither: Major General *Massey*, who thought himself now in his own Territory, and that all between *Worcester* and *Gloucester* would be quickly his own Conquest, knowing every step both by Land and the River, went out with a Party to secure a Pass, which the Enemy might make over the River; which he did very well; but would then make a farther in-road into the Country, and possess a House which was of small importance, and in which there were Men to defend it; where he receiv'd a very dangerous Wound, that tore his Arm, and Hand, in such manner that he was in great torment, and could not stir out of his Bed, in a time when his Activity and Industry was most wanted. By this means, the Pass he had secured, was either totally neglected, or not enough taken care of.

General Massey wounded in an attempt.

THERE was no good understanding between the Officers of the Army: *David Lesley* appear'd dispirited, and confounded; gave, and revoked his Orders, and sometimes contradicted

The ill disposition of the King's Officers.

dicted them. He did not love *Middleton*, and was very jealous that all the Officers lov'd him too well; who was indeed an excellent Officer, and kept up the Spirits of the reſt, who had no eſteem of *Leſley*. In this very unhappy diſtemper was the Court, and the Army, in a Seaſon when they were ready to be ſwallow'd by the power, and multitude of the Enemy, and when nothing could preſerve them, but the moſt ſincere Unity in their prayers to God, and a joynt concurrence in their Counſels and Endeavours; in all which they were miſerably divided.

THE King had been ſeveral days in *Worceſter*, when *Cromwell* was known to be within leſs than half a day's march, with an addition of very many Regiments of Horſe and Foot to thoſe which he had brought with him from *Scotland*; and many other Regiments were drawing towards him of the Militia of the ſeveral Counties, under the command of the principal Gentlemen of their party in the Countries: ſo that he was already very much ſuperior, if not double in Number to the Army the King had with him. However, if thoſe Rules had been obſerv'd, thoſe Works caſt up, and that order in quartering their Men, as were reſolv'd upon when the King came thither, there muſt have been a good defence made, and the Advantages of the ground, the River, and the City, would have preſerv'd them from being preſently overrun. But, alas! the Army was in amazement and confuſion. *Cromwell*, without troubling himſelf with the formality of a Siege, march'd directly on as to a Prey, and poſſeſs'd the Hill and all other places of Advantage, with very little oppoſition. It was upon the third of *September*, when the King having been upon his Horſe moſt part of the Night, and having taken a full view of the Enemy, and every body being upon the Poſt they were appointed, and the Enemy making ſuch a ſtand, that it was concluded he meant to make no attempt then, and if he ſhould, he might be repelled with eaſe; his Majeſty, a little before Noon, retired to his Lodging to eat, and refreſh himſelf: where he had not been near an hour, when the Alarm came, "That both Armies were engaged; and though his Majeſty's own Horſe was ready at the door, and he preſently mounted, before or aſſoon as he came out of the City, he met the whole Body of his Horſe running in ſo great diſorder, that he could not ſtop them, though he uſed all the means he could and called to many Officers by their Names; and hardly preſerv'd himſelf, by letting them paſs by, from being overthrown, and overrun by them.

The King's defeat at Worceſter 3d of September.

CROMWELL had uſed none of the delay, nor circumſpection which was imagin'd; but directed the Troops to fall on in all places at once; and had cauſed a ſtrong Party to go over

over the River at the Paſs, which *Maſſey* had formerly ſecured, at a good diſtance from the Town. And that being not at all guarded, they were never known to be on that ſide the River till they were even ready to charge the King's Troops. On that part where *Middleton* was, and with whom Duke *Hamilton* charged, there was a very brave reſiſtance; and they charged the Enemy ſo vigorouſly, that they beat the Body that charged them back, but they were quickly overpower'd; and many Gentlemen being kill'd, and *Middleton* hurt, and Duke *Hamilton*'s Leg broke with a Shot, the reſt were forced to retire and ſhift for themſelves. In no other part was there reſiſtance made; but ſuch a general conſternation poſſeſſed the whole Army, that the reſt of the Horſe fled, and all the Foot threw down their Arms before they were charged. When the King came back into the Town, he found a good Body of Horſe, which had been perſwaded to make a ſtand, though much the major part paſſed through upon the Spur. The King deſired thoſe who ſtaid, "That they would follow him, "that they might look upon the Enemy, who, he believ'd, "did not purſue them. But when his Majeſty had gone a little way, he found moſt of the Horſe were gone the other way, and that he had none but a few Servants of his own about him. Then he ſent to have the Gates of the Town ſhut, that none might get in one way, nor out the other: but all was confuſion; there were few to Command, and none to obey: ſo that the King ſtaid, till very many of the Enemy's Horſe were enter'd the Town, and then he was perſwaded to withdraw himſelf.

DUKE *Hamilton* fell into the Enemy's hands; and, the next day, died of his Wounds; and thereby prevented the being made a Spectacle, as his Brother had been; which the Pride and Animoſity of his Enemies would no doubt have cauſed to be, having the ſame pretence for it by his being a Peer of *England*, as the other was. He was in all reſpects to be much preferr'd before the other, a much wiſer, though, it may be, a leſs cunning Man: for he did not affect diſſimulation, which was the other's Maſter-peice. He had unqueſtionable courage: he was in truth a very accompliſh'd Perſon, of an excellent Judgment, and clear and ready Expreſſions: and though he had been driven into ſome unwarrantable Actions, he made it very evident he had not been led by any inclinations of his own, and paſſionately and heartily run to all opportunities of redeeming it: and, in the very Article of his death, he expreſſed a marvellous chearfulneſs, "That "he had the honour to loſe his life in the King's Service, and "thereby to wipe out the memory of his former tranſgreſſi-"ons; which he always profeſſed were odious to himſelf.

Duke Hamilton died of his wounds.

His Character.

As

As the Victory coſt the Enemy little Blood, ſo after it there was not much Cruelty uſed to the Priſoners who were taken upon the ſpot. But very many of thoſe who run away, were every day knocked in the head by the Country People, and uſed with barbarity. Towards the King's menial Servants, whereof moſt were taken, there was nothing of ſeverity; but within few days they were all diſcharged, and ſet at liberty.

The King's Retreat, and concealment.

THOUGH the King could not get a Body of Horſe to fight, he could have too many to fly with him; and he had not been many hours from *Worceſter*, when he found about him near, if not above, four thouſand of his Horſe. There was *David Leſley* with all his own Equipage, as if he had not fled upon the ſuddain; ſo that good order, and regularity, and obedience, might yet have made a retreat even into *Scotland* it ſelf. But there was paleneſs in every Man's looks, and jealouſy, and confuſion, in their faces; and ſcarce any thing could worſe befall the King, than a return into *Scotland*; which yet he could not reaſonably promiſe to himſelf in that company. But when the Night cover'd them, he found means to withdraw himſelf with one or two of his own Servants; whom he likewiſe diſcharged, when it begun to be Light; and after he had made them cut off his hair, he betook himſelf alone into an adjacent Wood, and relied only upon Him for his preſervation who alone could, and did Miraculouſly deliver him.

WHEN it was Morning, and the Troops, which had march'd all Night, and who knew that when it begun to be dark the King was with them, found now that he was not there, they cared leſs for each others company; and moſt of them who were *Engliſh* ſeparated themſelves, and went into other Roads; and wherever twenty Horſe appear'd of the Country, which was now awake, and upon their Guard to ſtop and arreſt the Runaways, the whole Body of the *Scotiſh* Horſe would fly, and run ſeveral ways; and twenty of them would give themſelves Priſoners to two Country Fellows: however, *David Leſley* reach'd *York-ſhire* with above fifteen hundred Horſe in a Body. But the jealouſies increas'd every day; and thoſe of his own Country were ſo unſatisfied with his whole conduct and behaviour, that they did, that is many of them, believe that he was corrupted by *Cromwell*; and the reſt, who did not think ſo, believ'd him not to underſtand his profeſſion, in which he had been bred from his Cradle. When he was in his flight, conſidering one Morning with the principal Perſons, which way they ſhould take, ſome propoſed this, and others that way; Sr *William Armorer* ask'd him, "Which way "he thought beſt? which when he had named, the other ſaid, "he would then go the other; for, he ſwore, he had betray'd "the King and the Army all the time; and ſo left him.

WELL

WELL nigh all of them in this long flight were taken, and amongſt them the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and many of the *Scotiſh* Nobility, and the Earls of *Cleveland* and *Derby*, and divers other Men of Quality of the *Engliſh* Nation. And it is hard to be believ'd how very few of that numerous Body of Horſe (for there can be no imagination that any of the Foot eſcaped) return'd into *Scotland*. Upon all the enquiry that was made, when moſt of the falſe and treacherous Actions which had been committed were diſcover'd, there appear'd no cauſe to ſuſpect that *David Leſley* had been unfaithful in his Charge: though he never recover'd any Reputation with thoſe of his own Country who wedded the King's Intereſt. And it was ſome vindication to him, that from the time of his Impriſonment, he never receiv'd any favour from the Parliament, whom he had ſerv'd ſo long; nor from *Cromwell*, in whoſe Company he had ſerv'd; but underwent all the Severities, and long Impriſonment, the reſt of his Country-men ſuffer'd. The King did not believe him falſe; and did always think him an excellent Officer of Horſe, to diſtribute and execute Orders, but in no degree capable of Commanding in chief. And without doubt he was ſo amaz'd in that fatal day, that he perform'd not the Office of a General, or of any competent Officer. *David Leſley and the reſt taken.*

THEY who fled out of *Worceſter*, and were not kill'd, but made Priſoners, and all the Foot, and others who were taken in the Town, except ſome few Officers and Perſons of Quality, were driven like Cattle with a Guard to *London*, and there treated with great rigour; and many periſh'd for want of food; and being incloſed in a little room, till they were ſold to the Plantations for Slaves, they died of all diſeaſes. *Cromwell* return'd in Triumph; was receiv'd with univerſal Joy and Acclamation, as if he had deſtroy'd the Enemy of the Nation, and for ever ſecured the Liberty, and Happineſs of the People: a Price was ſet upon the King's Head, whoſe eſcape was thought to be impoſſible; and order taken for the Trial of the Earl of *Derby*, and ſuch other notorious Priſoners as they had Voted to deſtruction. *The King's Foot driven Priſoners to* London, *and ſold to the Plantations.*

THE Earl of *Derby* was a Man of unqueſtionable Loyalty to the late King, and gave clear Teſtimony of it before he receiv'd any Obligations from the Court, and when he thought himſelf diſobliged by it. This King, in his firſt year, ſent him the Garter; which, in many reſpects, he had expected from the laſt. And the ſenſe of that Honour made him ſo readily comply with the King's Command in attending him, when he had no confidence in the Undertaking, nor any inclination to the *Scots*; who, he thought, had too much guilt upon them, in having depreſſed the Crown, to be made Inſtruments *The Earl of* Derby *his Character and Execution.*

ſtruments of repairing and reſtoring it. He was a Man of great Honour and clear Courage; and all his defects, and misfortunes, proceeded from his having liv'd ſo little time among his Equals, that he knew not how to treat his Inferiors; which was the Source of all the ill that befel him, having thereby drawn ſuch prejudice againſt him from Perſons of inferior Quality, who yet thought themſelves too good to be contemn'd, that they purſued him to death. The King's Army was no ſooner defeated at *Worceſter*, but the Parliament renew'd their old Method of Murdering in cold Blood, and ſent a Commiſſion to erect a High Court of Juſtice to Perſons of ordinary Quality, many not being Gentlemen and all notoriouſly his Enemies, to Try the Earl of *Derby* for his Treaſon and Rebellion; which they eaſily found him guilty of; and put him to death in a Town of his own, againſt which he had expreſſed a ſevere diſpleaſure for their obſtinate Rebellion againſt the King, with all the circumſtances of Rudeneſs and Barbarity they could invent. The ſame Night, one of thoſe who was amongſt his Judges, ſent a Trumpet to the Iſle of *Man* with a Letter directed to the Counteſs of *Derby*, by which he required her "To deliver up the Caſtle and Iſland "to the Parliament: Nor did their Malice abate, till they had reduced that Lady, a Woman of very high and Princely Extraction, being the Daughter of the Duke *de Tremouille* in *France*, and of the moſt exemplary Virtue and Piety of her time, and that whole moſt noble Family, to the loweſt penury and want, by diſpoſing, giving, and ſelling, all the Fortune and Eſtate that ſhould ſupport it.

THEY of the King's Friends in *Flanders*, *France*, and *Holland*, who had not been permitted to attend upon his Majeſty in *Scotland*, were much exalted with the News of his being enter'd *England* with a Powerful Army, and being poſſeſſed of *Worceſter*, which made all Men prepare to make haſte thither. But they were confounded with the News of that fatal day, and more confounded with the various reports of the Perſon of the King, "Of his being found amongſt the dead; "of his being Priſoner; and all thoſe imaginations which naturally attend upon ſuch unproſperous Events. Many who had made eſcapes, arriv'd every day in *France*, *Flanders*, and *Holland*, but knew no more what was become of the King, than They did who had not been in *England*. The only comfort that any of them brought, was, that he was amongſt thoſe that fled, and ſome of them had ſeen him that Evening after the Battle, many Miles out of *Worceſter*. Theſe unſteady degrees of hope and fear tormented them very long; ſometimes they heard he was at the *Hague* with his Siſter, which was occaſion'd by the arrival of the Duke of *Buckingham*

ham in *Holland*; and it was thought good Policy to publiſh that the King himſelf was landed, that the Search after him in *England* might be diſcontinued. But it was quickly known that he was not there, nor in any place on that ſide of the Sea. And this anxiety of mind diſquieted the hearts of all Honeſt Men during the whole Months of *September* and *October*, and part of *November*; in which Month his Majeſty was known to be at *Roan*; where he made himſelf known, and ſtay'd ſome days to provide Cloaths; and from thence gave notice to the Queen of his arrival.

The King came to Roan *in* Novemb.

It is great pity that there was never a Journal made of that Miraculous Deliverance, in which there might be ſeen ſo many viſible impreſſions of the immediate Hand of God. When the darkneſs of the Night was over, after the King had caſt himſelf into that Wood, he diſcern'd another Man, who had gotten upon an Oak in the ſame Wood, near the place where the King had reſted himſelf, and had ſlept ſoundly. The Man upon the Tree had firſt ſeen the King, and knew him, and came down to him, and was known to the King, being a Gentleman of the neighbour County of *Stafford-ſhire*, who had ſerv'd his late Majeſty during the War, and had now been one of the few who reſorted to the King after his coming to *Worceſter*. His name was *Careleſs*, who had had a Command of Foot, about the degree of a Captain, under the Lord *Loughborough*. He perſwaded the King, ſince it could not be ſafe for him to go out of the Wood, and that aſſoon, as it ſhould be fully light, the Wood it ſelf would probably be viſited by thoſe of the Country, who would be ſearching to find thoſe whom they might make Priſoners, that he would get up into that Tree, where He had been; where the Boughs were ſo thick with leaves, that a Man would not be diſcover'd there without a narrower Enquiry than People uſually make in places which they do not ſuſpect. The King thought it good Counſel; and, with the others help, climb'd into the Tree; and, then helped his Companion to aſcend after him; where they ſat all that day, and ſecurely ſaw Many who came purpoſely into the Wood to look after them, and heard all their diſcourſe, how they would uſe the King himſelf if they could take him. This Wood was either in, or upon the Borders of *Stafford-ſhire*; and though there was a High-way near one ſide of it, where the King had enter'd into it, yet it was large, and all other ſides of it open'd amongſt Incloſures, and *Careleſs* was not unacquainted with the Neighbour Villages, and it was part of the King's good Fortune, that this Gentleman by being a Roman Catholick, was acquainted with thoſe of that Profeſſion of all degrees, who had the beſt opportunities of concealing him: for it muſt never be denied, that

The particulars of the King's eſcape as the Author had them from the King himſelf.

The King meets Captain Careleſs *in a wood, who perſwades him to get up into an Oak.*

ſome of that Religion had a very great ſhare in his Majeſty's preſervation.

THE day being ſpent in the Tree, it was not in the King's power to forget that he had liv'd two Days with eating very little, and two Nights with as little ſleep; ſo that, when the Night came, he was willing to make ſome proviſion for both: and he reſolv'd with the advice and aſſiſtance of his Companion, to leave his bleſſed Tree; and, when the Night was dark, they walked through the Wood into thoſe Incloſures which were fartheſt from any High-way, and making a ſhift to get over Hedges and Ditches, after walking at leaſt eight or nine Miles, which were the more grievous to the King by the weight of his Boots (for he could not put them off, when he cut off his hair for want of Shoes) before Morning they came to a poor Cottage, the owner whereof being a Roman Catholick was known to *Careleſs*. He was call'd up, and aſſoon as he knew one of them, he eaſily concluded in what condition they both were; and preſently carried them into a little Barn, full of Hay; which was a better lodging than he had for himſelf. But when they were there, and had conferr'd with their Hoſt of the news and temper of the Country, it was agreed, that the danger would be the greater if they ſtay'd together; and therefore that *Careleſs* ſhould preſently be gone; and ſhould within two days, ſend an honeſt Man to the King, to guide him to ſome other place of ſecurity; and in the mean time his Majeſty ſhould ſtay upon the Hay-mow. The poor Man had nothing for him to eat, but promiſed him good Butter-milk; and ſo he was once more left alone, his Companion, how weary ſoever, departing from him before day, the poor Man of the Houſe knowing no more, than that he was a Friend of the Captain's, and one of thoſe who had eſcaped from *Worceſter*. The King ſlept very well in his lodging, till the time that his Hoſt brought him a piece of Bread, and a great Pot of Butter-milk, which he thought the beſt food he ever had eaten. The poor Man ſpoke very intelligently to him of the Country, and of the People who were well or ill affected to the King, and of the great fear, and terror, that poſſeſſed the hearts of thoſe who were beſt affected. He told him, "That he himſelf liv'd by his daily "Labour, and that what he had brought him was the Fare he "and his Wife had; and that he fear'd, if he ſhould endea-"vour to procure better, it might draw ſuſpicion upon him, "and People might be apt to think he had ſome Body with "him that was not of his own Family. However, if he would "have him get ſome Meat, he would do it; but if he could "bear this hard Diet, he ſhould have enough of the Milk, and "ſome of the Butter that was made with it. The King was

Thence he came to a Cottage nine miles off, where he lay in a Barn.

ſatisfied

ſatisfied with his reaſon, and would not run the hazard for a change of Diet; deſir'd only the Man, "That he might have "his Company as often, and as much as he could give it him; there being the ſame reaſon againſt the poor Man's diſcontinuing his Labour, as the alteration of his Fare.

AFTER he had reſted upon this Hay-mow, and fed upon this Diet two days and two nights, in the evening before the third night, another Fellow, a little above the condition of his Hoſt, came to the Houſe, ſent from *Careleſs*, to conduct the King to another Houſe, more out of any Road near which any part of the Army was like to march. It was above twelve Miles that he was to go, and was to uſe the ſame caution he had done the firſt Night, not to go in any Common Road; which his Guide knew well how to avoid. Here he new dreſſed himſelf, changing Cloaths with his Landlord; he had a great mind to have kept his own Shirt, but he conſider'd, that Men are not ſooner diſcover'd by any mark in diſguiſes, than by having fine Linen in ill Cloaths; and ſo he parted with his Shirt too, and took the ſame his poor Hoſt had then on. Though he had foreſeen that he muſt leave his Boots, and his Landlord had taken the beſt care he could to provide an old pair of Shoes, yet they were not eaſy to him when he firſt put them on, and, in a ſhort time after, grew very grievous to him. In this Equipage he ſet out from his firſt Lodging in the beginning of the Night, under the conduct of this Guide; who guided him the neareſt way, croſſing over Hedges and Ditches, that they might be in leaſt danger of meeting Paſſengers. This was ſo grievous a march, and he was ſo tired, that he was even ready to deſpair, and to prefer being taken and ſuffer'd to reſt, before purchaſing his Safety at that price. His Shoes had, after a few Miles, hurt him ſo much, that he had thrown them away, and walked the reſt of the way in his ill Stockings, which were quickly worn out; and his Feet, with the Thorns in getting over Hedges, and with the Stones in other places, were ſo hurt and wounded, that he many times caſt himſelf upon the ground, with a deſperate and obſtinate Reſolution to reſt there till the Morning, that he might ſhift with leſs torment, what hazard ſoever he run. But his ſtout Guide ſtill prevail'd with him to make a new attempt, ſometimes promiſing that the way ſhould be better, and ſometimes aſſuring him that he had but little farther to go: and in this diſtreſs and perplexity, before the Morning, they arriv'd at the Houſe deſign'd; which though it was better than that which he had left, his Lodging was ſtill in the Barn, upon Straw inſtead of Hay, a place being made as eaſy in it, as the expectation of a Gueſt could diſpoſe it. Here he had ſuch Meat and Porridge as ſuch People uſe

Thence he is conducted to another Houſe 12 miles off.

to have; with which, but especially with the Butter and the Cheese, he thought himself well feasted; and took the best care he could to be supplied with other, little better, Shoes and Stockings: and after his Feet were enough recover'd that he could go, he was conducted from thence to another poor House, within such a distance as put him not to much trouble: for having not yet in his thought which way, or by what means to make his escape, all that was design'd was only by shifting from one House to another, to avoid discovery. And being now in that Quarter which was more inhabited by the Roman Catholicks than most other parts in *England*, he was led from one to another of that Persuasion, and conceal'd with great Fidelity. But he then observ'd that he was never carried to any Gentleman's House, though that Country was full of them, but only to poor Houses of poor Men, which only yielded him rest with very unpleasant sustenance; whether there was more danger in those better Houses, in regard of the resort, and the many Servants; or whether the Owners of great Estates, were the Owners likewise of more fears and apprehensions.

Thence to another; and so to others.

WITHIN few days a very honest and discreet Person, one Mr *Hudleston*, a Benedictine Monk, who attended the Service of the Roman Catholicks in those parts, came to him, sent by *Careless*; and was a very great assistance and comfort to him. And when the places to which he carried him, were at too great a distance to walk, he provided him a Horse, and more proper Habit than the Rags he wore. This Man told him, "That the Lord *Wilmot* lay conceal'd likewise in a Friend's "House of his; which his Majesty was very glad of; and "wished him to contrive some means, how they might speak "together; which the other easily did; and, within a Night or two, brought them into one place. *Wilmot* told the King "That he had by very good Fortune, fallen into the House "of an honest Gentleman, one Mr *Lane*, a Person of an ex- "cellent Reputation for his Fidelity to the King, but of so "universal and general a good Name, that, though he had a Son, "who had been a Colonel in the King's Service, during the "late War, and was then upon his way with Men to *Wor-* "*cester* the very day of the defeat, Men of all Affections in the "Country, and of all Opinions, paid the old Man a very great "respect: that he had been very civilly treated there, and "that the old Gentleman had used some diligence to find out "where the King was, that he might get him to his House; "where, he was sure, he could conceal him till he might "contrive a full deliverance. He told him, "He had with- "drawn from that House, in hope that he might, in some "other place, discover where his Majesty was, and having now "happily

Mr Hudleston *sent to him by* Careless; *who brought him to the Lord* Wilmot.

"happily found him, adviſed him to repair to that Houſe "which ſtood not near any other.

THE King enquired of the Monk of the reputation of this Gentleman; who told him, "That he had a fair Eſtate; was "exceedingly belov'd; and the eldeſt Juſtice of Peace of that "County of *Stafford*; and though he was a very zealous "Proteſtant, yet he liv'd with ſo much civility and candour "towards the Catholicks, that they would all truſt him, as "much as they would do any of their own Profeſſion; and "that he could not think of any place of ſo good repoſe and ſe-"curity for his Majeſty's repair to. The King liked the Propoſition, yet thought not fit to ſurpriſe the Gentleman; but ſent *Wilmot* thither again, to aſſure himſelf that he might be receiv'd there; and was willing that he ſhould know what Gueſt he receiv'd; which hitherto was ſo much concealed, that none of the Houſes where he had yet been, knew, or ſeem'd to ſuſpect more than that he was one of the King's Party that fled from *Worceſter*. The Monk carried him to a Houſe at a reaſonable diſtance, where he was to expect an Account from the Lord *Wilmot*; who return'd very punctually, with as much aſſurance of welcome as he could wiſh. And ſo they two went together to Mr *Lane*'s Houſe; where the King found he was wellcome, and conveniently accommodated in ſuch places, as in a large Houſe had been provided to conceal the Perſons of Malignants, or to preſerve goods of value from being plunder'd. Here he lodg'd, and eat very well; and begun to hope that he was in preſent ſafety. *Wilmot* return'd under the care of the Monk, and expected Summons, when any farther motion ſhould be thought to be neceſſary.

The King brought by him to Mr Lane's *Houſe.*

IN this ſtation the King remain'd in quiet and bleſſed ſecurity many days, receiving every day information of the general conſternation the Kingdom was in, out of the apprehenſion that his Perſon might fall into the hands of his Enemies, and of the great diligence they uſed to enquire for him. He ſaw the Proclamation that was iſſued out and printed; in which a Thouſand pounds were promiſed to any Man who would deliver and diſcover the Perſon of *Charles Stuart*, and the penalty of High Treaſon declared againſt thoſe who preſum'd to harbour or conceal him: By which he ſaw how much he was beholding to all thoſe who were faithful to him. It was now time to conſider how he might get near the Sea, from whence he might find ſome means to Tranſport himſelf: And he was now near the middle of the Kingdom, ſaving that it was a little more Northward, where he was utterly unacquainted with all the Ports, and with that Coaſt. In the Weſt he was beſt acquainted, and that Coaſt was moſt

proper to Transport him into *France*; to which he was inclin'd. Upon this matter he Communicated with those of this Family to whom he was known, that is, with the old Gentleman the Father, a very grave and venerable Person, the Colonel his Eldest Son, a very plain Man in his discourse and behaviour, but of a fearless Courage, and an Integrity superior to any temptation, and a Daughter of the House, of a very good Wit and Discretion, and very fit to bear any part in such a Trust. It was a benefit, as well as an inconvenience, in those unhappy times, that the Affections of all Men were almost as well known as their Faces, by the discovery they had made of themselves, in those sad Seasons, in many Trials and Persecutions: So that Men knew not only the Minds of their next Neighbours, and those who inhabited near them, but, upon conference with their Friends, could choose fit Houses, at any distance, to repose themselves in security, from one end of the Kingdom to another, without trusting the Hospitality of a Common Inn: And Men were very rarely deceiv'd in their confidence upon such occasions, but the Persons with whom they were at any time, could conduct them to another House of the same Affection.

Mr *Lane* had a Niece, or very near Kinswoman, who was Married to a Gentleman, one Mr *Norton*, a Person of eight or nine hundred pounds *per annum*, who liv'd within four or five Miles of *Bristol*, which was at least four or five days journey from the place where the King then was, but a place most to be wish'd for the King to be in, because he did not only know all that Country very well, but knew many Persons also, to whom, in an extraordinary Case, he durst make himself known. It was hereupon resolv'd, that Mrs *Lane* should visit this Cousin, who was known to be of good affections: and that she should ride behind the King; who was fitted with Cloaths and Boots for such a Service; and that a Servant of her Father's, in his Livery, should wait upon her. A good House was easily pitch'd upon for the first night's Lodging; where *Wilmot* had notice given him to meet. And in this Equipage the King begun his journey; the Colonel keeping him Company at a distance, with a Hawk upon his Fist, and two or three Spaniels; which, where there were any Fields at hand, warranted him to ride out of the way, keeping his Company still in his Eye, and not seeming to be of it. In this manner they came to their first night's Lodging; and they need not now contrive to come to their journeys end about the close of the Evening, for it was in the Month of *October* far advanced, that the long journies they made could not be dispatch'd sooner. Here the Lord *Wilmot* found them; and their journies being then adjusted, he was instructed where he

Here it was resolv'd the King should go to Mr Norton; *riding before* Mrs Lane.

he ſhould be every Night: ſo they were ſeldom ſeen together in the Journey, and rarely lodg'd in the ſame Houſe at Night. In this maner the Colonel Hawk'd two or three days, till he had brought them within leſs than a days Journey of Mr *Norton's* Houſe; and then he gave his Hawk to the Lord *Wilmot*; who continued the Journey in the ſame Exerciſe.

THERE was great care taken when they came to any Houſe, that the King might be preſently carried into ſome Chamber; Mrs *Lane* declaring "That he was a Neighbour's "Son, whom his Father had lent her to ride before her, in "hope that he would the ſooner recover from a Quartan Ague, "with which he had been miſerably afflicted, and was not "yet free. And by this Artifice ſhe cauſed a good bed to be ſtill provided for him, and the beſt meat to be ſent; which ſhe often carried her ſelf, to hinder others from doing it. There was no reſting in any place till they came to Mr *Norton's*, nor any thing extraordinary that happen'd in the way, ſave that they met many People every day in the way, who were very well known to the King; and the day that they went to Mr *Norton's*, they were neceſſarily to ride quite through the City of *Briſtol*; a Place, and People, the King had been ſo well acquainted with, that he could not but ſend his Eyes abroad to view the great alterations which had been made there, after his departure from thence: And when he rode near the place where the great Fort had ſtood, he could not forbear putting his Horſe out of the way, and rode with his Miſtreſs behind him round about it.

THEY came to Mr *Norton's* Houſe ſooner than uſual, and it being on a Holy-day, they ſaw many People about a Bowling-Green that was before the door, and the firſt Man the King ſaw was a Chaplain of his own, who was ally'd to the Gentleman of the Houſe, and was ſitting upon the rails to ſee how the Bowlers play'd. *William*, by which name the King went, walk'd with his Horſe into the Stable, until his Miſtreſs could provide for his retreat. Mrs *Lane* was very welcome to her Couſin, and was preſently conducted to her Chamber; where ſhe no ſooner was, than ſhe lamented the condition of "A "good Youth, who came with her, and whom ſhe had bor-"row'd of his Father to ride before her, who was very ſick, "being newly recover'd of an Ague; and deſir'd her Couſin, "that a Chamber might be provided for him, and a good fire "made: For that he would go early to Bed, and was not fit to "be below ſtairs. A pretty little Chamber was preſently made ready, and a fire prepared, and a Boy ſent into the Stable to call *William*, and to ſhew him his Chamber; who was very glad to be there, freed from ſo much Company as was below. Mrs *Lane* was put to find ſome excuſe for making a viſit at

They came ſafe to Mr Norton's *through* Briſtol.

that time of the year, and ſo many days Journey from her Father, and where ſhe had never been before, though the Miſtreſs of the Houſe and ſhe had been bred together, and Friends as well as Kindred. She pretended "That ſhe was, after a "little reſt, to go into *Dorſet-ſhire* to another Friend. When it was Supper time, there being Broth brought to the Table, Mrs *Lane* fill'd a little diſh, and deſir'd the Butler, who waited at the Table, "To carry that diſh of *Porridge* to *William*, "and to tell him that he ſhould have ſome Meat ſent to him "preſently. The Butler carried the Porridge into the Chamber with a Napkin, and Spoon, and Bread, and ſpoke kindly to the young Man; who was willing to be eating.

The King is known to the Butler of the Houſe.

THE Butler looking narrowly upon him, fell upon his knees, and with tears told him, "He was glad to ſee his Ma-"jeſty. The King was infinitely ſurpriſed, yet recollected himſelf enough to laugh at the Man, and to ask him "What "he meant? The Man had been Falconer to Sr *Thomas Jermyn*, and made it appear that he knew well enough to whom he ſpoke, repeating ſome particulars, which the King had not forgot. Whereupon the King conjur'd him "Not to ſpeak of "what he knew, ſo much as to his Maſter, though he believ'd "him a very honeſt Man. The Fellow promiſed, and kept his word; and the King was the better waited upon during the time of his abode there.

Dr GORGES, the King's Chaplain, being a Gentleman of a good Family near that place, and ally'd to Mr *Norton*, ſupp'd with them, and being a Man of a chearful Converſation, ask'd Mrs *Lane* many queſtions concerning *William*, of whom he ſaw ſhe was ſo careful by ſending up Meat to him "How long "his Ague had been gone? and whether he had purged ſince it left him? and the like; to which ſhe gave ſuch Anſwers as occurr'd. The Doctor from the final prevalence of the Parliament, had, as many others of that Function had done, declined his Profeſſion, and pretended to ſtudy Phyſick. Aſſoon as Supper was done, out of good Nature, and without telling any Body, he went to ſee *William*. The King ſaw him coming into the Chamber, and withdrew to the inſide of the Bed, that he might be fartheſt from the Candle, and the Doctor came, and ſate down by him, felt his Pulſe, and ask'd him many Queſtions, which he anſwer'd in as few words as was poſſible, and expreſſing great inclination to go to his Bed; to which the Doctor left him, and went to Mrs *Lane*, and told her, "That he had been with *William*, and that he would do "well; and adviſed her, what ſhe ſhould do if his Ague return'd. The next Morning, the Doctor went away, ſo that the King ſaw him no more. The next day the Lord *Wilmot* came to the Houſe with his Hawk, to ſee Mrs *Lane*, and ſo

conferr'd

conferr'd with *William*; who was to conſider what he was to do. They thought it neceſſary to reſt ſome days, till they were inform'd what Port lay moſt convenient for them, and what Perſon liv'd neareſt to it, upon whoſe Fidelity they might rely: And the King gave him directions to enquire after ſome Perſons, and ſome other particulars, of which when he ſhould be fully inſtructed, he ſhould return again to him. In the mean time, *Wilmot* lodged at a Houſe not far from Mr *Norton's*, to which he had been recommended.

AFTER ſome days ſtay here, and communication between the King and the Lord *Wilmot* by Letters, the King came to know that Colonel *Francis Windham* liv'd within little more than a days Journey of the place where he was; of which he was very glad; for beſides the inclination he had to his elder Brother, whoſe Wife had been his Nurſe, this Gentleman had behaved himſelf very well during the War, and had been Governour of *Dunſtar* Caſtle, where the King had lodg'd when he was in the Weſt. After the end of the War, when all other places were Surrender'd in that County, He likewiſe Surrender'd That, upon fair Conditions, and made his Peace, and afterwards Married a Wife with a competent Fortune, and liv'd quietly, without any ſuſpicion of having leſſen'd his affection towards the King.

THE King ſent *Wilmot* to him, and acquainted him where he was, and "That he would gladly ſpeak with him. It was not hard for him to chooſe a good place where to meet, and thereupon the day was appointed. After the King had taken his leave of Mrs *Lane*, who remain'd with her Couſin *Norton*, the King, and the Lord *Wilmot*, met the Colonel; and, in the way, he met in a Town, through which they paſſed, Mr *Kirton*, a Servant of the King's who well knew the Lord *Wilmot*, who had no other diſguiſe than the Hawk, but took no notice of him, nor ſuſpected the King to be there; yet that day made the King more wary of having him in his Company upon the Way. At the place of meeting, they reſted onely one Night, and then the King went to the Colonel's Houſe; where he reſted many days, whilſt the Colonel projected at what place the King might Embark, and how they might procure a Veſſel to be ready there; which was not eaſy to find; there being ſo great a fear poſſeſſing thoſe who were honeſt, that it was hard to procure any Veſſel that was outward bound to take in any Paſſenger.

The King goes to Colonel Francis Windham's *Houſe.*

THERE was a Gentleman, one Mr *Elliſon*, who liv'd near *Lymne* in *Dorſet-ſhire*, and was well known to Colonel *Windham*, having been a Captain in the King's Army, and was ſtill look'd upon as a very honeſt Man. With him the Colonel conſulted, how they might get a Veſſel to be ready to take in a couple

couple of Gentlemen, Friends of his, who were in danger to be Arreſted, and Tranſport them into *France*. Though no Man would ask who the Perſons were, yet it could not but be ſuſpected who they were, at leaſt they concluded, that it was ſome of *Worceſter* Party. *Lyme* was generally as malicious and diſaffected a Town to the King's Intereſt, as any Town in *England* could be: yet there was in it a Maſter of a Bark, of whoſe honeſty this Captain was very confident. This Man was lately return'd from *France*, and had unladen his Veſſel, when *Elliſon* ask'd him, "When he would make another Voyage? And he anſwer'd, "Aſſoon as he could get Lading for his Ship. The other ask'd, "Whether he would undertake to carry over a "couple of Gentlemen, and Land them in *France*, if he might "be as well paid for his Voyage as he uſed to be when he was "fraighted by the Merchants. In concluſion, he told him, "he ſhould receive fifty pounds for his Fare: The large recompenſe had that effect, that the Man undertook it; though he ſaid "He muſt make his proviſion very ſecretly; for that he "might be well ſuſpected for going to Sea again without be-"ing fraighted, after he was ſo newly return'd. Colonel *Windham*, being advertiſed of this, came together with the Lord *Wilmot* to the Captain's Houſe, from whence the Lord and the Captain rid to a Houſe near *Lyme*; where the Maſter of the Bark met them; and the Lord *Wilmot* being ſatisfied with the diſcourſe of the Man, and his warineſs in foreſeeing ſuſpicions, which would ariſe, it was reſolv'd that on ſuch a Night, which, upon conſideration of the Tydes, it was agreed upon, the Man ſhould draw out his Veſſel from the Peer, and, being at Sea, ſhould come to ſuch a point about a Mile from the Town, where his Ship ſhould remain upon the Beach when the Water was gone; which would take it off again about break of day the next Morning. There was very near that Point, even in the view of it, a ſmall Inn, kept by a Man who was reputed honeſt, to which the Cavaliers of the Country often reſorted; and *London* Road paſſed that way; ſo that it was ſeldom without Company. Into that Inn the two Gentlemen were to come in the beginning of the Night, that they might put themſelves on board. All things being thus concerted, and good earneſt given to the Maſter, the Lord *Wilmot* and the Colonel return'd to the Colonel's Houſe, above a days Journey from the place, the Captain undertaking every day to look that the Maſter ſhould provide, and, if any thing fell out contrary to expectation, to give the Colonel notice at ſuch a place, where they intended the King ſhould be the day before he was to Embark.

THE

THE King, being ſatisfied with theſe preparations, came at the time appointed, to that Houſe where he was to hear that all went as it ought to do; of which he receiv'd aſſurance from the Captain; who found that the Man had honeſtly put his Proviſions on Board, and had his Company ready, which were but four Men; and that the Veſſel ſhould be drawn out that Night: So that it was fit for the two Perſons to come to the aforeſaid Inn, and the Captain conducted them within ſight of it; and then went to his own Houſe, not diſtant a Mile from it; the Colonel remaining ſtill at the Houſe where they had lodg'd the Night before, till he might hear the news of their being Embarked.

Thence he is brought to an Inn near Lyme; *and a Ship hired by Captain* Elliſon.

THEY found many Paſſengers in the Inn; and ſo were to be contented with an ordinary Chamber, which they did not intend to ſleep long in. But aſſoon as there appear'd any light, *Wilmot* went out to diſcover the Bark, of which there was no appearance. In a word, the Sun aroſe, and nothing like a Ship in view. They ſent to the Captain, who was as much amaz'd; and he ſent to the Town; and his Servant could not find the Maſter of the Bark, which was ſtill in the Peer. They ſuſpected the Captain, and the Captain ſuſpected the Maſter. However, it being paſt ten of the Clock, they concluded it was not fit for them to ſtay longer there, and ſo they mounted their Horſes again to return to the Houſe where they had left the Colonel, who, they knew, reſolv'd to ſtay there till he were aſſur'd that they were gone.

The Ship fail'd by an accident; and the King left the Inn.

THE truth of the diſappointment was this; the Man meant honeſtly, and made all things ready for his departure; and the Night he was to go out with his Veſſel, he had ſtay'd in his own Houſe, and ſlept two or three hours, and the time of the Tyde being come, that it was neceſſary to be on Board, he took out of a Cupboard ſome Linnen, and other things, which he uſed to carry with him to Sea. His Wife had obſerv'd, that he had been for ſome days fuller of thoughts than he uſed to be, and that he had been ſpeaking with Sea-men, who uſed to go with him, and that ſome of them had carried Proviſions on Board the Bark; of which ſhe had ask'd her Huſband the reaſon; who had told her, "That he was promiſed "fraight ſpeedily, and therefore he would make all things "ready. She was ſure that there was yet no lading in the Ship, and therefore, when ſhe ſaw her Husband take all thoſe Materials with him, which was a ſure ſign that he meant to go to Sea, and it being late in the Night, ſhe ſhut the door, and ſwore he ſhould not go out of his Houſe. He told her, "He "muſt go, and was engaged to go to Sea that Night; for "which he ſhould be well paid. His Wife told him, "She "was ſure he was doing ſomewhat that would undo him, and "ſhe

"she was resolv'd he should not go out of his House; and if "he should persist in it, she would tell the Neighbours, and "carry him before the Mayor to be examin'd, that the truth "might be found out. The poor Man, thus master'd by the passion and violence of his Wife, was forced to yield to her, that there might be no farther noise; and so went into his bed.

AND it was very happy that the King's jealousy hasten'd him from that Inn. It was the solemn Fast Day, which was observ'd in those times principally to enflame the People against the King, and all those who were Loyal to him, and there was a Chappel in that Village over against that Inn, where a Weaver, who had been a Soldier, used to Preach, and utter all the Villainy imaginable against the old Order of Government: and he was then in the Chappel Preaching to his Congregation, when the King went from thence, and telling the People "That *Charles Stuart* was lurking somewhere in that "Country, and that they would merit from God Almighty, "if they could find him out. The Passengers, who had lodg'd in the Inn that Night, had, assoon as they were up, sent for a Smith to visit their Horses, it being a hard Frost. The Smith, when he had done what he was sent for, according to the custom of that People, examin'd the feet of the other two Horses to find more work. When he had observ'd them, he told the Host of the House, "That one of those Horses "had travell'd far; and that he was sure that his four Shoes "had been made in four several Counties; which, whether his skill was able to discover or no, was very true. The Smith going to the Sermon told this story to some of his Neighbours; and so it came to the Ears of the Preacher, when his Sermon was done. Immediately he sent for an Officer, and search'd the Inn, and enquired for those Horses, and being inform'd that they were gone, he caused Horses to be sent to follow them, and to make enquiry after the two Men who rid those Horses, and positively declar'd "That one of "them was *Charles Stuart*.

Like to be discover'd by a Smith shoing their Horses.

WHEN they came again to the Colonel, they presently concluded that they were to make no longer stay in those parts, nor any more to endeavour to find a Ship upon that Coast; and without any farther delay, they rode back to the Colonel's House; where they arriv'd in the Night. Then they resolv'd to make their next attempt in *Hampshire*, and *Sussex*, where Colonel *Windham* had no Interest. They must pass through all *Wiltshire* before they came thither; which would require many days Journey: and they were first to consider what honest Houses there were in or near the way, where they might securely repose; and it was thought very dangerous

The King goes back to the Colonel's House.

dangerous for the King to ride through any great Town, as *Salisbury*, or *Wincheſter*, which might probably lie in their way.

THERE was between that and *Salisbury* a very honeſt Gentleman, Colonel *Robert Philips*, a younger Brother of a very good Family, which had always been very Loyal; and he had ſerv'd the King during the War. The King was reſolv'd to truſt him; and ſo ſent the Lord *Wilmot* to a place from whence he might ſend to Mr *Philips* to come to him, and when he had ſpoken with him, Mr *Philips* ſhould come to the King, and *Wilmot* was to ſtay in ſuch a place as they two ſhould agree. Mr *Philips* accordingly came to the Colonel's Houſe; which he could do without ſuſpicion, they being nearly ally'd. The ways were very full of Soldiers; which were ſent now from the Army to their Quarters, and many Regiments of Horſe and Foot were aſſign'd for the Weſt; of which diviſion *Desborough* was Commander in chief. Theſe marches were like to laſt for many days, and it would not be fit for the King to ſtay ſo long in that place. Thereupon, he reſorted to his old Security of taking a Woman behind him, a Kinſwoman of Colonel *Windham*, whom he carried in that manner to a place not far from *Salisbury*; to which Colonel *Philips* conducted him. In this Journey he paſſed through the middle of a Regiment of Horſe; and, preſently after, met *Desborough* walking down a Hill with three or four Men with him; who had lodged in *Salisbury* the night before; all that Road being full of Soldiers.

The King ſends Wilmot *for* Robert Philips.

Who conducts him to a place near Salisbury.

THE next day, upon the Plains, Dr *Hinchman*, one of the Prebends of *Salisbury*, met the King, the Lord *Wilmot* and *Philips* then leaving him to go to the Sea Coaſt to find a Veſſel, the Dr conducting the King to a place called *Heale*, three miles from *Salisbury*, belonging then to Serjeant *Hyde*, who was afterwards Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, and then in the poſſeſſion of the Widow of his elder Brother; a Houſe that ſtood alone from Neighbours, and from any high way; where coming in late in the Evening, he ſupp'd with ſome Gentlemen who accidentally were in the Houſe; which could not well be avoided. But, the next Morning, he went early from thence, as if he had continued his Journey; and the Widow, being truſted with the knowledge of her Gueſt, ſent her Servants out of the way; and, at an hour appointed, receiv'd him again, and accommodated him in a little Room, which had been made ſince the beginning of the Troubles for the concealment of Delinquents, the Seat always belonging to a Malignant Family.

Dr Hinchman *meets the King on the Plains; and conducts him to* Heale *Mrs* Hyde's *Houſe.*

HERE he lay conceal'd without the knowledge of ſome Gentlemen, who liv'd in the Houſe, and of others who daily reſorted

reſorted thither, for many days, the Widow her ſelf only attending him with ſuch things as were neceſſary, and bringing him ſuch Letters as the Doctor receiv'd from the Lord *Wilmot*, and Colonel *Philips*. A Veſſel being at laſt provided upon the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, and notice thereof ſent to Dr *Hinchman*, he ſent to the King to meet him at *Stone-henge* upon the Plains three miles from *Heale*; whither the Widow took care to direct him; and being there met, he attended him to the place where Colonel *Philips* receiv'd him. He, the next day, deliver'd him to the Lord *Wilmot*; who went with him to a Houſe in *Suſſex*, recommended by Colonel *Gunter*, a Gentleman of that Country, who had ſerv'd the King in the War; who met him there; and had provided a little Bark at *Bright-hemſted*, a ſmall Fiſher Town; where he went early on Board, and, by God's Bleſſing, arriv'd ſafely in *Normandy*.

Thence to a houſe in Suſſex *near* Bright-hemſted; *where a Bark was provided by Colonel* Gunter. *He arrives in* Normandy *in a ſmall Creek in* Novemb.

THE Earl of *Southampton*, who was then at his Houſe at *Titchfield* in *Hampſhire*, had been advertiſed of the King's being in the Weſt, and of his miſſing his paſſage at *Lyme*, and ſent a truſty Gentleman to thoſe Faithful Perſons in the Country, who he thought, were moſt like to be employ'd for his Eſcape if he came into thoſe parts, to let them know, "That he had a "Ship ready, and if the King came to him, he ſhould be ſafe; which advertiſement came to the King the Night before he Embarked, and when his Veſſel was ready. But his Majeſty ever acknowledged the obligation with great kindneſs, he being the only Perſon of that Condition, who had the Courage to ſollicite ſuch danger, though all good Men heartily wiſhed his deliverance. It was in *November*, that the King landed in *Normandy*, in a ſmall Creek; from whence he got to *Roan*, and then gave notice to the Queen of his arrival, and freed his Loyal Subjects in all places from their diſmal Apprehenſions.

THOUGH this wonderful deliverance and preſervation of the Perſon of the King, was an Argument of general Joy and Comfort to all his good Subjects, and a new ſeed of hope for future Bleſſings, yet his preſent Condition was very deplorable. *France* was not at all pleaſed with his being come thither, nor did quickly take notice of his being there. The Queen his Mother was very glad of his Eſcape, but in no degree able to contribute towards his Support; they who had Intereſt with her, finding all ſhe had, or could get, too little for their own unlimited Expence. Beſides, the diſtraction that Court had been lately in, and was not yet free from the effects of, made her Penſion to be paid with leſs punctuality than it had uſed to be; ſo that ſhe was forced to be in debt both to her Servants, and for the very Proviſions of her Houſe; nor had the

King

King one ſhilling towards the Support of Himſelf, and his Family.

ASSOON as his Majeſty came to *Paris*, and knew that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was at *Antwerp*, he commanded *Seymour*, who was of his Bed-Chamber, to ſend to him to repair thither; which whilſt he was providing to do, Mr *Long*, the King's Secretary, who was at *Amſterdam*, and had been remov'd, from his Attendance in *Scotland* by the Marquis of *Argyle*, writ to the Chancellor, "That he had receiv'd a Let-"ter from the King, by which he was requir'd to let all his "Majeſty's Servants who were in thoſe parts, know, it was "his pleaſure that none of them ſhould repair to him to *Paris*, "until they ſhould receive farther order, ſince his Majeſty "could not yet reſolve how long he ſhould ſtay there: of "which, Mr *Long* ſaid, "He thought it his duty to give him "notice; with this, that the Lord *Colepepper* and himſelf, who "had reſolv'd to have made haſte thither, had in obedience to "this command laid aſide that purpoſe. The Chancellor concluded that this inhibition concern'd not Him, ſince he had receiv'd a command from the King to wait upon him. Beſides, he had ſtill the Character of Embaſſadour upon him, which he could not lay down till he had kiſſed his Majeſty's hand. So he purſued his former purpoſe, and came to *Paris* in the *Chriſtmas*, and found that the command to Mr *Long* had been procured with an eye principally upon the Chancellor, there being ſome there who had no mind he ſhould be with the King; though, when there was no remedy, the Queen receiv'd him graciouſly. But the King was very well pleaſed with his being come; and, for the firſt four or five days, he ſpent many hours with him in private, and inform'd him of very many particulars, of the harſh treatment he had receiv'd in *Scotland*, the reaſon of his march into *England*, the confuſion at *Worceſter*, and all the circumſtances of his happy eſcape and deliverance; many parts whereof are comprehended in this relation, and are exactly true. For beſides all thoſe particulars which the King himſelf was pleaſed to Communicate to him, ſo ſoon after the Tranſactions of them, when they had made ſo lively an impreſſion in his memory, and of which the Chancellor at that time kept a very punctual Memorial; he had, at the ſame time, the daily converſation of the Lord *Wilmot*; who inform'd him of all he could remember: and ſometimes the King and He recollected many particulars in the diſcourſe together, in which the King's memory was much better than the other's. And after the King's bleſſed return into *England*, he had frequent conferences with many of thoſe who had acted ſeveral parts towards the Eſcape; whereof ſome were of the Chancellor's neareſt Alliance, and others

The King ſends to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to repair to him at Paris.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer comes to him in Chriſtmas *at* Paris.

Where he receives from the King this account of his Majeſty's *Deliverance.*

others his moſt intimate Friends; towards whom his Majeſty always made many gracious expreſſions of his acknowledgement: ſo that there is nothing in this ſhort relation the verity whereof can juſtly be ſuſpected, though, as is ſaid before, it is great pity, that there could be no Diary made, indeed no exact Account of every Hour's adventure from the coming out of *Worceſter*, in that diſmal confuſion, to the hour of his Embarkation at *Bright-hemſted*; in which there was ſuch a concurrence of good nature, charity, and generoſity in Perſons of the meaneſt and loweſt extraction and condition, who did not know the value of the precious Jewel that was in their cuſtody, yet all knew him to be eſcaped from ſuch an Action as would make the diſcovery and delivery of him to thoſe who govern'd over and amongſt them, of great benefit, and preſent advantage to them; and in thoſe who did know him, of ſuch Courage, Loyalty, and Activity, that all may reaſonably look upon the whole, as the inſpiration and conduct of God Almighty, as a manifeſtation of his Power and Glory, and for the conviction of the whole Party, which had ſinn'd ſo grievouſly; and if it hath not wrought that effect in them, it hath render'd them the more inexcuſable.

As the greateſt Brunt of the danger was diverted by theſe poor People, in his Night-marches on foot, with ſo much pain and torment, that he often thought that he paid too dear a price for his Life, before he fell into the hands of Perſons of better Quality, and places of more conveniency, ſo he owed very much to the diligence and fidelity of ſome Eccleſiaſtical Perſons of the Romiſh perſwaſion; eſpecially to thoſe of the Order of St *Bennet*; which was the reaſon that he expreſſed more favours, after his Reſtauration, to that Order than to any other, and granted them ſome extraordinary Privileges about the Service of the Queen, not concealing the reaſon why he did ſo; which ought to have ſatisfied all Men, that his Majeſty's indulgence towards all of that profeſſion, by reſtraining the ſeverity and rigour of the Laws which had been formerly made againſt them, had its riſe from a Fountain of Princely juſtice and gratitude, and of Royal bounty and clemency.

The Affairs of Ireland *at this time.*

WHILST the Counſels and Enterpriſes in *Scotland* and *England*, had this woeful iſſue, *Ireland* had no better Succeſs in its Undertakings. *Cromwell* had made ſo great a Progreſs in his Conqueſts, before he left that Kingdom to viſit *Scotland*, that he was become, upon the matter, entirely poſſeſſed of the two moſt valuable, and beſt inhabited Provinces, *Lemſter*, and *Munſter*; and plainly diſcern'd, that what remain'd to be done, if dexterouſly conducted, would be with moſt eaſe brought to paſs by the folly, and perfidiouſneſs of the *Iriſh* themſelves; who would ſave their Enemies a labour, in contributing

tributing to, and haſtning their own deſtruction. He had made the Bridge fair, eaſy, and ſafe for them to paſs over into forreign Countries, by Levies and Tranſportations; which liberty they embraced, as hath been ſaid before, with all imaginable greedineſs: and he had entertain'd Agents and Spies, as well Fryars, as others amongſt the *Iriſh*, who did not only give him timely advertiſement of what was concluded to be done, but had intereſt and power enough to interrupt, and diſturb the conſultations, and to obſtruct the execution thereof: and having put all things in this hopeful Method of proceeding, in which there was like to be more uſe of the Halter than the Sword, he committed the managing of the reſt, and the Government of the Kingdom, to his Son in Law *Ireton*; whom he made Deputy under him of *Ireland*: a Man, who knew the bottom of all his Counſels and Purpoſes, and was of the ſame, or a greater pride and fierceneſs in his Nature, and moſt inclined to purſue thoſe Rules, in the forming whereof he had had the chief influence. And He, without fighting a Battle, though he liv'd not many Months after, reduced moſt of the reſt that *Cromwell* left unfiniſhed.

Ireton made Lord Deputy by Cromwell.

THE Marquis of *Ormond* knew, and underſtood well the deſperate condition and ſtate he was in, when he had no other ſtrength and power to depend upon, than that of the *Iriſh*, for the ſupport of the King's Authority: yet there were many of the Nobility, and principal Gentry of the *Iriſh*, in whoſe Loyalty towards the King, and affection and Friendſhip towards his own Perſon, he had juſtly all confidence; and there were amongſt the Romiſh Clergy ſome moderate Men, who did deteſt the ſavage ignorance of the reſt: ſo that he entertain'd ſtill ſome hope, that the Wiſer would by degrees convert the weaker, and that they would all underſtand how inſeparable their own preſervation and intereſt was from the ſupport of the King's Dignity and Authority, and that the wonderful Judgments of God, which were every day executed by *Ireton* upon the principal, and moſt obſtinate Contrivers of their odious Rebellion, and who perverſly and peeviſhly oppoſed their return to their obedience to the King, as often as they fell into his power, would awaken them out of their Sottiſh Lethargy, and unite them in the defence of their Nation. For there was ſcarce a Man, whoſe bloody and bruſtiſh behaviour in the beginning of the Rebellion, or whoſe barbarous Violation of the Peace that had been conſented to, had exempted them from the King's mercy, and left them only Subjects of his Juſtice, aſſoon as they could be apprehended, who was not taken by *Ireton*, and hanged with all the circumſtances of Severity that was due to their wickedneſs; of which innumerable Examples might be given.

The Marquis of Ormond's condition there.

THERE yet remain'd free from *Cromwell's* Yoke, the two large Provinces of *Connaught* and of *Ulster*, and the two ſtrong Cities of *Limrick* and of *Galloway*, both Garriſon'd with *Iriſh*, and excellently ſupplied with all things neceſſary for their defence, and many other good Port Towns, and other ſtrong places; all which pretended and profeſſed to be for the King, and to yield obedience to the Marquis of *Ormond*, his Majeſty's Lieutenant. And there were ſtill many good Regiments of Horſe and Foot together under *Preſton*, who ſeem'd to be ready to perform any Service the Marquis ſhould require: ſo that he did reaſonably hope, that by complying with ſome of their humours, by Sacrificing ſomewhat of his Honour, and much of his Authority, to their jealouſy and peevilhneſs, he ſhould be able to draw ſuch a ſtrength together, as would give a ſtop to *Ireton's* Career. *O Neile* at this time, after he had been ſo baffled and affronted by the Parliament, and after he had ſeen his boſome Friend, and ſole Counſellor, the Biſhop of *Clogher* (who had managed the Treaty with *Monk*, and was taken Priſoner upon the defeat of his Forces) hanged, drawn, and quarter'd as a Traytor, ſent "To offer his Service "to the Marquis of *Ormond* with the Army under his Com- "mand, upon ſuch conditions as the Marquis thought fit to "ſend to him; and it was reaſonably believ'd that he did intend very ſincerely, and would have done very good Service; for he was the beſt Soldier of the Nation, and had the moſt command over his Men, and was beſt obey'd by them. But, as he was upon his march towards a conjunction with the Lord Lieutenant, he fell ſick; and, in a few days, died: ſo that that Treaty produced no effect; for though many of his Army proſecuted his reſolution, and joyn'd with the Marquis of *Ormond*, yet their Officers had little power over their Soldiers; who, being all of the old *Iriſh* Septs of *Ulſter*, were entirely govern'd by the Fryars, and were ſhortly after prevail'd upon, either to Tranſport themſelves, or to retire to their Bogs, and prey for themſelves upon all they met, without diſtinction of Perſons or Intereſt.

Owen Row O Neile *died, as he was going to joyn with the Marquis of* Ormond.

THE Marquis's Orders for drawing the Troops together to any Rendezvous, were totally neglected and diſobey'd; and the Commiſſioner's Orders for the collection of Money, and contribution in ſuch proportions as had been ſettled and agreed unto, were as much contemn'd: ſo that ſuch Regiments, as with great difficulty were brought together, were aſſoon diſſolv'd for want of pay, order, and accommodation; or elſe diſperſed by the power of the Fryars; as in the City of *Limrick*, when the Marquis was there, and had appointed ſeveral Companies to be drawn into the Market-place, to be employ'd upon a preſent Expedition, an Officer of good Affections,

ctions, and thought to have much credit with his Soldiers, brought with him two hundred very likely Soldiers well arm'd, and disciplin'd, and having receiv'd his Orders from the Marquis (who was upon the place) begun to march; when a Franciscan Fryar in his habit, and with a Crucifix in his hand, came to the head of the Company, and commanded them all, "Upon pain of damnation, that they should not "march: upon which they all threw down their Arms, and did as the Fryar directed them; who put the whole City into a Mutiny: insomuch as the Lord Lieutenant was compell'd to go out of it, and not without some difficulty escaped; though most of the Magistrates of the City did all that was in their power to suppress the disorder, and to reduce the People to obedience; and some of them were kill'd, and many wounded in the Attempt. As an Instance of those judgments from Heaven which we lately mention'd in general, *Patrick Fanning* who with the Fryar had the principal part in that Sedition, the very next Night after *Ireton* was possessed of that strong City, was apprehended, and the next day hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd. Such of the Commissioners who adhered firmly to the Lord Lieutenant, in using all their power to advance the King's Service, and to reduce their miserable Country-men from effecting, and contriving their own destruction, were without any credit, and all their Warrants and Summons neglected; when the others, who declin'd the Service, and desir'd to obstruct it, had all respect and submission paid to them.

A Mutiny in Limrick, whence the Marquis of Ormond escaped.

THEY who appear'd, after the first misfortune before *Dublin*, to corrupt, and mislead, and dishearten the People, were the Fryars, and some of their inferior Clergy. But now the titular Bishops, who had been all made at *Rome* since the beginning of the Rebellion, appear'd more active than the other. They call'd an Assembly of the Bishops (every one of which had sign'd the Articles of the Peace) and chose some of their Clergy as a Representative of their Church to meet at *James* Town; where under the pretence of providing for the security of Religion, they examin'd the whole proceedings of the War, and how the Monies which had been collected, had been issued out. They call'd the giving up the Towns in *Munster* by the Lord *Inchiquin*'s Officers, "The Conspiracy "and Treachery of all the *English*, out of their malice to Ca- "tholick Religion; and thereupon press'd the Lord Lieutenant to dismiss all the *English* Gentlemen who yet remain'd with him. They call'd every unprosperous Accident that had fallen out, "A foul Miscarriage; and publish'd a Declaration full of libellous Invectives against the *English*, without sparing the Person of the Lord Lieutenant; who, they said, "Being "of a contrary Religion, and a known inveterate Enemy to

The Popish Bishops make an Assembly, and publish a Declaration against the English.

"the Catholick, was not fit to be intruſted, with the conduct "of a War that was raiſed for the ſupport, and preſervation "of it; and ſhortly after ſent an Addreſs to the Lord Lieutenant himſelf, in which they told him, "That the People were "ſo far unſatisfied with his conduct, eſpecially for his averſion "from the Catholick Religion, and his favouring Hereticks, "that they were unanimouſly reſolv'd, as one Man, not to "ſubmit any longer to his Command, nor to raiſe any more "Money, or Men, to be apply'd to the King's Service under "his Authority. But, on the other ſide, they aſſured him, "that their Duty and Zeal was ſo entire, and real for the King, "and their Reſolution ſo abſolute never to withdraw themſelves from his Obedience, that, if he would depart the "Kingdom, and commit the Command thereof into the hands "of any Perſon of Honour of the Catholick Religion, he "would thereby unite the whole Nation to the King; and "they would immediately raiſe an Army that ſhould drive "*Ireton* quickly again into *Dublin*; and that the Lord Lieutenant might know that they would not depart from this determination, they publiſh'd ſoon after an Excommunication againſt all Perſons who ſhould obey any of the Lieutenant's Orders, or raiſe Money or Men by virtue of his Authority.

They declare to the Lord Lieutenant they will no longer ſubmit to him, and require him to commit the Government to a Roman Catholick.

DURING all theſe Agitations, many of the Roman Catholick Nobilty, and other Perſons of the beſt Quality, remain'd very faithful to the Lord Lieutenant; and cordially interpos'd with the Popiſh Biſhops to prevent their violent proceedings; but had not power either to perſwade, or reſtrain them. The Lord Lieutenant had no reaſon to be delighted with his Empty Title to Command a People who would not obey, and knew the daily danger he was in, of being betray'd, and deliver'd into the hands of *Ireton*, or being Aſſaſſinated in his own Quarters, and though he did not believe that the *Iriſh* would behave themſelves with more Fidelity, and Courage for the King's Intereſt, when he ſhould be gone; well knowing that their Biſhops and Clergy deſign'd nothing but to put themſelves under the Government of ſome Popiſh Prince, and had at that time ſent Agents into Forreign Parts for that purpoſe; yet he knew likewiſe that there were in truth Men enough, and Arms, and all Proviſions for the carrying on the War, who, if they were united, and heartily reſolv'd to preſerve themſelves, would be much ſuperior in number to any power *Ireton* could bring againſt them. He knew likewiſe, that he could ſafely depoſite the King's Authority in the hands of a Perſon of unqueſtionable Fidelity, whom the King would, without any ſcruple, truſt, and whom the *Iriſh* could not except againſt, being of their own Nation, of the greateſt Fortune and Intereſt amongſt them,

and

and of the moſt eminent Conſtancy to the Roman Catholick Religion of any Man in the three Kingdoms; and that was the Marquis of *Clanrickard*. And therefore, ſince it was to no purpoſe to ſtay longer there himſelf, and it was in his power ſafely to make the experiment, whether the *Iriſh* would in truth perform what was in their power to perform, and which they ſo ſolemnly promiſed to do, he thought he ſhould be inexcuſable to the King, if he ſhould not conſent to that Expedient. The great difficulty was to perſwade the Marquis of *Clanrickard* to accept the truſt, who was a Man, though of an unqueſtionable Courage, yet, of an infirm Health; and lov'd, and enjoy'd great eaſe throughout his whole Life; and of a Conſtitution not equal to the fatigue, and diſtreſſes, that the conducting ſuch a War muſt ſubject him to. He knew well, and exceedingly deteſted, the levity, inconſtancy, and infidelity of his Country-men; nor did he in any degree like the preſumption of the Popiſh Biſhops, and Clergy, and the Exorbitant Power which they had aſſumed, and uſurped to themſelves; and therefore he had no mind to engage himſelf in ſuch a Command. But by the extraordinary importunity of the Marquis of *Ormond*, with whom he had preſerv'd a faſt and unſhaken Friendſhip, and his preſſing him to preſerve *Ireland* to the King, without which it would throw it ſelf into the Arms of a Forreigner; and then the ſame importunity from all the *Iriſh* Nobility, Biſhops, and Clergy (after the Lord Lieutenant had inform'd them of his purpoſe) "That he would preſerve his Nation, which without his Ac-"ceptance of their Protection, would infallibly be extirpated, and their joynt promiſe "That they would abſolutely ſubmit "to all his Commands, and hold no aſſembly, or meeting a-"mongſt themſelves, without his Permiſſion and Commiſſion, together with his unqueſtionable deſire to do any thing, how contrary ſoever to his own inclination and benefit, that would be acceptable to the King, and might poſſibly bring ſome advantage to his Majeſty's Service, he was in the end prevail'd upon to receive a Commiſſion from the Lord Lieutenant to be Deputy of *Ireland*, and undertook that Charge.

The Marquis of Ormond *makes the Marquis of* Clanrickard *his Deputy.*

How well they complied afterwards with their promiſes, and proteſtations, and how much better Subjects they prov'd to be under their Catholick Governour, than they had been under their Proteſtant, will be related at large hereafter. In the mean time the Marquis of *Ormond* would not receive a Paſs from *Ireton*, who would willingly have granted it, as he did to all the *Engliſh* Officers that deſir'd it; but Embark'd himſelf, with ſome few Gentlemen beſides his own Servants, in a ſmall Frigat, and arriv'd ſafely in *Normandy*; and ſo

The Marquis of Ormond *Embarks for* France, *and waits on the King at* Paris *after his Majesty's escape from* Worcester.

went to *Caen*; where his Wife and Family had remain'd from the time of his departure thence. This was shortly after the King's defeat at *Worcester*, and, assoon as his Majesty arriv'd at *Paris*, he forthwith attended him, and was most wellcome to him.

Scotland being subdued, and *Ireland* reduced to that Obedience as the Parliament could wish, nothing could be expected to be done in *England* for the King's advantage. From the time that *Cromwell* was chosen General in the place of *Fairfax*, he took all occasions to discountenance the Presbyterians, and to put them out of all Trust and Imployment, as well in the Country as in the Army; and, whilst he was in *Scotland*, he had intercepted some Letters from one *Love*, a Presbyterian Minister in *London* (a Fellow who hath been mention'd before, in the time the Treaty was at *Uxbridge*, for Preaching against Peace) to a leading Preacher in *Scotland*; and sent such an information against him, with so many successive Instances that Justice might be exemplarily done upon him, that, in spight of all the opposition which the Presbyterians could make, who appear'd publickly with their utmost power, the Man was Condemn'd and Executed upon *Tower-hill*. And to shew their impartiality, about the same time they Executed *Brown Bushel*, who had formerly serv'd the Parliament in the beginning of the Rebellion, and shortly after serv'd the King to the end of the War, and had liv'd some years in *England* after the War expir'd, untaken notice of, but, upon this occasion, was enviously discover'd, and put to death.

Love, *a Presbyterian Minister executed.*

It is a wonderful thing what operation this Presbyterian Spirit had upon the minds of those who were possessed by it. This poor Man *Love*, who had been guilty of as much Treason against the King, from the beginning of the Rebellion, as the Pulpit could contain, was so much without remorse for any wickedness of that kind that he had committed, that he was jealous of nothing so much, as of being suspected to repent, or that he was brought to suffer for his Affection to the King. And therefore when he was upon the Scaffold, where he appear'd with a marvellous undauntedness, he seem'd so much delighted with the memory of all that he had done against the late King, and against the Bishops, that he could not even then forbear to speak with Animosity and Bitterness against both, and expressed great satisfaction in mind for what he had done against them, and was as much transported with the inward joy of mind, that he felt in being brought thither to die as a Martyr, and to give testimony for the Covenant; "Whatsoever he had done being in the pursuit of the ends, he said, "of that Sanctified Obligation, to which he was in

"and

"and by his Conſcience engaged. And in this raving fit, without ſo much as praying for the King, otherwiſe than that he might propagate the Covenant, he laid his Head upon the block with as much Courage as the braveſt, and honeſteſt Man could do in the moſt Pious occaſion.

Cromwell cauſes ſeveral High Courts of Juſtice to be erected.

WHEN *Cromwell* return'd to *London*, he cauſed ſeveral High Courts of Juſtice to be erected, by which many Gentlemen of Quality were Condemn'd, and Executed in many parts of the Kingdom, as well as in *London*, who had been taken Priſoners at *Worceſter*, or diſcover'd to have been there. And that the Terrour might be univerſal, ſome ſuffer'd for looſe diſcourſes in Taverns, what they would do towards Reſtoring the King, and others for having blank Commiſſions found in their hands ſign'd by the King, though they had never attempted to do any thing thereupon, nor, for ought appear'd, intended to do. And under theſe deſolate apprehenſions all the Royal and Loyal Party lay groveling, and proſtrate, after the defeat of *Worceſter*.

The King's neceſſities at Paris.

THERE was at this time with the King the Marquis of *Ormond*; who came thither before the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Though his Majeſty was now in unqueſtionable ſafety, the ſtreights and neceſſities he was in were as unqueſtionable; which expoſed him to all the troubles and uneaſineſs that the Maſters of very indigent Families are ſubjected to; and the more, becauſe all Men conſider'd only his Dignity, and not his Fortune: So that Men had the ſame Emulations, and Ambitions, as if the King had all to give which was taken from him, and thought it a good Argument for them to ask, becauſe he had nothing to give; and ask'd very improper Reverſions, becauſe he could not grant the Poſſeſſion; and were ſollicitous for Honours, which he had power to grant, becauſe he had not Fortunes to give them.

The Friendſhip between the Marquis of Ormond *and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

THERE had been a great acquaintance between the Marquis of *Ormond*, when he was Lord *Thurles*, in the life of his Grand-father, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was renew'd, by a mutual correſpondence, when they both came to have ſhares in the publick buſineſs, the one in *Ireland*, and the other in *England*: So that when they now met at *Paris*, they met as old Friends, and quickly underſtood each other ſo well, that there could not be a more entire confidence between Men. The Marquis conſulted with him in his neareſt concernments, and the Chancellor eſteem'd, and cultivated the Friendſhip with all poſſible induſtry and application. The King was abundantly ſatisfied in the Friendſhip they had for each other, and truſted them both entirely; nor was it in the power of any, though it was often endeavour'd by Perſons of no ordinary Account, to break or interrupt that

mutual confidence between them, during the whole time the King remain'd beyond the Seas; whereby the King's perplexed Affairs were carried on with the leſs trouble. And the Chancellor did always acknowledge, that the benefit of this Friendſhip was ſo great to him, that, without it, he could not have borne the weight of that part of the King's buſineſs which was incumbent on him, nor the envy and reproach that attended the Truſt.

The neceſſities and factions of the Duke of York's Family.

BESIDES the wants and neceſſities which the King was preſſed with in reſpect of himſelf, who had nothing, but was obliged to find himſelf by credit in Cloaths, and all other neceſſaries for his Perſon, and of his Family, which he ſaw reduced to all extremities; he was much diſquieted by the neceſſities in his Brother the Duke of *York*'s Family, and by the diſorder and faction in it. The Queen complain'd heavily of Sr *George Ratcliff*, and the Atturney; and more of the firſt, becauſe that he pretended to ſome Right of being of the Duke's Family by a Grant of the late King; which his preſent Majeſty determin'd againſt him; and reprehended his Activity in the laſt Summer. Sr *John Berkley* had moſt of the Queen's Favour; and though he had at that time no Intereſt in the Duke's Affection, he found a way to ingratiate himſelf with his Royal Highneſs, by inſinuating into him two particulars, in both which he foreſaw advantage to himſelf. Though no Man acted the Governours part more Imperiouſly than He had done whilſt the Lord *Byron* was abſent, finding that he himſelf was liable in ſome degree to be govern'd upon that Lord's return, he had uſed all the ways he could that the Duke might be exempted from any Subjection to a Governour, preſuming, that, when that Title ſhould be extinguiſhed, he ſhould be poſſeſſed of ſome ſuch Office and Relation, as ſhould not be under the Controle of any but the Duke himſelf. But he had not yet been able to bring that to paſs; which was the reaſon that he ſtay'd at *Paris* when his Highneſs viſited *Flanders* and *Holland*. Now he took advantage of the Activity of the Duke's Spirit, and infuſed into him, "That it would be for his Honour to put "himſelf into Action, and not to be learning his Exerciſes in "*Paris* whilſt the Army was in the Field: A Propoſition firſt intimated by the Cardinal, "That the Duke was now of years, "to learn his *meſtier*, and had now the opportunity to im- "prove himſelf, by being in the care of a General reputed "equal to any Captain in *Chriſtendom*, with whom he might "learn that Experience, and make thoſe Obſervations, as "might enable him to ſerve the King his Brother, who muſt "hope to recover his Right only by the Sword. This the Cardinal had ſaid both to the Queen, and to the Lord *Jermyn*, whilſt

whilſt the King was in *Scotland*, when no Man had the hardineſs to adviſe it in that conjuncture. But, after the King's Return from *England*, there wanted nothing but the Approbation of his Majeſty; and no Man more deſired it than the Lord *Byron*, who had had good Command, and preferr'd that kind of Life before that which he was obliged to live in at *Paris*. There was no need of Spurs to be employ'd to incite the Duke; who was moſt impatient to be in the Army. And therefore Sr *John Berkley* could not any other way make himſelf ſo grateful to him, as by appearing to be of that mind, and by telling the Duke, "That whoſoever oppoſed it, and "diſſwaded the King from giving his conſent, was an Enemy "to his Highneſs's Glory, and deſir'd that he ſhould live al-"ways in Pupillage; not omitting to put him in mind, "That "his very entrance into the Army ſet him at Liberty, and put "him into his own diſpoſal; ſince no Man went into the Field "under the direction of a Governour; ſtill endeavouring to improve his prejudice againſt thoſe who ſhould either diſſwade him from purſuing that Reſolution, or endeavour to perſwade the King not to approve it; "Which, he told him, could pro-"ceed from nothing but want of Affection to his Perſon. By this means he hoped to raiſe a notable diſlike in him of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, he believ'd, did not like the deſign, becauſe he having ſpoken to him of it, the other had not enlarged upon it as an Argument that pleaſed him.

THE Duke preſſed it with earneſtneſs and paſſion, in which he diſſembled not; and found the Queen, as well as the King, very reſerv'd in the point; which proceeded from their tenderneſs towards him, and leſt they might be thought to be leſs concern'd for his Safety than they ought to be. His Highneſs then conferr'd with thoſe, who, he thought, were moſt like to be conſulted with by the King, amongſt whom he knew the Chancellor was one; and finding him to ſpeak with leſs warmth than the reſt, as if he thought it a matter worthy of great deliberation, his Highneſs was confirm'd in the jealouſy which Sr *John Berkley* had kindled in him, that He was the principal Perſon who obſtructed the King's Condeſcenſion. There was at that time no Man with the King who had been a Councellor to his Father, or ſworn to Himſelf, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Marquis of *Ormond*, though he had adminiſter'd the Affairs in *Ireland*, was never ſworn a Counſellor in *England*; yet his Majeſty look'd upon him in all reſpects moſt fit to adviſe him; and thought it neceſſary to form ſuch a Body, as ſhould be eſteem'd by all Men as his Privy Council, without whoſe Advice he would take no Reſolutions. The King knew the

Queen

Queen would not be well pleaſed, if the Lord *Jermyn* were not one; who in all other reſpects was neceſſary to that Truſt, ſince all Addreſſes to the Court of *France* were to be made by him: And the Lord *Wilmot*, who had cultivated the King's Affection during the time of their Peregrination, and drawn many promiſes from him, and was full of projects for his Service, could not be left out. The King therefore call'd the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Jermyn*, and the Lord *Wilmot*, to the Council Board; and declar'd "That they three, toge-"ther with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, ſhould be con-"ſulted with in all his Affairs. The Queen very earneſtly preſſed the King, "That Sr *John Berkley* might likewiſe be "made a Counſellor; which his Majeſty would not conſen to; and thought he could not refuſe the ſame Honour to the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Byron*, or any other Perſon who ſhould wait upon him, if he granted it to Sr *John Berkley*, who had no manner of pretence.

The King appoints a new Council.

BERKLEY took this refuſal very heavily, and thought his great Parts, and the Services he had perform'd, which were known to very few, might well enough diſtinguiſh him from other Men. But becauſe he would not be thought without ſome juſt pretence which others had not, he very confidently inſiſted upon a Right he had, by a promiſe of the late King, to be Maſter of the Wards; and that Officer had uſually been of the Privy Council. The evidence he had of that promiſe, was an intercepted Letter from the late King to the Queen, which the Parliament had cauſed to be printed. In that Letter the King anſwer'd a Letter he had receiv'd from her Majeſty, in which ſhe put him in mind "That he had promiſed "her to make *Jack Berkley* (which was the ſtyle in the Letter) "Maſter of the Wards; which the King ſaid, "He won-"der'd at, ſince he could not remember that ſhe had ever "ſpoken to him to that purpoſe; implying likewiſe that he was "not fit for it. He preſſed the Chancellor of the Exchequer "to urge this matter of Right to the King (and ſaid, "The "Queen would declare the King had promiſed it to her) and "to prevail with his Majeſty to make him preſently Maſter "of the Wards; which would give him ſuch a Title to the "Board, that others could not take his being called thither as "a prejudice to them.

Sir John Berkley *pretends to the Maſterſhip of the Wards.*

THE Chancellor had at that time much kindneſs for him, and did really deſire to oblige him, but he durſt not urge that for a reaſon to the King, which could be none, and what he knew, as well as a Negative could be known, had no foundation of truth. For beſides that he very well knew the late King had not ſo good an opinion of Sr *John Berkley*, as he himſelf did at that time heartily wiſh, and endeavour to infuſe into

into him, the King had, after that promiſe was pretended to be made, granted that Office at *Oxford* to the Lord *Cottington*; who executed it as long as Offices were executed under the Grant of the Crown, and was poſſeſſed of the Title to his death. The Chancellor did therefore very earneſtly endeavour to diſſwade him from making that pretence and demand to the King; and told him, "The King could not at this time "do a more ungracious thing, that would loſe him more "the hearts and affections of the Nobility and Gentry of "*England*, than in making a Maſter of the Wards, in a time "when it would not be the leaſt Advantage to his Majeſty "or the Officer, to declare that he reſolv'd to inſiſt upon that "part of his Prerogative which his Father had conſented to "part with; the reſuming whereof in the full rigour, which "he might lawfully do, would ruin moſt of the Eſtates of "*England*, as well of his Friends as Enemies, in regard of "the vaſt Arrears incurr'd in ſo many years; and therefore "whatever his Majeſty might think to reſolve hereafter, when "it ſhould pleaſe God to reſtore him, for the preſent there "muſt be no thought of ſuch an Officer.

Sir *John Berkley* was not ſatisfied at all with the reaſon that was alledged; and very unſatisfied with the unkindneſs (as he called it) of the refuſal to interpoſe in it; and ſaid, "Since his friends would not, he would himſelf require juſtice "of the King; and immediately, hearing that the King was in the next Room, went to him; and in the warmth he had contracted by the Chancellor's contradiction, preſſed his Majeſty, "To make good the promiſe his Father had made; and magnified the Services he had done; which he did really believe to have been very great, and, by the cuſtom of making frequent relations of his own Actions, grew in very good earneſt to think he had done many things which no body elſe ever heard of. The King who knew him very well, and believ'd little of his Hiſtory, and leſs of his Father's promiſe, was willing rather to reclaim him from his importunity, than to give him a poſitive denial (which in his Nature his Majeſty affected not) leſt it might indiſpoſe his Mother or his Brother: and ſo, to every part of his requeſt concerning the being of the Council, and concerning the Office, gave him ſuch reaſons againſt the gratifying him for the preſent, that he could not but plainly diſcern that his Majeſty was very averſe from it. But that conſideration prevailed not with him; he uſed ſo great importunity, notwithſtanding all the reaſons which had been alledged, that at the laſt the King prevailed with himſelf, which he uſed not to do in ſuch Caſes, to give him a poſitive denial, and reprehenſion, at once; and ſo left him. *The King denies it him.*

All

ALL this he imputed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and though he knew well he had not, nor could have ſpoken with the King from the time they had ſpoken together, before himſelf had that Audience from his Majeſty, he declar'd, "That he knew all that Indiſpoſition had been infuſed by him; "becauſe many of the reaſons, which his Majeſty had given "againſt his doing what he deſir'd, were the very ſame that "the Chancellor had urged to him; though they could not but have occur'd to any reaſonable Man, who had been called to conſult upon that Subject. This paſſion prevailed ſo far upon him, that, notwithſtanding the advice of ſome of his beſt Friends to the contrary, he took an opportunity to walk with the Chancellor ſhortly after; and, in a very calm, though a very confuſed diſcourſe, told him, "That, ſince he "was reſolv'd to break all Friendſhip with him, which had "continued now near twenty years, he thought it but juſt "to give him notice of it, that from henceforward he might "not expect any Friendſhip from him, but that they might "live towards each other with that civility only that Stran-"gers uſe to do. The Chancellor told him, "That the ſame "juſtice that diſpoſed him to give this notice, ſhould likewiſe "oblige him to declare the reaſon of this reſolution; and ask'd him, "Whether he had ever broken his word to him? or "promiſed to do what he had not done? He anſwer'd, "His "Exception was, that he could not be brought to make any "promiſe; and that their judgments were ſo different, that "he would no more depend upon him: and ſo they parted, without ever after having converſation with each other whilſt they remain'd in *France*.

Whereupon Sir John *breaks with the Chancellor.*

THE Spring was now advanced, and the Duke of *York* continued his importunity with the King, "That he might "have his leave to repair to the Army. And thereupon his Majeſty called his Council together, the Queen his Mother, and his Brother, being likewiſe preſent. There his Majeſty declar'd "What his Brother had long deſir'd of him; to which "he had hitherto given no other Anſwer, than that he would "think of it; and before he could give any other, he thought "it neceſſary to receive their advice: nor did his Majeſty in the leaſt diſcover what he himſelf was inclined to. The Duke then repeated what he had deſir'd of the King; and ſaid, "He "thought he ask'd nothing but what became him; if he did "not, he hoped the King would not deny it to him, and that "no body would adviſe he ſhould. The Queen ſpoke not a word; and the King deſir'd the Lords to deliver their opinion; who all ſate ſilent, expecting who would begin; there being no fixed Rule of the Board, but ſometimes, according to the Nature of the buſineſs, he who was firſt in place begun,

Deliberation in the Council, whether the Duke of York *ſhould go into the* French *Army.*

gun, at other times he who was laſt in Quality; and when it required ſome Debate before any opinion ſhould be deliver'd, any Man was at liberty to offer what he would. But after a long ſilence, the King commanded the Chancellor of the Exchequer to ſpeak firſt. He ſaid, "It could not be expected, "that he would deliver his opinion in a Matter that was ſo "much too hard for him, till he heard what others thought; "at leaſt, till the Queſtion was otherwiſe ſtated than it yet "ſeem'd to him to be. He ſaid, "He thought the Council would "not be willing to take it upon Them to adviſe that the Duke of *York*, the next Heir to the Crown, ſhould go a Voluntier "into the *French* Army, and that the expoſing himſelf to ſo "much danger, ſhould be the effect of Their Council who "ought to have all poſſible tenderneſs for the ſafety of every "Branch of the Royal Family; but if the Duke of *York*, out "of his own Princely courage, and to attain experience in the "Art of War, of which there was like to be ſo great uſe, had "taken a reſolution to viſit the Army, and to ſpend that "Campagne in it, and that the queſtion only was, whether "the King ſhould reſtrain him from that Expedition, he was "ready to declare his opinion, that his Majeſty ſhould not; "there being great difference between the King's adviſing him "to go, which implies an approbation, and barely ſuffering "him to do what his own Genius inclined him to. The King and Queen lik'd the ſtating of the Queſtion, as ſuiting beſt with the tenderneſs they ought to have; and the Duke was as well pleaſed with it, ſince it left him at the Liberty he deſired; and the Lords thought it ſafeſt for Them: and ſo all were pleaſed; and much of the prejudice which the Duke had entertain'd towards the Chancellor, was abated: and his Royal Highneſs, with the good liking of the *French* Court, went to the Army; where he was receiv'd by the Marſhal of *Turenne*, with all poſſible demonſtration of reſpect; where, in a ſhort time, he got the reputation of a Prince of very ſignal Courage, and to be univerſally belov'd of the whole Army by his affable behaviour.

The Duke goes to the Army.

THE inſupportable neceſſities of the King were now grown ſo notorious, that the *French* Court was compell'd to take notice of them; and thereupon, with ſome dry Compliments for the ſmallneſs of the Aſſignation in reſpect of the ill condition of their Affairs, which indeed were not in any good poſture, they ſettled an Aſſignation of ſix thouſand Livres by the Month upon the King, payable out of ſuch a Gabel; which, being to begin ſix Months after the King came thither, found too great a debt contracted to be eaſily ſatisfied out of ſuch a Monthly receipt, though it had been punctually complied with; which it never was. The Queen, at his Majeſty's

The Aſſignation of ſix thouſand Livres by the month, ſettled upon the King by the French *Court.*

Majeſty's firſt arrival, had declar'd, "That ſhe was not able "to bear the charge of the King's dyet, but that he muſt pay "one half of the expence of her Table, where both their Ma- "jeſties eat, with the Duke of *York*, and the Princeſs *Henri-* "*etta* (which two were at the Queen's charge till the King came thither, but from that time, the Duke of *York* was upon the King's Account) and the very firſt Night's Supper which the King eat with the Queen, begun the Account; and a Moiety thereof was charged to the King: ſo that the firſt Money that was receiv'd for the King upon his Grant, was entirely ſtopp'd by Sr *Harry Wood*, the Queen's Treaſurer, for the diſcharge of his Majeſty's part of the Queen's Table (which expence was firſt ſatisfied, as often as Money could be procured) and the reſt for the payment of other debts contracted, at his firſt coming, for Cloaths and other Neceſſaries, there being great care taken that nothing ſhould be left to be diſtributed amongſt his Servants; the Marquis of *Ormond* himſelf being compell'd to put himſelf in Penſion, with other Gentlemen, at a Piſtole a Week for his dyet, and to walk the Streets on foot, which was no honourable cuſtom in *Paris*; whilſt the Lord *Jermyn* kept an excellent Table for thoſe who courted him, and had a Coach of his own, and all other accommodations incident to the moſt full fortune; and if the King had the moſt urgent occaſion for the Uſe but of twenty Piſtoles, as ſometimes he had, he could not find credit to borrow it; which he often had experiment of. Yet if there had not been as much care to take that from him which was his own, as to hinder him from receiving the ſupply aſſign'd by the King of *France*, his Neceſſities would not have been ſo extraordinary. For when the King went to *Jerſey* in order to his Journey into *Ireland*, and at the ſame time that he ſent the Chancellor of the Exchequer into *Spain*, he ſent likewiſe the Lord *Colepepper* into *Moſco*, to borrow Money of that Duke; and into *Poland* he ſent Mr *Crofts* upon the ſame errand. The former return'd whilſt the King was in *Scotland*; and the latter about the time that his Majeſty made his eſcape from *Worceſter*. And both of them ſucceeded ſo well in their Journey, that he who receiv'd leaſt for his Majeſty's Service, had above ten thouſand pounds over and above the expence of their Journies.

How the Money was diſpoſed that was ſent the King from Moſco *and* Poland.

BUT, as if the King had been out of all poſſible danger to want Money, the Lord *Jermyn* had ſent an Expreſs into *Scotland*, aſſoon as he knew what ſucceſs the Lord *Colepepper* had at *Moſco*, and found there were no leſs hopes from Mr *Crofts*, and procured from the King (who could with more eaſe grant, than deny) Warrants under his hand to both thoſe Envoys, to pay the Monies they had receiv'd to ſeveral Perſons;

ſons; whereof a conſiderable Sum was made a preſent to the Queen, more to the Lord *Jermyn*, upon pretence of debts due to him, which were not diminiſh'd by that receipt, and all diſpoſed of according to the modeſty of the Askers; whereof Dr *Goffe* had eight hundred pounds for Services he had perform'd, and, within few days after the receipt of it changed his Religion, and became one of the Fathers of the Oratory: ſo that, when the King return'd in all that diſtreſs to *Paris*, he never receiv'd five hundred Piſtoles from the proceed of both thoſe Embaſſies; nor did any of thoſe who were ſupplied by his bounty, ſeem ſenſible of the obligation, or the more diſpoſed to do him any Service upon their own expence; of which the King was ſenſible enough, but reſolv'd to bear that and more, rather than, by entring into any Expoſtulation with thoſe who were faulty, to give any trouble to the Queen.

THE Lord *Jermyn*, who, in his own judgment, was very indifferent in all matters relating to Religion, was always of ſome Faction that regarded it. He had been much addicted to the Presbyterians from the time that there had been any Treaties with the *Scots*, in which he had too much privity. And now, upon the King's Return into *France*, he had a great deſign to perſwade his Majeſty to go to the Congregation at *Charenton*, to the end that he might keep up his Intereſt in the Presbyterian Party; which he had no reaſon to believe would ever be able to do the King Service, or willing, if they were able, without ſuch odious Conditions as they had hitherto inſiſted upon in all their Overtures. The Queen did not, in the leaſt degree, oppoſe this, but rather ſeem'd to countenance it, as the beſt Expedient that might incline him, by degrees, to prefer the Religion of the Church of *Rome*. For though the Queen had never, to this time, by her ſelf, or by others with her advice, uſed the leaſt means to perſwade the King to change his Religion, as well out of obſervation of the Injunction laid upon her by the deceaſed King, as out of the conformity of her own judgment, which could not but perſwade her that the Change of his Religion would infallibly make all his hopes of recovering *England* deſperate; yet it is as true, that, from the King's return from *Worceſter*, ſhe did really deſpair of his being reſtored by the Affections of his own Subjects; and believ'd that it could never be brought to paſs without a Conjunction of Catholick Princes on his behalf, and by an united force to Reſtore him; and that ſuch a conjunction would never be enter'd into, except the King himſelf became Roman Catholick. Therefore from this time ſhe was very well content that any Attempts ſhould be made upon him to that purpoſe; and, in that regard, wiſh'd that he would go to *Charenton*; which ſhe well knew

knew was not the Religion he affected, but would be a little diſcountenance to the Church in which he had been bred; and from which aſſoon as he could be perſwaded in any degree to ſwerve, he would be more expos'd to any other temptation.

The Miniſters of Charenton *preſs the King to come to their Church; and are ſeconded by the Lord* Jermyn.

The King had not poſitively refuſed to gratify the Miniſters of that Congregation; who, with great profeſſions of Duty, had beſought him to do them that Honour, before the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to him; in which it was believ'd, that they were the more like to prevail by the Death of Dr *Steward*; for whoſe judgment in matters of Religion the King had reverence, by the earneſt recommendation of his Father: And he died after the King's Return within four-

Dr Steward *dies preſently after the King's return into* France.

teen days, with ſome trouble upon the importunity and artifice he ſaw uſed to prevail with the King to go to *Charenton*, though he ſaw no diſpoſition in his Majeſty to yield to it.

THE Lord *Jermyn* ſtill preſſed it, "As a thing that ought "in policy and diſcretion to be done, to reconcile that Peo- "ple, which was a great Body in *France*, to the King's Ser- "vice, which would draw to him all the Forreign Churches, "and thereby he might receive conſiderable Aſſiſtance. He wonder'd, he ſaid, "Why it ſhould be oppoſed by any Man; "ſince he did not wiſh that his Majeſty would diſcontinue "his own Devotions, according to the courſe he had always "obſerv'd; nor propoſe that he ſhould often repair thither, "but only ſometimes, at leaſt once, to ſhew that he did look "upon them as of the ſame Religion with him; which the "Church of *England* had always acknowledg'd; and that it "had been an Inſtruction to the *Engliſh* Embaſſadours, that they "ſhould keep a good correſpondence with thoſe of the Reli- "gion, and frequently reſort to Divine Service at *Charenton*; "where they had always a Pew kept for them.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer diſſwaded him from it.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer diſſwaded his Majeſty from going thither with equal earneſtneſs; told him, "That, "whatever countenance or favour, the Crown or Church of "*England* had heretofore ſhew'd to thoſe Congregations, it "was in a time when they carried themſelves with modeſty "and duty towards both, and when they profeſſed great duty "to the King, and much reverence to that Church; lament- "ing themſelves, that it was not in their power, by the oppo- "ſition of the State, to make their Reformation ſo perfect as "it was in *England*. And by this kind of behaviour they had "indeed receiv'd the Protection and Countenance from *Eng-* "*land* as if they were of the ſame Religion, though, it may "be, the Original of that Countenance and Protection pro- "ceeded from another leſs warrantable foundation; which he "was ſure would never find Credit from his Majeſty. But, "whatever it was, that People now had undeſerv'd it from the "King;

"King; for, assoon as the Troubles begun, the Hugonots of "*France* had generally expressed great Malice to the late King, "and very many of their Preachers and Ministers had pub- "lickly and industriously justified the Rebellion, and pray'd for "the good success of it; and their Synod it self had in such a "manner inveigh'd against the Church of *England*, that they, "upon the matter, professed themselves to be of another Re- "ligion; and inveigh'd against Episcopacy, as if it were in- "consistent with the protestant Religion. That one of their "great Professors at their University of *Saumur*, who was "look'd upon as a Man of the most moderate spirit amongst "their Ministers, had publish'd an Apology for the general "inclination of that Party to the proceedings of the Parlia- "ment of *England*, lest it might give some jealousy to their "own King of their inclination to Rebellion, and of their "opinion that it was lawful for Subjects to take up Arms "against their Prince; which, he said, could not be done in "*France* without manifest Rebellion, and incurring the dis- "pleasure of God for the manifest breach of his Command- "ments; because the King of *France* is an absolute King, in- "dependent upon any other Authority. But that the Consti- "tution of the Kingdom of *England* was of another Nature; "because the King there is subordinate to the Parliament, "which hath Authority to raise Arms for the Reformation "of Religion, or for the executing the publick Justice of the "Kingdom against all those who violate the Laws of the Na- "tion, so that the War might be just There, which in no case "could be warrantable in *France*.

THE Chancellor told the King, "That, after such an in- "dignity offer'd to him, and to his Crown, and since they had "now made such a distinction between the Episcopal and the "Presbyterian Government, that they thought the Professors "were not of the same Religion, his going to *Charenton* could "not be without this effect, that it would be concluded every "where, that his Majesty thought the one or the other Pro- "fession to be indifferent; which would be one of the most "deadly wounds to the Church of *England* that it had yet "ever suffer'd. These reasons prevail'd so far with the King's own natural aversion from what had been proposed, that he declared positively, "He would never go to *Charenton*; which determination eased him from any farther application of that People. The reproach of this resolution was wholely charged upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as the implacable Ene- my of all Presbyterians, and as the only Man who diverted the King from having a good opinion of them: whereas in truth, the daily information he receiv'd from the King him- self of their barbarous behaviour in *Scotland* towards him, and

The King declar'd he would not go.

of their insupportable pride and pedantry in their Manners, did confirm him in the judgment he had always made of their Profession; and he was the more grievous to those of that Profession, because they could not, as they used to do all those who opposed and crossed them in that manner, accuse him of being Popishly affected, and govern'd by the Papists; to whom they knew he was equally odious; and the Queen's knowing him to be most disaffected to her Religion, made her willing to appear most displeased for his hindring the King from going to *Charenton*.

THERE was another Accident, which fell out at this time, and which the Chancellor of the Exchequer foresaw would exceedingly increase the Queen's prejudice to him; which he did very heartily desire to avoid, and to recover her Majesty's favour by all the ways he could pursue with his duty; and, in consistence with that, did never, in the least degree, dispose his Majesty to deny any thing to her which she own'd the desire of. Lieutenant General *Middleton*, who had been taken Prisoner after *Worcester* Fight, after he was recover'd of his wounds was sent Prisoner to the Tower of *London*; where were likewise many Noble Persons of that Nation, as the Earl of *Crawford*, the Earl of *Lautherdale*, and many others. But as They of the Parliament had a greater regard for *Middleton* than for any other of that Country, knowing him to be a Man of great honour and courage, and much the best Officer the *Scots* had, so they had a hatred of him proportionable; and they thought they had him at their Mercy, and might proceed against him more warrantably for his life, than against their other Prisoners; because he had heretofore, in the beginning of the War, serv'd them; and though he had quitted their Service at the same time when they cashier'd the Earl of *Essex*, and made their new Model, and was at liberty to do what he thought best for himself, yet they resolv'd to free themselves from any farther apprehensions and fear of him: to that purpose they erected a new High Court of Justice, for the Trial of some Persons who had been troublesome to them, and especially *Middleton* and *Massey*.

THIS last, after he had escaped from *Worcester*, and travelled two or three days, found himself so tormented and weakened by his Wounds, that being near the Seat of the Earl of *Stamford*, whose Lieutenant Colonel he had been in the beginning of the War, and being well known to his Lady, he chose to commit himself to Her rather than to her Husband; hoping that in honour she would have found some means to preserve him. But the Lady had only charity to cure his Wounds, not courage to conceal his Person; and such Advertisements were given of him, that assoon as he was fit to

be

be remov'd, he was likewiſe ſent to the Tower, and deſtin'd to be ſacrificed by the High Court of Juſtice together with *Middleton*, for the future ſecurity of the Common-wealth.

Middleton *and* Maſſey, *Priſoners in the Tower, deſign'd to be tried by a High Court of Juſtice.*

BUT now the Presbyterian intereſt ſhew'd it ſelf, and doubtleſs in enterpriſes of this Nature was very powerful; having in all places Perſons devoted to them, who were ready to obey their Orders, though they did not pretend to be of their Party. And the time Approaching that they were ſure *Middleton* was to be tried, that is, to be executed, they gave him ſo good and particular Advertiſement, that he took his leave of his Friends in the Tower, and made his Eſcape; and having Friends enough to ſhelter him in *London*, after he had concealed himſelf there a Fortnight or three Weeks, that the diligence of the firſt examination and enquiry was over, he was ſafely Tranſported into *France*. And within few days after, *Maſſey* had the ſame good fortune, to the grief and vexation of the very ſoul of *Cromwell*; who thirſted for the blood of thoſe two Perſons.

Middleton *makes his eſcape into* France.

And Maſſey *eſcapes.*

WHEN *Middleton* came to the King to *Paris*, he brought with him a little *Scotiſh* Vicar, who was known to the King, one Mr *Knox*, who brought Letters of credit to his Majeſty, and ſome Propoſition from his Friends in *Scotland*, and other Diſpatches from the Lords in the Tower, with whom he had conferr'd after *Middleton* had eſcaped from thence. He brought the relation of the terror that was ſtruck into the hearts of that whole Nation by the ſevere proceedings of General *Monk*, to whoſe care *Cromwell* had committed the Reduction of that Kingdom, upon the taking of *Dundee*, where Perſons of all Degrees and Qualities were put to the Sword after the Town was enter'd, and all left to plunder; upon which all other places render'd. All Men complain'd of the Marquis of *Argyle*, who proſecuted the King's Friends with the utmoſt malice, and protected and preſerv'd the reſt according to his deſire. He gave the King aſſurance from the moſt conſiderable Perſons, who had retired into the High-lands, "That "they would never ſwerve from their duty; and that they "would be able, during the Winter, to infeſt the Enemy by "incurſions into their Quarters; and that, if *Middleton* might "be ſent to them with ſome ſupply of Arms, they would "have an Army ready againſt the Spring, ſtrong enough to "meet with *Monk*. He ſaid, "He was Addreſſed from *Scot-*"*land* to the Lords in the Tower, who did not then know "that *Middleton* had arriv'd in ſafety with the King; and "therefore they had commanded him, if neither *Middleton*, "nor the Lord *Newburgh* were about his Majeſty, that then "he ſhould repair to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and deſire "him to preſent him to the King; but that, having found

An account of Scotland *brought to the King by a* Scotiſh *Vicar that* Middleton *brought with him.*

"both those Lords there, he had made no farther Applica-
"tion than to them, who had brought him to his Majesty.
The Requests to the King of his Friends there. He told the King, "That both those in *Scotland*, and those in
"the Tower, made it their humble request, or rather a con-
"dition to his Majesty; that, except it were granted, they
"would no more think of serving his Majesty: the condition
"was, that whatever should have relation to his Service in
"*Scotland*, and to Their Persons who were to venture their
"lives in it, might not be communicated to the Queen, the
"Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Jermyn*, or the Lord *Wil-*
"*mot*. They professed all duty to the Queen, but they knew
"she had too good an opinion of the Marquis of *Argyle*;
"who would infallibly come to know whatever was known
"to either of the other.

The King did not expect that any notable Service could be perform'd by his Friends in *Scotland* for his Advantage, or their own Redemption; yet did not think it fit to seem to undervalue the Professions, and Overtures of those who had, during his being amongst them, made all possible demonstration of Affection, and duty to him; and therefore resolv'd to grant any thing they desired; and so promised not to communicate any thing of what they proposed to the Queen, or the other three Lords. But since they proposed present Dispatches to be made of Commissions, and Letters, he wished them to consider, whom they would be willing to trust in the performing that Service. The next day they attended his Majesty again, and desir'd, "That all matters relating to *Scot-*
"*land* might be consulted by his Majesty with the Marquis
The King appoints the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make all Dispatches for Scotland. "of *Ormond*, the Lord *Newburgh*, and the Chancellor of the
"Exchequer; and that all the Dispatches might be made by
"the Chancellor; which the King consented to; and bid the
Lord *Newburgh* go with them to him, and let him know his Majesty's pleasure. And thereupon the Lord *Newburgh* brought *Middleton* to the Chancellor; who had never seen his face before.

The Marquis of Ormond's *and the Chancellor's opinion concerning the King's Affairs at that time.* The Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, believ'd that the King had nothing at this time to do but to be quiet, and carefully avoid doing any thing that might do him hurt, and to expect some blessed conjuncture from the Amity of Christian Princes, or some such Revolution of Affairs in *England* by their own Discontents, and Divisions amongst themselves, as might make it seasonable for his Majesty again to shew himself. And therefore they proposed nothing to themselves but patiently to expect one of those conjunctures, and, in the mean time, so to behave themselves to the Queen, that without being receiv'd into her trust and confidence, which they did not affect, they might enjoy her

her Grace and good Acceptation. But the designation of them to the *Scotish* Intrigue, crossed all this imagination, and shook that foundation of Peace and Tranquillity, upon which they had raised their present hopes.

THE Chancellor therefore went presently to the King, and besought him with earnestness, "That he would not lay that "Burden upon him, or engage him in any part of the Counsels of that People. He put his Majesty in mind of "The "continued avow'd jealousy, and displeasure, which that whole "Party in that Nation had ever had against him; and that "his Majesty very well knew, that those Noble Persons who serv'd him best when he was in *Scotland*, and in whose Af-"fection and fidelity he had all possible satisfaction, had "some prejudice against him, and would be troubled when "they should hear that all their Secrets were committed to "Him. He told his Majesty, this Trust would for ever de-"prive him of all hope of the Queen's Favour; who could "not but discern it within three or four days, and, by the "frequent resort of the *Scotish* Vicar to him (who had the Vanity to desire long conferences with him) "That there was "some Secret in hand which was kept from Her; and she "would as easily discover, that the Chancellor was privy to "it, by his reading Papers to his Majesty, and his Signing "them; and would from thence conclude, that He had per-"swaded him to exclude her Majesty from that Trust; which "she would never forgive. Upon the whole, he renew'd his importunity, "That he might be excused from this con-"fidence.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer desires the King not to employ him in the Scotish Affairs.

THE King heard him with patience and attention enough; and confessed, "That he had reason not to be sollicitous for "that Employment; but he wished him to consider withal, "that he must either undertake it, or that his Majesty must "in plain terms reject the Correspondence; which, he said, "he thought he would not advise him to do. If his Ma-"jesty entertain'd it, it could not be imagin'd that all those "Transactions could pass through his own hand, or, if they "could, his being shut up so long alone would make the "same discovery. Whom then should he trust? The Lord "*Newburgh*, it was very true, was a very honest Man, and "worthy of any Trust; but he was not a Counsellor, and no-"thing could be so much wonder'd at, as his frequent being "shut up with him; and more, his bringing any Papers to "him to be sign'd. As to the general prejudice which he "conceiv'd was against him by that Party, his Majesty told him, "The Nation was much alter'd since he had to do with "them, and that no Men were better lov'd by them now than "They who had from the beginning been faithful to his Fa-

The King's reply to him.

"ther, and Himself. To which he added, that *Middleton* "had the least in him, of any infirmities most incident to "that Party, that he knew; and that he would find him a "Man of great Honour and Ingenuity with whom he would "be well pleased. His Majesty said, "He would frankly declare "to his Mother, that he had receiv'd some Intelligence out "of *Scotland*, and that he was obliged, and had given his "word to those whose Lives would be forfeited if known, "that he would not communicate it with any but those "who were chosen by themselves; and, after this, she could "not be offended with his reservation: And concluded with a gracious Conjuration and Command to the Chancellor, "That he should chearfully submit, and undergo that Em-"ployment; which, he assured him, should never be attended "with prejudice or inconvenience to him. In this manner, he submitted himself to the King's disposal, and was trusted throughout that Affair; which had several Stages in the years following, and did produce the inconveniencies he had foreseen, and render'd him so unacceptable to the Queen, that she easily entertain'd those prejudices against him, which those she most trusted were always ready to infuse into her, and under which he was compell'd to bear many hardships.

The Chancellor submits; and was accordingly trusted in these Affairs.

THIS uncomfortable Condition of the King was render'd yet more desperate, by the Streights, and Necessities, into which the *French* Court was about this time plunged: So that they who hitherto had shew'd no very good will to assist the King, were now become really unable to do it. The Parliament of *Paris* had behaved themselves so refractorily to all their King's Commands, press'd so importunately for the Liberty of the Princes, and so impatiently for the remove of the Cardinal, that the Cardinal was at last compell'd to perswade the Queen to consent to both: And so himself rid to *Havre de Grace*, and deliver'd the Queen's Warrant to set them at Liberty, and after a short Conference with the Prince of *Condè*, he continued his own Journey towards *Germany*, and pass'd in disguise, with two or three Servants, till he came near *Cologne*, and there he remain'd at a House belonging to that Elector.

The Troubles of the French Court about this time.

WHEN the Princes came to *Paris*, they had receiv'd great welcome from the Parliament, and the City; and instead of closing with the Court, which it was thought they would have done, the Wound was widen'd without any hope of reconciliation: So that the King and Queen Regent, withdrew from thence; the Town was in Arms; and Fire and Sword denounced against the Cardinal; his Goods sold at an Outcry; and a price set upon his Head; and all Persons who profess'd any Duty to their King, found themselves very unsafe in

Paris.

Paris. During all this time the Queen of *England* and the King, with their Families, remain'd in the *Louvre*, not knowing whither to go, nor well able to ſtay there; the Aſſignments, which had been made for their Subſiſtence, not being paid them: And the looſe People of the Town begun to talk of the Duke of *York*'s being in Arms againſt them. But the Duke of *Orleans*, under whoſe name all the diſorders were committed, and the Prince of *Condè*, viſited our King and Queen with many Profeſſions of Civility; but thoſe were ſhortly abated likewiſe, when the *French* King's Army came upon one ſide of the Town, and the *Spaniſh*, with the Duke of *Lorraine*'s, upon the other. The *French* Army thought they had the Enemy upon an advantage, and deſir'd to have a Battle with them; which the other declin'd; all which time, the Court had an underhand Treaty with the Duke of *Lorraine*; and, upon a day appointed, the *French* King ſent to the King of *England*, to deſire him to confer with the Duke of *Lorraine*; who lay then with his Army within a Mile of the Town. There was no reaſon viſible for that deſire, nor could it be conceiv'd, that his Majeſty's interpoſition could be of moment: yet his Majeſty knew not how to refuſe it, but immediately went to the place aſſign'd; where he found both Armies drawn up in Battalia within Cannon ſhot of each other. Upon his Majeſty's coming to the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Treaty was again reviv'd, and Meſſages ſent between the Duke and Marſhal *Turenne*. In fine, the Night approaching, both Armies drew off from their ground, and his Majeſty return'd to the *Louvre*; and before the next Morning, the Treaty was finiſh'd between the Court and the Duke of *Lorraine*; and he march'd away with his whole Army towards *Flanders*, and left the *Spaniards* to ſupport the Parliament againſt the Power of the *French* Army; which advanced upon them with that Reſolution, that, though they defended themſelves very bravely, and the Prince of *Condè* did the Office of a brave General in the *Fauxburg* St *Marceaux*, and at the Port St *Antoine*, in which places many gallant Perſons of both ſides were ſlain, they had been all cut off, if the City had not been prevail'd with to ſuffer them to retire into it; which they had no mind to do. And thereupon the King's Army retir'd to their old Poſt, four Leagues off, and attended future advantages: The King having a very great Party in the Parliament and the City, which abhorr'd the receiving and entertaining the *Spaniards* into their bowels.

THIS Retreat of the Duke of *Lorraine*, broke the neck of the Prince of *Condè*'s deſign. He knew well he ſhould not be long able to retain the Duke of *Orleans* from treating with the Court, or keep the *Pariſians* at his Devotion; and

that the Duke *de Beaufort*, whom they had made Governour of *Paris*, would be weary of the Contention. For the preſent, they were all incenſed againſt the Duke of *Lorraine*; and were well enough contented that the People ſhould believe, that this defection in the Duke was wrought by the activity, and interpoſition of the King of *England*; and they who did know that his Intereſt could not have produced that effect, could not tell how to interpret his Majeſty's Journey to ſpeak with the Duke in ſo unſeaſonable a conjuncture: ſo that, as the People expreſſed, and uſed all the inſolent reproaches againſt the *Engliſh* Court at the *Louvre*, and loudly threaten'd to be reveng'd, ſo neither the Duke of *Orleans*, nor the Prince of *Condè* made any viſit there, or expreſſed the leaſt Civility towards it. In truth, our King and Queen did not think themſelves out of danger, nor ſtirred out of the *Louvre* for many days, until the *French* Court thought themſelves obliged to provide for their Security, by adviſing the King and Queen to remove, and aſſign'd St *Germain's* to them for their Retreat. Then his Majeſty ſent to the Duke of *Orleans*, and Prince of *Condè*, "That their purpoſe was to "leave the Town: upon which there was a Guard that attended them out of the Town in the evening; which could not be got to be in readineſs till then; and they were ſhortly after met by ſome Troops of Horſe ſent by the *French* King, which conducted them by Torch-light to St *Germain's*; where they arriv'd about midnight; and remain'd there without any diſturbance, till *Paris* was reduced to that King's Obedience.

The King of England and his Mother remove to St Germain's.

IT is a very hard thing for People who have nothing to do, to forbear doing ſomething which they ought not to do; and the King might well hope that, ſince he had nothing elſe left to enjoy, he might have enjoy'd quiet and repoſe; and that a Court which had nothing to give, might have been free from Faction and Ambition; whilſt every Man had compoſed himſelf to bear the ill fortune he was reduced to for Conſcience ſake, which every Man pretended to be his caſe, with ſubmiſſion and content, till it ſhould pleaſe God to buoy up the King from the lowneſs he was in; who in truth ſuffer'd much more than any Body elſe. But whilſt there are Courts in the World, Emulation and Ambition will be inſeparable from them; and Kings who have nothing to give, ſhall be preſſed to promiſe; which oftentimes proves more inconvenient and miſchievous than any preſent gifts could be, becauſe they always draw on more of the ſame title, and pretence; and as they who receive the Favours, are not the more ſatisfied, ſo they who are not paid in the ſame kind, or who, out of modeſty and diſcretion, forbear to make ſuch Suits,

are

are griev'd and offended to ſee the vanity and preſumption of bold Men, ſo unſeaſonably gratified and encouraged.

THE King found no benefit of this kind, in being ſtripp'd of all his Dominions, and all his Power. Men were as importunate, as hath been ſaid before, for Honours, and Offices, and Revenues, as if they could have taken poſſeſſion of them aſſoon as they had been granted, though but by promiſe: and Men who would not have had the preſumption to have ask'd the ſame thing, if the King had been in *England*, thought it very juſtifiable to demand it, becauſe he was not there; ſince there were ſo many hazards that they ſhould never live to enjoy what he promiſed. The vexations he underwent of this kind, cannot be expreſſed; and whoſoever ſucceeded not in his unreaſonable deſires imputed it only to the ill Nature of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and concluded, that He alone obſtructed it, becauſe they always receiv'd very gracious Anſwers from his Majeſty: ſo that though his wants were as viſible and notorious as any Man's, and it appear'd he got nothing for himſelf, he paid very dear in his peace and quiet for the credit, and intereſt he was thought to have with his Maſter.

Sollicitations for places in the King's Court.

THE Lord *Wilmot* had, by the opportunity of his late Converſation with the King in his Eſcape, drawn many kind expreſſions from his Majeſty; and he thought he could not be too ſollicitous to procure ſuch a Teſtimony of his Grace and Favour, as might diſtingniſh him from other Men, and publiſh the eſteem the King had of him. Therefore he importuned his Majeſty that he would make him an Earl, referring the time of his Creation to his Majeſty's own choice: And the modeſty of this reference prevail'd; the King well knowing, that the ſame Honour would be deſir'd on the behalf of another, by one whom he ſhould be unwilling to deny. But ſince it was not ask'd for the preſent, he promiſed to do it in a time that ſhould appear to be convenient for his Service.

THERE were Projects of another kind, which were much more troubleſome; in which the Projectors ſtill conſider'd themſelves in the firſt place, and what their condition might prove to be by the Succeſs. The Duke of *York* was ſo well pleaſed with the fatigue of the War, that he thought his condition very agreeable; but his Servants did not like that courſe of Life ſo well, at leaſt deſir'd ſo far to improve it, that they might reap ſome Advantages to themſelves out of His appointments. Sr *John Berkley* was now, upon the death of the Lord *Byron*, by which the Duke was depriv'd of a very good Servant, become the ſuperior of his Family, and call'd himſelf, without any Authority for it, *Intendant des Affaires de*

The Lord Byron, the Duke's Governour, dies.

de ſon Alteſſe Royale; had the management of all his Receipts and Diſburſements; and all the reſt depended upon him. He deſir'd, by all ways, to get a better Revenue for his Maſter, than the ſmall Penſion he receiv'd from *France*; and thought no expedient ſo proper for him, as a Wife of a great and noble Fortune; which he preſumed he ſhould have the managing of.

Sir John Berkley *deſigns* Mademoiſelle de Longueville *for the Duke's wife.*

THERE was then a Lady in the Town, *Mademoiſelle de Longueville*, the Daughter of the Duke *de Longueville* by his firſt Wife, by whom ſhe was to inherit a very fair Revenue, and had title to a very conſiderable Sum of Money, which her Father was obliged to account for: ſo that ſhe was look'd upon, as one of the greateſt and richeſt Marriages in *France*, in reſpect of her Fortune; in reſpect of her Perſon not at all attractive, being a Lady of a very low Stature, and that Stature ſomewhat deform'd. This Lady Sr *John* deſign'd for the Duke; and treated with thoſe Ladies who were neareſt to her, and had been truſted with the Education of her, before he mention'd it to his Royal Highneſs. Then he perſwaded him, "That all hopes in *England* were deſperate: That the "Government was ſo ſettled there, that it could never be "ſhaken; ſo that his Highneſs muſt think of no other Fortune "than what he ſhould make by his Sword: That he was now "upon the Stage where he muſt act out his Life, and that he "ſhould do well to think of providing a Civil Fortune for him-"ſelf, as well as a Martial; which could only be by Marriage: and then ſpoke of *Mademoiſelle de Longueville*, and made her Fortune at leaſt equal to what it was; "Which, he ſaid, "when once his Highneſs was poſſeſſed of, he might ſell; and "thereby raiſe Money to pay an Army to Invade *England*, "and ſo might become the Reſtorer of the King his Brother: "this he thought very practicable, if his Highneſs ſeriouſly "and heartily would endeavour it. The Duke himſelf had no averſion from Marriage, and the conſideration of the Fortune, and the circumſtance which might attend it, made it not the leſs acceptable; yet he made no other Anſwer to it, "Than that he muſt firſt know the King's and Queen's judg-"ment of it, before he could take any reſolution what to do. Upon which Sr *John* undertook, with his Highneſs's approbation, to propoſe it to their Majeſties himſelf, and accordingly firſt ſpoke with the Queen, enlarging on all the benefit which probably might attend it.

IT was believ'd, that the firſt Overture and Attempt had not been made without her Majeſty's privity, and approbation; for the Lord *Jermyn* had been no leſs active in the contrivance than Sr *John Berkley*: yet her Majeſty refuſed to deliver any opinion in it, till ſhe knew the King's: and ſo at laſt,

laſt, after the young Lady her ſelf had been ſpoken to, his Majeſty was inform'd of it, and his approbation deſir'd; with which he was not well pleaſed; and yet was unwilling to uſe his Authority to obſtruct what was look'd upon as ſo great a benefit and advantage to his Brother; though he did not diſſemble his Reſentment of their Preſumption who undertook to enter upon Treaties of that Nature, with the ſame liberty as if it concern'd only their own Kindred and Allies: However, he was very reſerv'd in ſaying what he thought of it. Whilſt his Majeſty was in deliberation, all the ways were taken to diſcover what the Chancellor of the Exchequer's judgment was; and the Lord *Jermyn* ſpoke to him of it, as a matter that would not admit any doubt on the King's part, otherwiſe than from the difficulty of bringing it to paſs, in regard the Lady's Friends would not eaſily be induced to give their conſent. But the Chancellor could not be drawn to make any other Anſwer, than "That it was a Subject ſo much "above his comprehenſion, and the conſequences might be "ſuch, that he had not the Ambition to deſire to be conſulted "with upon it; and that leſs than the King's or Queen's Com-"mand ſhould not induce him to enter upon the diſcourſe "of it.

The Queen conſults the Chancellor of the Exchequer about the Marriage.

It was not long before the Queen ſent for him; and ſeeming to complain of the importunity, which was uſed towards her in that affair, and as if it were not grateful to her, ask'd him, what his opinion of it was? To which he anſwer'd, "That he did not underſtand the convenience of it ſo well, as "to judge whether it were like to be of benefit to the Duke "of *York*: But he thought, that neither the King, nor her "Majeſty, ſhould be willing that the Heir of the Crown "ſhould be Married before the King himſelf; or that it ſhould "be in any Woman's power to ſay, that if there were but "one Perſon dead, ſhe ſhould be a Queen: With which her Majeſty, who no doubt did love the King with all poſſible tenderneſs, ſeem'd to be mov'd, as if it had been a conſideration ſhe had not thought of before; and ſaid, with ſome warmth, "That ſhe would never give her conſent that "it ſhould be ſo. However, this Argument was quickly made known to the Duke of *York*, and ſeveral gloſſes made upon it, to the reproach of the Chancellor: yet it made ſuch an impreſſion, that there was then as active endeavours to find a convenient Wife for the King himſelf, and *Mademoiſelle* the Daughter of the Duke of *Orleans*, by his firſt Wife, who, in the Right of her Mother, was already poſſeſſed of the fair inheritance of the Dutchy of *Mompenſier*, was thought of. To this the Queen was much inclined, and the King himſelf not averſe; both looking too much upon the relief it might give

Mademoiſelle likewiſe thought on for the King.

to

to his preſent neceſſities, and the convenience of having a place to repoſe in, as long as the ſtorm ſhould continue. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had no thought, by the concluſion he had made in the other Overture, to have drawn on this Propoſition; and the Marquis of *Ormond* and He were no leſs troubled with this, than with the former; which made them to be look'd upon as Men of contradiction.

The Marquis of Ormond's and the Chancellor of the Exchequer's exceptions againſt this.

THEY repreſented to the King, "That, as it could admi- "niſter only ſome competency towards his preſent ſubſiſtence, "ſo it might exceedingly prejudice his future hopes, and alie- "nate the Affections of his Friends in *England*: That the Lady "was elder than He by ſome years; which was an exception "amongſt private Perſons; and had been obſerv'd not to be "proſperous to King's: That his Majeſty muſt expect to be "preſſed to thoſe things in point of Religion which he could "never conſent to; and yet he ſhould undergo the ſame diſ- "advantage as if he had conſented, by many Men's believing "he had done ſo. They beſought him "To ſet his heart en- "tirely upon the recovery of *England*, and to indulge to no- "thing that might reaſonably obſtruct that, either by making "him leſs intent upon it, or by creating new difficulties in "the purſuing it. His Majeſty aſſur'd them "That his heart "was ſet upon nothing elſe; and if he had inclination to this "Marriage, it was becauſe he believ'd it might much facili- "tate the other: That he look'd not upon her Fortune, which "was very great, as an Annual ſupport to him, but as a ſtock "that ſhould be at his diſpoſal; by Sale whereof he might "raiſe Money enough to raiſe a good Army to attempt the "recovery of his Kingdoms: and that he would be well aſ- "ſured, that it ſhould be in his power to make that uſe of it, "before he would be engaged in the Treaty: That he had no "apprehenſion of the preſſures which would be made in mat- "ters of Religion, becauſe, if the Lady did once conſent to "the Marriage, ſhe would affect nothing but what might ad- "vance the recovery of his Dominions; which ſhe would "quickly underſtand any unreaſonable Conceſſions in Reli- "gion could never do. In a word, his Majeſty diſcover'd enough to let them ſee that he ſtood well enough inclined to the Overture it ſelf; which gave them trouble, as a thing which, in many reſpects, was like to prove very inconvenient.

BUT they were quickly freed from that apprehenſion. The Lady carried her ſelf in that manner, on the behalf of the Prince of *Condè*, and ſo offenſively to the *French* Court, having given fire her ſelf to the Cannon in the *Baſtile* upon the King at the Port St *Antoine*, and done ſo many blameable things againſt the *French* King and Queen, that they no ſooner heard

heard of this diſcourſe, but they quickly put an end to it; the Cardinal, who was now return'd again, having long reſolv'd that our King ſhould never owe any part of his Reſtitution to any countenance, or aſſiſtance, he ſhould receive from *France*; and, from the ſame concluſion, the like end was put to all Overtures which had concern'd the Duke of *York* and the other Lady.

Both theſe deſigns come to nothing.

THERE was, ſhortly after, an unexpected Accident, that ſeem'd to make ſome alterations in the affairs of *Chriſtendom*; which many very reaſonably believ'd, might have prov'd advantageous to the King. The Parliament, aſſoon as they had ſettled their Common-wealth, and had no Enemy they fear'd, had ſent Embaſſadours to their Siſter Republick, the States of the united Provinces, to invite them to enter into a ſtricter Alliance with them, and, upon the Matter, to be as one Common-wealth, and to have one Intereſt. They were receiv'd in *Holland* with all imaginable reſpect, and as great Expreſſions made, as could be, of an equal deſire that a firm Union might be eſtabliſh'd between the two Common-wealths: and, for the forming thereof, Perſons were appointed to treat with the Embaſſadours; which was look'd upon as a matter that would eaſily ſucceed, ſince the Prince of *Orange*, who could have given powerful obſtruction in ſuch Caſes, was now dead, and all thoſe who adher'd to him, diſcountenanced, and remov'd from places of truſt and power in all the Provinces, and his Son an Infant, born after the Death of his Father, at the Mercy of the States even for his Support; the two Dowagers, his Mother and Grandmother, having great Joyntures out of the Eſtate, and the reſt being liable to the payment of vaſt debts. In the Treaty, *Saint-John*, who had the whole truſt of the Embaſſy, being very powerful in the Parliament, and the known confident of *Cromwell*, preſſed ſuch a kind of Union as muſt diſunite them from all their other Allies: ſo that, for the friendſhip of *England*, they muſt loſe the friendſhip of other Princes, and yet loſe many other Advantages in Trade, which they enjoy'd, and which they ſaw the younger and more powerful Common-wealth would in a ſhort time deprive them of. This the States could not digeſt, and uſed all the ways they could to divert them from inſiſting upon ſo unreaſonable conditions; and made many large Overtures and Conceſſions, which had never been granted by them to the greateſt King's, and were willing to quit ſome Advantages they had enjoyed by all the Treaties with the Crown of *England*, and to yield other conſiderable benefits which they always before denied to grant.

The Parliament ſent Embaſſadours to Holland *to invite them to a ſtrict Union,* Saint-John *being the chief.*

BUT this would not ſatisfy, nor would the Embaſſadours recede from any particular they had propoſed: ſo that, after

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ſome Months ſtay, during which time they receiv'd many Affronts from ſome *Engliſh*, and from others, they return'd with great Preſents from the States, but without any effect by the Treaty, or entring into any terms of Alliance, and with the extreme indignation of *Saint-Johns*; which he manifeſted aſſoon as he return'd to the Parliament; who diſdaining likewiſe to find themſelves undervalued (that is, not valued above all the world beſides) preſently enter'd upon Counſels how they might diſcountenance and controle the Trade of *Holland*, and encreaſe their own.

They return without any Effect.

The Parliament thereupon make the Act of Navigation.

HHREUPON they made that Act that "Inhibits all Foreign Ships from bringing in any Merchandiſe or Commodities into *England*, but ſuch as were the proceed or growth of their own Country, upon the penalty of forfeiture of all ſuch Ships. This indeed concern'd all other Countries; but it did, upon the matter, totally ſuppreſs all Trade with *Holland*, which had very little Merchandiſe of the growth of their own Country, but had uſed to bring in their Ships the growth of all other Kingdoms in the world; Wine from *France* and *Spain*, Spices from the Indies, and all Commodities from all other Countries; which they muſt now do no more. The *Dutch* Embaſſadour expoſtulated this matter very warmly, "As a breach of Commerce and Amity, which could "not conſiſt with the Peace between the two Nations; and "that his Maſters could not look upon it otherwiſe than as a "Declaration of War. The Parliament Anſwer'd him ſuperciliouſly, "That his Maſters might take it in what manner "they pleaſed; but they knew what was beſt for their own "State, and would not repeal Laws to gratify their Neighbours; and cauſed the Act to be executed with the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity.

THE United Provinces now diſcern'd, that they had help'd to raiſe an Enemy that was too powerful for them, and that would not be treated as the Crown had been. However, they could not believe it poſſible, that in the Infancy of their Republick, and when their Government was manifeſtly odious to all the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, and the People generally weary of the Taxes and Impoſitions upon the Nation for the ſupport of their Land-Armies, the Parliament would venture to increaſe thoſe Taxes and Impoſitions proportionably to maintain a new War at Sea, at ſo vaſt an Expence, as could not be avoided; and therefore believ'd that they only made ſhew of this Courage to amuſe and terrify them. However, at the Spring, They ſet out a Fleet ſtronger than of courſe they uſed to do; which made no impreſſion upon the *Engliſh*; who never ſuſpected that the *Dutch* durſt enter into a War with them. Beſides that they were confi-

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dent no ſuch Counſel and Reſolution could be taken on a ſuddain, and without their having firſt Notice of it, they having ſeveral of the States General, and more of the States of *Holland*, very devoted to them. And therefore they increaſed not their expence, but ſent out their uſual Fleet for the Guard of the Coaſt at their Seaſon, and with no other Inſtructions than they had been accuſtom'd to.

THE Council of the Admiralty of *Holland*, which govern'd the Maritime Affairs, without communication with the States General, gave their Inſtructions to the Admiral *Van Trump*, "That when he met any of the *Engliſh* Ships of "War, he ſhould not ſtrike to them, nor ſhew them any "other reſpect than what they receiv'd from them; and if "the *Engliſh* expoſtulated the matter, they ſhould anſwer "frankly, that the reſpect they had formerly ſhew'd upon "thoſe Encounters, was becauſe the Ships were the King's, "and for the good intelligence they had with the Crown; but "they had no reaſon to continue the ſame in this alteration "of Government, except there were ſome Stipulation between "them to that purpoſe: And if this Anſwer did not ſatisfy, "but that force was uſed towards them, they ſhould defend "themſelves with their utmoſt vigour. Theſe Inſtructions were very ſecret, and never ſuſpected by the *Engliſh* Commanders; who had their old Inſtructions to oblige all Forreign Veſſels to ſtrike ſail to them; which had never been refuſed by any Nation.

Orders from the Admiralty in Holland *to their Fleet,* "*Not to* "*ſtrike to* "*the* Engliſh.

IT was about the beginning of *May* in the year 1652, that the *Dutch* Fleet, conſiſting of above forty Sail, under the Command of *Van Trump*, rode at Anchor in *Dover* Road, being driven by a ſtrong Wind, as they pretended, from the *Flanders* Coaſt, when the *Engliſh* Fleet, under the Command of *Blake*, of a much leſs Number, appear'd in view; upon which the *Dutch* weighed Anchor, and put out to Sea, without ſtriking their Flag; which *Blake* obſerving, cauſed three Guns to be fired without any Ball. It was then obſerv'd, that there was an Expreſs Ketch came, at the very time, from *Holland*, on board their Admiral; and it was then conceiv'd, that he had, by that Expreſs, receiv'd more poſitive Orders to Fight: For upon the Arrival of that Expreſs, he tacked about, and bore directly towards the *Engliſh* Fleet; and the three Guns were no ſooner fired, but, in contempt of the Advertiſement, he diſcharged one ſingle Gun from his Poop, and hung out a red Flag; and came up to the *Engliſh* Admiral, and gave him a broad ſide; with which he killed many of his Men, and damaged the Ship. Whereupon, though, *Blake* was ſurpriſed, as not expecting ſuch an Aſſault, he deferr'd not to give him the ſame rude ſalutation; and ſo both

The war begun upon this account with the Dutch.

Fleets

Fleets were forthwith engaged in a very fierce Encounter; which continued for the ſpace of four hours, till the night parted them, after the loſs of much blood on both ſides. On the part of the *Dutch*, they loſt two Ships, whereof one was ſunk, and the other taken, with both the Captains, and near two hundred Priſoners. On the *Engliſh* ſide, there were many ſlain, and more wounded, but no Ship loſt, nor Officer of Name. When the morning appear'd, the *Dutch* were gone to their Coaſt. And thus the War was enter'd into, before it was ſuſpected in *England*.

WITH what conſideration ſoever the *Dutch* had Embark'd themſelves in this ſuddain Enterpriſe, it quickly appear'd they had taken very ill meaſures of the People's Affections. For the News of this conflict was no ſooner arriv'd in *Holland*, but there was the moſt general conſternation, amongſt all ſorts of Men, that can be imagin'd; and the States themſelves were ſo much troubled at it, that, with great expedition, they diſpatched two extraordinary Embaſſadours into *England*; by whom they proteſted, "That the late unhappy Engagement "between the Fleets of the two Common-wealths, had hap-"pen'd without their knowledge, and contrary to the inten-"tion of the Lords the States General: that they had receiv'd "the fatal tidings of ſo raſh an Attempt, and Action, with "amazement, and aſtoniſhment; and that they had immedi-"ately enter'd into conſultation, how they might beſt cloſe "this freſh bleeding Wound, and to avoid the further Effu-"ſion of Chriſtian blood, ſo much deſir'd by the Enemies of "both States: and therefore they moſt earneſtly deſir'd them, "by their mutual concurrence in Religion, and by their mu-"tual love of Liberty, that nothing might be done with paſ-"ſion and heat; which would widen the breach; but that "they might ſpeedily receive ſuch an Anſwer, that there "might be no farther obſtruction to the Trade of both Com-"mon-wealths.

The States ſend two Embaſſadours into England *about it.*

TO which this Anſwer was preſently return'd to them, "That the civility which they had always ſhew'd towards the "States of the United Provinces, was ſo notorious, that no-"thing was more ſtrange than the ill return they had made to "them: that the extraordinary preparations, which they had "made, of a hundred and fifty Ships, without any apparent "neceſſity, and the Inſtructions which had been given to "their Sea-Officers, had adminiſter'd too much cauſe to be-"lieve, that the Lords the States General of the United Pro-"vinces had a purpoſe to uſurp the known Right which the "*Engliſh* have to the Seas, and to deſtroy their Fleets; which, "under the protection of the Almighty, are their Walls and "Bulwarks; ſo that they might be expoſed to the invaſion of any

The Parliament's Anſwer to them.

"any powerful Enemy: therefore they thought themſelves "obliged to endeavour, by God's Aſſiſtance, to ſeek repara- "tion for the injuries and damage they had already receiv'd, "and to prevent the like for the future: However, they "ſhould never be without an intention and deſire, that ſome "effectual means might be found to eſtabliſh a good Peace, "Union, and right Underſtanding, between the two Nati- "ons.

WITH this haughty Anſwer they vigorouſly proſecuted their revenge, and commanded *Blake* preſently to Sail to the Northward: it being then the Seaſon of the year for the great Fiſheries of the *Dutch* upon the Coaſts of *Scotland*, and the Iſles of *Orkney* (by the benefit whereof they drive a great part of their Trade over *Europe*) where he now found their multitude of fiſhing Boats, guarded by twelve Ships of War; moſt of which, with the fiſh they had made ready, he brought away with him as good prize.

Blake takes their fiſhing Buſſes; and their Guard-ſhips.

WHEN *Blake* was ſent to the North, Sr *George Ayſcue*, being juſt return'd from the Weſt Indies, was ſent with another part of the Fleet to the South; who, at his very going out, met with thirty Sail of their Merchants between *Dover* and *Calais*; a good part whereof he took, or ſunk; and forced the reſt to run on Shore upon the *French* Coaſt; which is very little better than being taken. From thence he ſtood Weſtward; and near *Plymouth*, with thirty Sail of Men of War, he engaged the whole *Dutch* Fleet, conſiſting of Sixty Ships of War, and thirty Merchants. It was near four of the Clock in the Afternoon when both Fleets begun to engage, ſo that the Night quickly parted them; yet not before two of the *Holland* Ships of War were ſunk, and moſt of the Men loſt; the *Dutch* in that Action applying themſelves moſt to ſpoil the Tackling, and Sails of the *Engliſh*; in which they had ſo good ſucceſs, that the next Morning they were not able to give them farther chaſe, till their Sails and Rigging could be repaired. But no day paſſed without the taking and bringing in many and valuable *Dutch* Ships into the Ports of *England*; which, having begun their Voyages before any notice given to them of the War, were making haſte home without any fear of their Security: ſo that, there being now no hope of a Peace by the mediation of their Embaſſadours, who could not prevail in any thing they propoſed, they return'd; and the War was proclaim'd on either ſide, as well as proſecuted.

Sr G. Ayſcue takes or ſinks 30 Sail of their Merchants: fights the Dutch Fleet near Plymouth.

THE King thought he might very reaſonably hope to reap ſome benefit and advantage from this War, ſo briskly enter'd upon on both ſides; and when he had ſate ſtill till the return of the *Dutch* Embaſſadours from *London*, and that all Treaties were given over, he believ'd it might contribute to his

ends, if he made a Journey into *Holland*, and made ſuch Propoſitions upon the place as he might be adviſed to: but when his Majeſty imparted this deſign to his Friends there, who did really deſire to ſerve him, he was very warmly diſſwaded from coming thither; and aſſured, "That it was ſo far from "being yet ſeaſonable, that it would more advance a Peace "than any thing elſe that could be propoſed; and would, for "the preſent, bring the greateſt prejudice to his Siſter, and to "the affairs of his Nephew the Prince of *Orange*, that could "be imagin'd.

The King at Paris propoſes to Monſieur Borrel *the* Dutch *Embaſſadour that he would joyn his Intereſt with theirs.*

THE King hereupon took a reſolution to make an attempt which could do him no harm, if it did not produce the good he deſired. The *Dutch* Embaſſadour then reſident at *Paris*, Monſieur *Borrel*, who had been Penſioner of *Amſterdam*, was very much devoted to the King's Service, having been formerly Embaſſadour in *England*, and had always dependence upon the Prince of *Orange* ſucceſſively. He communicated in all things with great freedom with the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who viſited him conſtantly once a Week, and receiv'd Advertiſements, and Advices from him, and the Embaſſadour frequently came to His Lodging. The King, upon conference only with the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Chancellor, and enjoyning them ſecrecy, cauſed a Paper to be drawn up; in which he declared, "That he had very good rea-"ſon to believe, that there were many Officers and Sea-men "engaged in the Service of the *Engliſh* Fleet, who under-"took that Service in hope to find a good opportunity to "ſerve his Majeſty; and that, if the *Dutch* were willing to "receive him, he would immediately put himſelf on board their "Fleet, without requiring any Command, except of ſuch Ships "only, as, upon their notice of his being there, ſhould re-"pair to him out of the Rebels Fleet: by this means, he preſum'd, "He ſhould be able much to weaken their Naval power, "and to raiſe Diviſions in the Kingdom, by which the *Dutch* "would receive benefit and advantage. Having ſign'd this Paper, he ſent the Chancellor with it open, to ſhew to the *Dutch* Embaſſadour, and to deſire him to ſend it encloſed in his Letter to the States. The Embaſſadour was very much ſurpriſed with it, and made ſome ſcruple of ſending it, leſt he might be ſuſpected to have adviſed it. For they were extremely jealous of him for his Affection to the King, and for his dependence upon the Houſe of *Orange*. In the end, he deſired "The King would encloſe it in a Letter to him, and "oblige him to ſend it to the States General: which was done accordingly; and he ſent it by the Poſt to the States.

THE War had already made the Councils of the States leſs united than they had been, and the Party that was known

to

to be inclined to the Prince of *Orange*, recover'd courage, and joyn'd with thoſe who were no Friends to the War; and, when this Meſſage from the King was read, magnified the King's Spirit in making this Overture, and wiſh'd that an Anſwer of very humble thanks and acknowledgment might be return'd to his Majeſty. They ſaid, "No means ought to "be neglected that might abate the pride and power of the "Enemy: and aſſoon as the People heard of it, they thought it reaſonable to accept the King's Offer. *De Wit*, who was Penſioner of *Holland*, and had the greateſt influence upon their Counſels, had no mind to have any conjunction with the King; which, he foreſaw, muſt neceſſarily introduce the pretences of the Prince of *Orange*; to whom he was an avow'd and declar'd Enemy. He told them, "Indeed it was a very "generous offer of the King; but if they ſhould accept it, "they could never recede from his Intereſt; which, inſtead "of putting an end to the War, of which they were already "weary, would make it without end, and would be the ruin "of their State: that whilſt they were free from being en- "gaged in any Intereſt but their own, they might reaſonably "hope that both ſides would be equally weary of the War, "and then a Peace would eaſily enſue; which they ſhould "otherwiſe put out of their own power; ſo that thanks were return'd to the King for his good will; and they purſued their own method in their Counſels, and were much ſuperior to thoſe who were of another opinion, deſiring nothing ſo much, as to make a Peace upon any conditions.

Thanks return'd to the King by the States, but his propoſal laid aſide.

NOR can it appear very wonderful, that the *Dutch* made ſhew of ſo much flegm in this Affair, when the very choler and pride of the *French* was, about the ſame time, ſo humbled by the Spirit of the *Engliſh*, that though they took their Ships every day, and made them prize, and had now ſeiſed upon their whole Fleet that was going to the relief of *Dunkirk* (that was then cloſely beſieged by the *Spaniard*, and by the taking that Fleet was deliver'd into their hands) yet the *French* would not be provok'd to be angry with them, or to expreſs any inclination to the King; but ſent an Embaſſadour, which they had not before done, to expoſtulate very civilly with the Parliament for having been ſo unneighbourly, but in truth to deſire their Friendſhip upon what terms they pleaſed; the Cardinal fearing nothing ſo much, as that the *Spaniard* would make ſuch a conjunction with the new Common-wealth, as ſhould diſappoint and break all his deſigns.

The Engliſh *ſeiſe on a* French *Fleet going to the relief of* Dunkirk.

The French *ſend an Embaſſadour into* England.

THE inſupportable loſſes which the *Dutch* every day ſuſtain'd by the taking their Merchant's Ships, and their Ships of War, and the total obſtruction of their Trade, broke their hearts, and encreaſed their factions and diviſions at home. All

the Seas were cover'd with the *English* Fleets; which made no distinctions of Seasons, but were as active in the Winter as the Summer; and engaged the *Dutch* upon any inequality of Number. The *Dutch* having been beaten in the Month of *October*, and *Blake* having receiv'd a brush from them in the Month of *December*; in the Month of *February*, the most dangerous season of the Year, They, having appointed a Rendezvous of about one hundred and fifty Merchant Men, sent a Fleet of above one hundred Sail of Men of War to convoy them; and *Blake*, with a Fleet much inferior in number, engaged them in a very sharp Battle from Noon till the Night parted them: which disposed them to endeavour to preserve themselves by flight; but in the Morning, they found that the *English* had attended them so close, that they were engag'd again to fight, and so unprosperously, that, after the loss of above two thousand Men, who were thrown overboard, besides a multitude hurt, they were glad to leave fifty of their Merchant Men to the *English*, that they might make their flight the more securely.

In February Blake *engages the* Dutch *Fleet; who are beaten.*

THIS last loss made them send again to the Parliament to desire a Peace; who rejected the Overture, as they pretended, "For want of formality (for they always pretended a desire of an honourable Peace) the Address being made only by the States of *Holland*, and West-*Friezland*, the States General being at that time not Assembled. It was generally believ'd, that this Address from *Holland* was not only with the Approbation, but by the direction of *Cromwell*; who had rather consented to those particulars, which were naturally like to produce that War, to gratify *Saint-John* (who was inseparable from him in all his other Counsels, and was incensed by the *Dutch*) than approv'd the Resolution. And now he found, by the expence of the Engagements had already passed on both sides, what an insupportable Charge that War must be attended with. Besides, he well discern'd that all Parties, Friends and Foes, Presbyterians, Independents, Levellers, were all united as to the carrying on the War; which, he thought, could proceed from nothing, but that the excess of the expence might make it necessary to disband a great part of the Land Army (of which there appear'd no use) to support the Navy; which they could not now be without. Nor had he Authority to place his own Creatures there, all the Officers thereof being nominated and appointed solely by the Parliament: So that when this Address was made by the *Dutch*, he set up his whole rest and interest, that it might be well accepted, and a Treaty thereupon enter'd into; which when he could not bring to pass, he laid to heart; and deferr'd not long, as will appear, to take vengeance upon the Parlia-

The Dutch *send again to the Parliament for Peace.*

Cromwell *never zealous for this War with the* Dutch, *but govern'd in it by* Saint-John.

Parliament with a witneſs, and by a way they leaſt thought of.

THOUGH *Cromwell* was exerciſed with theſe contradictions and vexations at home, by the Authority of the Parliament, he found not the leaſt oppoſition from abroad. He was more abſolute in the other two Kingdoms, more fear'd, and more obey'd, than any King had ever been; and all the Dominions belonging to the Crown, own'd no other ſubjection than to the Common-wealth of *England*. The Iſles of *Guernſey*, and *Jerſey*, and *Scilly*, were reduced; the former preſently after the Battle of *Worceſter*; and the other, after the King's return to *Paris*; Sr *George Carteret* having well defended *Jerſey* as long as he could, and being ſo overpower'd that he could no longer defend the *Iſland*, he retired into Caſtle *Elizabeth*; which he had fortified, and provided with all things neceſſary for a Siege; preſuming that, by the care and diligence of the Lord *Jermyn*, who was Governour thereof, he ſhould receive Supplies of Men and Proviſion, as he ſhould ſtand in need of them; as he might eaſily have done in ſpight of any power of the Parliament by Sea, or Land. But it had been the principal reaſon that *Cromwell* had hitherto kept the better Quarter with the Cardinal, leſt the bait of thoſe two Iſlands, which the King could have put into his hands when he would, ſhould tempt him to give his Majeſty any Aſſiſtance. But the King was ſo ſtrict and punctually in his care of the Intereſt of *England*, when he ſeem'd to be abandon'd by it, that he choſe rather to ſuffer thoſe places of great importance to fall into *Cromwell*'s power, than to depoſite them, upon any conditions, into *French* hands; which he knew, would never reſtore them to the juſt owner, what obligations ſoever they enter'd into.

Guernſey and Jerſey had been now reduced. Sr George Carteret defended this as long as he could, and Elizabeth Caſtle.

WHEN that Caſtle had been beſieged three Months, and the Enemy could not approach nearer to plant their Ordnance than, at leaſt, half an *Engliſh* Mile, the Sea encompaſſing it round more than ſo far from any Land, and it not being poſſible for any of their Ships to come within ſuch a diſtance, they brought notwithſtanding Mortar pieces of ſuch an incredible greatneſs, and ſuch as had never been before ſeen in this part of the world, that from the higheſt point of the Hill, near St *Hilary's*, they ſhot Granadoes of a vaſt bigneſs into the Caſtle, and beat down many Houſes; and, at laſt, blow'd up a great Magazine, where moſt of the proviſions of Victuals lay; and kill'd many Men. Upon which Sr *George Carteret* ſent an Expreſs to give the King an Account of the condition he was in, and to deſire a ſupply of Men and Proviſions; which it being impoſſible for his Majeſty to procure, he ſent him Orders to make the beſt conditions he could; which he ſhortly after did;

The King ſends him Orders to make conditions.

and came himself to *Paris*, to give the King a larger information of all that had passed in that Affair; and afterwards remain'd in *France* under many mortifications, by the power and prosecution of *Cromwell*, till the King's happy Restauration.

The Forreign Plantations also were subdued.

ALL the Forreign Plantations had submitted to the Yoke; and indeed without any other damage or inconvenience, than the having Citizens and inferior Persons put to Govern them instead of Gentlemen, who had been entrusted by the King in those places. *New-England* had been too much Allied to all the Conspiracies and Combinations against the Crown, not to be very well pleased that Men of their own Principles prevail'd; and settled a Government themselves were delighted with. The *Barbadoes*, which was much the Richest Plantation, was principally Inhabited by Men who had retired thither only to be quiet, and to be free from the noise and oppressions in *England*, and without any ill thoughts towards the King; many of them having serv'd him with Fidelity and Courage, during the War; and, that being ended, made that *Island* their Refuge from farther prosecutions. But having now gotten good Estates there (as it is incredible to what fortunes Men raised themselves in few years, in that Plantation) they were more willing to live in Subjection to that Government at that distance, than to return into *England*, and be liable to the Penalties of their former Transgressions; which, upon the Articles of Surrender, they were indemnified for: Nor was there any other alteration there, than the removing the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* (who was upon many accounts, odious to the Parliament, as well as by being Governour there by the King's Commission) and putting an inferior mean Man in his place.

The Barbadoes deliver'd up.

MORE was expected from *Virginia*; which was the most Ancient Plantation; and so was thought to be better provided to defend it self, and to be better affected. Upon both which suppositions, and out of confidence in Sr *William Berkley*, the Governour thereof, who had industriously invited many Gentlemen, and others, thither, as to a place of Security, which he could defend against any Attempt, and where they might live plentifully, many Persons of Condition, and good Officers in the War, had Transported themselves, with all the Estates they had been able to preserve; with which the honest Governour, for no Man meant better, was so confirm'd in his confidence, that he writ to the King almost inviting him thither, as to a place that wanted nothing. And the truth is, that, whilst the Parliament had nothing else to do, that Plantation in a short time was more improv'd in People and Stock, than it had been from the beginning to that time, and had reduced the *Indians* to very good Neighbourhood. But, alas!

they

they were so far from being in a condition to defend themselves, all their industry having been imploy'd in the making the best Advantage of their particular Plantations, without assigning time or Men to provide for the Publick Security in building Forts, or any places of Retreat, that there no sooner appear'd two or three Ships from the Parliament, than all thoughts of Resistance were laid aside. Sr *William Berkley*, the Governour, was suffer'd to remain there as a Private Man, upon his own Plantation; which was a better subsistence than he could have found any where else. And in that quiet posture he continued, by the Reputation he had with the People, till upon the noise and fame of the King's Restoration, he did as quietly resume the Exercise of his former Commission, and found as ready an Obedience. About this time also, *Scilly*, which had been vigorously defended by Sr *John Greenvil*, till it wanted all things, was deliver'd up to Sr *George Ayscue*. *And* Virginia.

We shall not in this place enlarge upon the Affairs of *Scotland* (which will be part of the Argument of the next Book) where *Monk* for the present Govern'd with a Rod of Iron, and at last found no contradiction, or opposition to his good Will and Pleasure. In *Ireland*, if that People had not been prepar'd and ripe for destruction, there had happen'd an alteration which might have given some respite to it, and disposed the Nation to have united themselves under their new Deputy, whom they had themselves desir'd, under all the solemn obligations of Obedience. Shortly after the departure of the Marquis of *Ormond*, *Cromwell*'s Deputy, *Ireton*, who had married his Daughter, died in *Limrick* of the Plague; which was gotten into his Army, that was so much weaken'd by it, and there were so great Factions and Divisions among the Officers, after his suddain death, that great Advantages might have been gotten by it. His Authority was so absolute, that he was entirely submitted to in all the Civil, as well as Martial Affairs. But his death was thought so little possible, that no provision had been made for that contingency. So that no Man had Authority to take the Command upon him, till *Cromwell*'s Pleasure was farther known; who put the Charge of the Army under *Ludlow*, a Man of a very different Temper from the other; but appointed the Civil Government to run in another Channel, so that there remain'd jealousy and discontent enough still between the Council and the Officers to have shaken a Government that was yet no better establish'd. Ireton *died in* Limrick *of the Plague.* Ludlow *succeeds him in the charge of the Army.*

Ireton, of whom we have had too much occasion to speak formerly, was of a melancholick, reserv'd, dark Nature, who communicated his thoughts to very few; so that, for the *The Character of* Ireton.

most part, he resolv'd alone, but was never diverted from any resolution he had taken; and he was thought often by his obstinacy to prevail over *Cromwell* himself, and to extort his concurrence contrary to his own inclinations. But that proceeded only from his dissembling less; for he was never reserv'd in the owning and communicating his worst and most barbarous purposes; which the other always conceal'd and disavow'd. Hitherto their concurrence had been very natural, since they had the same ends and designs. It was generally conceiv'd by those who had the opportunity to know them both very well, that *Ireton* was a Man so radically averse from Monarchy, and so fixt to a Republick Government, that, if he had liv'd, he would either, by his Counsel and Credit, have prevented those excesses in *Cromwell*, or publickly opposed and declared against them, and carried the greatest part of the Army with him; and that *Cromwell*, who best knew his Nature, and his Temper, had therefore carried him into *Ireland*, and left him there, that he might be without his Counsels or Importunities, when he should find it necessary to put off his Mask, and to act that part which he foresaw it would be requisite to do. Others thought, his parts lay more towards Civil Affairs; and were fitter for the modelling that Government, which his heart was set upon (being a Scholar, conversant in the Law, and in all those Authors who had expressed the greatest Animosity and Malice against the Regal Government) than for the Conduct of an Army to support it; his Personal Courage being never reckon'd among his other Abilities.

The ill condition of the Marquis of Clanrickard's *affairs in* Ireland.

WHAT Influence soever his Life might have had upon the future Transactions, certain it is, his Death had none upon the State of *Ireland* to the King's Advantage. The Marquis of *Clanrickard* left no way unattempted that might apply the visible strength, and power of the *Irish* Nation, to the preservation of themselves, and to the support of the King's Government. He sent out his Orders and Warrants for the Levying of new Men, and to draw the old Troops together, and to raise Money: but few Men could be got together, and when they were Assembled, they could not stay together for want of Money to pay them: so that he could never get a Body together to march towards the Enemy; and if he did prevail with them to march a whole day with him, he found, the next morning, that half of them were run away. And it quickly appear'd, that they had made those ample Vows and Protestations, that they might be rid of the Marquis of *Ormond*, without any purpose of obeying the other. The greatest part of the Popish Clergy, and all the *Irish* of *Ulster*, had no mind to have any relation to the *English* Nation, and as little

little to return to their Obedience to the Crown. They blamed each other for having deſerted the Nuntio, and thought of nothing but how they might get ſome Forreign Prince to take them into his Protection. They firſt choſe a Committee, *Plunket* and *Brown*, two Lawyers, who had been eminent Conductors of the Rebellion from the beginning, and Men of good Parts, and joyn'd others with them, who were in *France* and *Flanders*. Then they moved the Lord Deputy, to ſend theſe Gentlemen into *Flanders* "To invite the Duke of *Lor-* "*raine* to aſſiſt them with Arms, Money, and Ammunition, "undertaking to have good Intelligence from thence, that the "Duke (who was known to wiſh well to the King) was well "prepared to receive their deſire, and reſolv'd, out of his "Affection to the King, to engage himſelf cordially in the de- "fence of that Catholick Kingdom, his Zeal to that Religion "being known to be very great.

The Rebels reſolve to invite the Duke of Lorraine *thither.*

THE Marquis of *Clanrickard* had no opinion of the Expedient, or that the Duke would engage himſelf on the behalf of a People who had ſo little Reputation in the World; and therefore refuſed to give any Commiſſion to thoſe Gentlemen, or to any other to that purpoſe, without firſt receiving the King's Order, or at leaſt the advice of the Marquis of *Ormond*, who was known to be ſafely arriv'd in *France*. But that was look'd upon as delay, which their condition could not bear, and the doubting the truth of the intelligence, and information of the Duke of *Lorraine*'s being willing to undertake their Relief, was imputed to want of good will to receive it. And then all the Libels, and Scandals, and Declarations, which had been publiſh'd againſt the Marquis of *Ormond*, were now renew'd, with equal Malice and Virulence, againſt the Marquis of *Clanrickard*; and they declared, "That God would "never bleſs his wither'd hand, which had always concurr'd "with *Ormond*, in the Proſecution, and Perſecution of the Ca- "tholicks Confederates from the beginning of their Engage- "ment for the defence of their Religion; and that he had "ſtill had more converſation with Hereticks than with Ca- "tholicks: that he had refuſed always to ſubmit to the Pope's "Authority; and had treated his Nuntio with leſs reſpect "than was due from any good Catholick; and that all the Ca- "tholicks who were cheriſh'd or countenanced by him, were "of the ſame Faction. In the end, he could not longer re- ſiſt the importunity of the Aſſembly of the Confederate Catholicks (which was again brought together) and of the Biſhops and Clergy that govern'd the other; but gave his conſent to ſend the ſame Perſons they recommended to him; and gave them his Credentials to the Duke of *Lorraine*; but required them "Punctually to obſerve his own Inſtructions,

"and

"and not to presume to depart from them in the least de-"gree. Their Instructions were, "To give the Marquis of "*Ormond* notice of their Arrival; and to shew him their In-"structions; and to conclude nothing without his positive "Advice; who, he well knew, would communicate all with the Queen; and that likewise, "When they came into "*Flanders*, they should advise with such of the King's Coun-"cil as should be there, and proceed in all things as they "should direct.

WHAT Instructions soever the Lord Deputy prescribed to them, the Commissioners receiv'd others from the Council and Assembly of their Clergy, which they thought more to the purpose, and resolv'd to follow; by which they were authorised to yield to any conditions which might prevail with the Duke of *Lorraine* to take them into his Protection, and to engage him in their defence, even by delivering all they had of the Kingdom into his hands. Though they landed in *France*, they gave no notice of their business or their arrival to the Queen, or to the Marquis of *Ormond*; but prosecuted their journey to *Brussels*, and made their Address, with all secrecy, to the Duke of *Lorraine*. There were, at the same time, at *Antwerp*, the Marquis of *New-Castle*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (who was newly return'd from his Embassy in *Spain*) and Secretary *Nicholas*; all three had been of the King's Council; to neither of whom they so much as gave a visit. And though the Duke of *York*, during this time, passed through *Brussels*, in his journey to *Paris*; they imparted not their Negotiations to his Highness.

Commissioners sent to him to Brussels.

THE Duke of *Lorraine* had a very good mind to get footing in *Ireland*; where, he was sure, there wanted no Men to make Armies enough, which he thought were not like to want Courage to defend their Country and Religion. And the Commissioners very frankly offer'd "To deliver up *Gal-*"*loway*, and all the places which were in their possession, into "his hands, with the remainder of the Kingdom, assoon as it "could be reduced; and to obey him absolutely as their "Prince. But he, as a reserve to decline the whole, if it ap-pear'd to be a design fuller of difficulty than he then appre-hended, discover'd much of his Affection to the King, and his resolution "Not to accept any thing that was proposed, "without his Majesty's privity and full approbation. But in the mean time, and till that might be procured, he was content to send the Abbot of St *Catharine*'s, a *Lorrainer*, anda Person principally trusted by him, as his Embassadour into *Ireland*, to be inform'd of the true State of that Kingdom, and what real strength the Confederate Catholicks were possessed of, and at what Unity among themselves. With him he sent about

The Duke sends an Abbot into Ire-land *to be inform'd of the State of it.*

about three or four thousand Pistoles, to supply their present Necessities, and some Arms and Ammunition. The Duke writ to the Lord Deputy the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, as the King's Governour, and the Person by whose Authority all those Propositions had been made to him by the Commissioners.

THE Abbot upon his Arrival (though he was civilly receiv'd) quickly found, that the Marquis knew nothing of what the Commissioners had proposed or offer'd; and would by no means so much as enter upon any Treaty with him; but disavow'd all that they had said or done, with much vehemence, and with a Protestation, "That he would cause their heads to "be cut off, if they return'd, or came into his hands. And the Marquis did, at the same time, write very Large Letters both to the King, and the Marquis of *Ormond*, of their presumption and wickedness; and very earnestly desired, "That "they might be imprison'd, and kept till they might undergo "a just Tryal.

The Marquis renounces any consent to the Treaty.

AS the Marquis expressed all possible indignation, so many of the Catholick Nobility, and even some of their Clergy, who never intended to withdraw their Loyalty from the Crown of *England*, how weakly soever they had manifested it, indeed all the *Irish* Nation, but those of *Ulster*, who were of the old Septs, were wonderfully scandalized to find that all their strength was to be deliver'd presently up into the possession of a Forreign Prince; upon whose good nature only, it must be presumed that he would hereafter restore it to the King. It was now time for the Popish Bishops, and their Confederates, to make good what had been offer'd by the Commissioners with their Authority; which though they thought not fit to own, they used all their endeavours now in procuring to have it consented to, and ratified. They very importunately advised, and pressed the Lord Deputy, "To confirm what had "been offer'd, as the only visible Means to preserve the Na"tion, and a Root out of which the King's Right might again "spring and grow up: and when they found, that he was so far from yielding to what they desired, that, if he had power, he would proceed against them with the utmost severity for what they had done, that he would no more give Audience to the Embassadour, and remov'd from the place where they were, to his own House and Castle at *Portumny*, to be secure from their importunity or violence, they barefaced own'd all that the Commissioners had propounded, "As done by their "Order, who could make it good; and desired the Embassadour "To enter into a Treaty with them; and declar'd "That "they would sign such Articles, with which the Duke of *Lor*"*raine* should be well satisfied. They undervalued the power of the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, as not able to oppose any agreement

ment

ment they ſhould make, nor able to make good any thing he ſhould promiſe himſelf, without their Aſſiſtance.

THE Embaſſadour was a wiſe Man, and of flegm enough; and though he heard all they would ſay, and receiv'd any Propoſitions they would give him in writting, yet he quickly diſcern'd, that they were ſo unskilful as to the managery of any great deſign, and ſo disjoynted among themſelves, that they could not be depended upon to any purpoſe; and excuſed himſelf from entring upon any new Treaty with them, as having no Commiſſion to treat but with the Lord Deputy. But he told them, "He would deliver all that they had, or "would propoſe to him, to the Duke his Maſter; who, he "preſumed, would ſpeedily return his Anſwer, and proceed "with their Commiſſioners in ſuch a manner as would be "grateful to them. So he return'd in the ſame Ship that brought him, and gave the Duke ſuch an Account of his Voyage, and that People, that put an end to that Negotiation; which had been enter'd into, and proſecuted, with leſs warineſs, circumſpection, and good husbandry, than that Prince was accuſtom'd to uſe.

The Abbot returns to the Duke; whereupon the Duke gives over the Negotiation.

WHEN the Embaſſadour was gone, they proſecuted the Deputy, with all Reproaches of betraying and ruining his Country; and had ſeveral deſigns upon his Perſon, and communicated whatever Attempt was reſolv'd to the Enemy: yet there were many of the Nobility and Gentry that continued firm, and adhered to him very faithfully; which defended his Perſon from any Violence they intended againſt him, but could not ſecure him, againſt their Acts of Treachery, nor keep his Counſels from being betray'd. After the Defeat of *Worceſter* was known and publiſh'd, they leſs conſider'd all they did; and every one thought he was to provide for his own ſecurity that way that ſeem'd moſt probable to him; and whoſoever was moſt intent upon that, put on a new face, and application to the Deputy, and loudly urged "The "neceſſity of uniting themſelves for the publick ſafety, which "was deſperate any other way: whilſt in truth every Man was negotiating for his own indemnity with *Ludlow* (who commanded the *Engliſh*) or for leave to tranſport Regiments; which kept the Soldiers together, as if they had been the Deputy's Army.

THE Deputy had a ſuſpicion of a Fellow, who was obſerv'd every day to go out and return'd not till the next; and appointed an Officer of truſt, with ſome Horſe, to watch him, and ſearch him; which they did; and found about him a Letter which contain'd many Reproaches againſt the Marquis, and the Intelligence of many particulars; which the Meſſenger was carrying to *Ludlow*. It was quickly diſcover'd that

The Lord Clanrickard *diſcovers a correſpondence managed by a Fryar between the Popiſh* Iriſh *Clergy and* Ludlow

that the Letter was written by one Father *Cohogan*, a Franciſcan Fryar in *Galloway*; where the Deputy then was; but much of the Intelligence was ſuch as could not be known by him, but muſt come from ſome who were in the moſt private conſultations. The Deputy cauſed the Fryar to be impriſon'd and reſolv'd to proceed exemplarily againſt him, after he had firſt diſcover'd his Complices. The Fryar confeſſed the Letter to be of his writing, but refuſed to Anſwer to any other Queſtion; and demanded his Privilege of a Church-Man, and not to be tried by the Deputy's Order. The Concluſion was, the Popiſh Biſhops cauſed him to be taken out of the Priſon; and ſent to the Deputy, "That if he would ſend "to them his Evidence againſt the Fryar, who was an Eccle-"ſiaſtical Perſon, they would take care that juſtice ſhould be "done.

THIS Proceeding convinced the Deputy, that he ſhould not be able to do the King any Service in that Company; nor durſt he ſtay longer in that Town, leſt they ſhould make their own Peace by delivering up him and the Town together; which they would have made no ſcruple to have done. From that time he remov'd from place to place, not daring to lodge twice in the ſame place together, leſt he ſhould be betray'd; and ſometimes without any Accommodations: ſo that, not having been accuſtom'd to thoſe hardſhips, he contracted thoſe diſeaſes which he could never recover. In this manner he continued till he receiv'd Commands from the King. For aſſoon as he had Advertiſement of the King's Arrival at *Paris*, and it was very evident by the behaviour of the *Iriſh*, that they would be no more applied to the King's Service under his Command, than under the Marquis of *Ormond*'s, he ſent the Earl of *Caſtle-haven* (who had been formerly a General of the Confederate Catholicks, and remain'd with great conſtancy with the Marquis of *Clanrickard*, as long as there was any hope) to the King, with ſo particular an account, under his own hand of all that had paſſed, from the time that he had receiv'd his Commiſſion from the Marquis of *Ormond*, that it even contain'd almoſt a Diary, in which he made ſo lively a deſcription of the proceedings of the *Iriſh*, of their Overtures to the Duke of *Lorraine*, and of their ſeveral tergiverſations and treacheries towards him, that any Man might diſcern, eſpecially they who knew the generoſity of the Marquis, his Nature, and his cuſtom of Living, that he had ſubmitted to a life very uncomfortable and melancholick; and deſired his Majeſty's leave that he might retire, and procure a Paſs to go into *England*; where he had ſome Eſtate of his own, and many Friends, who would not ſuffer him to ſtarve; which his Majeſty made haſte to ſend to him, with as great

He ſends the Earl of Caſtle-haven *to give an account of all to the King.*

The King ſends him leave to retire.

great Teſtimony of his gracious Acceptat ion of his Service, and Affection, as his ſingular merit deſerved.

The Marquis gets a Paſs from Ludlow, *and goes into* England, *and dies within a year.*

THEREUPON the Marquis ſent to *Ludlow* for a Paſs to go into *England*, and render himſelf to the Parliament; which he preſently ſent him; and ſo the Marquis Tranſported himſelf to *London*; where he was civilly treated by all Men, as a Man who had many Friends, and could have no Enemies but thoſe who could not be Friends to any. But by the Infirmities he had contracted in *Ireland*, by thoſe ſevere fatigues and diſtreſſes he had been expoſed to, he liv'd not to the end of a year; and had reſolv'd, upon the recovery of any degree of health, to have Tranſported himſelf to the King, and attended his Fortune. He left behind him ſo full a Relation of all material paſſages, as well from the beginning of that Rebellion, as during the time of his own Adminiſtration, that I have been the leſs particular in the Accounts of what paſſed in the Tranſactions of that Kingdom, preſuming that more exact work of His, will, in due time, be communicated to the World.

THE Affairs of the three Nations being in this poſture at the end of the year 1652, and there being new Accidents, and Alterations of a very extraordinary Nature, in the year following, which were attended with much variety of Succeſs, though not with that benefit to the King as might have been expected naturally from thoſe Emotions, We ſhall here conclude this Book, and reſerve the other for the Next.

THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH BOOK.

THE

THE
History of the Rebellion, &c.
BOOK XIV.

Job XX. 19, 22.

Becauſe he hath oppreſſed and hath forſaken the Poor; becauſe he hath violently taken away an Houſe which he built not:

In the fulneſs of his ſufficiency he ſhall be in ſtreights; every hand of the wicked ſhall come upon him.

Job XXVII. 15.

Thoſe that remain of him ſhall be buried in death, and his Widows ſhall not weep.

HAD not God reſerv'd the Deliverance and Reſtoration of the King to Himſelf, and reſolv'd to accompliſh it when there appear'd leaſt hope of it, and leaſt Worldy means to bring it to paſs; there happen'd at this time another very great Alteration in *England*, that, together with the continuance of the War with *Holland*, and Affronts every day offer'd to *France*, might very reaſonably have adminiſter'd great hopes to the King of a ſpeedy change of Government there. From the time of the defeat at *Worceſter*, and the reduction of *Scotland* and *Ireland* to perfect Obedience, *Cromwell* did not find the Parliament ſo ſupple to obſerve his Orders, as he expected they would have been. The Presbyterian Party, which he had diſcountenanced all he could, and made his Army of the Independent Party, were bold in contradicting him in the Houſe, and croſſing all his deſigns in the City, and exceedingly inveigh'd againſt the Licence that was practiced in Religion, by the ſeveral Factions of Independents, Anabaptiſts, and

and the ſeveral Species of theſe; who contemn'd all Magiſtrates, and the Laws eſtabliſh'd. All theſe, how contradictory ſoever to one another, *Cromwell* cheriſhed and protected, that he might not be overrun by the Presbyterians; of whom the time was not yet come that he could make uſe: yet he ſeem'd to ſhew much reſpect to ſome principal Preachers of that Party; and conſulted much with them, how the diſtempers in Religion might be compoſed.

THOUGH he had been forward enough to enter upon the War of *Holland*, that ſo there might be no Propoſition made for the Disbanding any part of his Army, which otherwiſe could not be prevented, yet he found the expence of it was ſo great, that the Nation could never bear that addition of burden to the other of Land forces; which how apparent ſoever, he ſaw the Parliament ſo fierce for the carrying on that War, that they would not hearken to any reaſonable Conditions of Peace; which the *Dutch* appear'd moſt ſollicitous to make upon any terms. But that which troubled him moſt, was the jealouſy that his own Party of Independents, and other Sectaries, had contracted againſt him: That Party, that had advanced him to the height he was at, and made him ſuperior to all oppoſition, even his beloved *Vane*, thought his Power and Authority to be too great for a Common-wealth, and that He, and his Army, had not dependence enough upon, or ſubmiſſion to the Parliament. So that he found thoſe who had exalted him, now moſt ſollicitous to bring Him lower; and he knew well enough what any diminution of his Power and Authority muſt quickly be attended with. He obſerv'd, that thoſe his old Friends very frankly united themſelves with His and Their old Enemies, the Presbyterians, for the proſecution of the War with *Holland*, and obſtructing all the Overtures towards Peace; which muſt, in a ſhort time, exhauſt the Stock, and conſequently diſturb any ſettlement in the Kingdom.

Cromwell erects another Council of Officers; who expoſtulate with the Parliament about their Arrears, and their own Diſſolution.

IN this perplexity he reſorts to his old remedy, his Army; and again erects another Council of Officers, who, under the Style, firſt, of Petitions, and then of Remonſtrances, interpoſed in whatſoever had any relation to the Army; uſed great importunity for "The Arrears of their pay; that they "might not be compell'd to take free Quarter upon their fel- "low Subjects, who already paid ſo great Contributions and "Taxes; which they were well aſſured, if well managed, "would abundantly defray all the Charges of the War, and "of the Government. The ſharp Anſwers the Parliament gave to their Addreſſes, and the reprehenſions for their preſumption in meddling with matters above them, gave the Army new matter to reply to; and put them in mind of ſome former

former profeſſions they had made, "That they would be glad "to be eaſed of the Burden of their Employment; and that "there might be ſucceſſive Parliaments to undergo the ſame "trouble They had done. They therefore deſired them, "That "they would remember how many years they had ſate; and "though they had done great things, yet it was a great injury "to the reſt of the Nation, to be utterly excluded from bear- "ing any part in the Service of their Country, by their in- "groſſing the whole power into Their hands; and thereupon "beſought them, that they would ſettle a Council for the ad- "miniſtration of the Government during the Interval, and "then diſſolve themſelves, and Summon a new Parliament; "which, they told them, "Would be the moſt popular Action "they could perform.

THESE Addreſſes in the Name of the Army, being confidently deliver'd by ſome Officers of it, and as confidently ſeconded by others who were Members of the Houſe; it was thought neceſſary, that they ſhould receive a ſolemn Debate, to the end that when the Parliament had declared its reſolution and determination, all Perſons might be obliged to acquieſce therein, and ſo there would be an end put to all Addreſſes of that kind. *The Parliament debate about the period of their ſitting.*

THERE were many Members of the Houſe, who either from the juſtice and reaſon of the Requeſt, or ſeaſonably to comply with the ſenſe of the Army, to which they foreſaw they ſhould be at laſt compelled to ſubmit, ſeem'd to think it neceſſary, for abating the great Envy, which was confeſſedly againſt the Parliament throughout the Kingdom, that they ſhould be diſſolv'd, to the end that People might make a new Election of ſuch Perſons as they thought fit to truſt with their Liberty and Property, and whatſoever was deareſt to them. But Mr *Martyn* told them, "That he thought they might find "the beſt Advice from the Scripture, what they were to do "in this particular: that when *Moſes* was found upon the "River, and brought to *Pharoah*'s Daughter, ſhe took care that "the Mother might be found out, to whoſe care he might be "committed to be nurſed; which ſucceeded very happily. He ſaid, "Their Common-wealth was yet an Infant, of a weak "growth, and a very tender conſtitution; and therefore his "opinion was, that no body could be ſo fit to nurſe it, as the "Mother who brought it forth; and that they ſhould not "think of putting it under any other hands, until it had ob- "tained more years and vigour. To which he added, "That "they had another Infant too under their hands, the War with "*Holland*, which had thrived wonderfully under their Conduct; "but he much doubted that it would be quickly ſtrangled, if it "were taken out of their care, who had hitherto govern'd it. Harry Marſtyn's *Application of the ſtory of* Moſes *to this purpoſe.*

The Parliament determin'd, that they would not yet think of Diſſolving.

THESE Reaſons prevailed ſo far, that, whatſoever was ſaid to the contrary, it was determin'd, that the Parliament would not yet think of Diſſolving, nor would take it well, that any Perſons ſhould take the preſumption any more to make Overtures to them of that Nature, which was not fit for private and particular Perſons to meddle with: and to put a Seaſonable ſtop to any farther preſumption of that kind, they appointed a Committee "Speedily to prepare an Act of "Parliament for the filling up of their Houſe; and by which, "it ſhould be declared to be High Treaſon, for any Man to "propoſe, or contrive the changing of the preſent Govern-"ment ſettled, and eſtabliſhed.

THIS Bill being prepared by the Committee, they reſolv'd to paſs it with all poſſible expedition. So *Cromwell* clearly diſcern'd, that by this means they would never be perſwaded to part with that Authority and Power, which was ſo profitable, and ſo pleaſant to them: yet the Army declared they were not ſatisfied with the Determination, and continued their Applications to the ſame purpoſe, or to others as unagreeable to the ſenſe of the Houſe; and did all they could to infuſe the ſame Spirit into all the parts of the Kingdom, to make the Parliament odious, as it was already very abundantly; and *Cromwell* was well pleaſed that the Parliament ſhould expreſs as much prejudice againſt the Army.

ALL things being thus prepared, "*Cromwell* thought this a good ſeaſon to expoſe theſe Enemies of Peace to the indignation of the Nation; which, he knew, was generally weary of the War, and hoped, if that were at an end, that they ſhould be eaſed of the greateſt part of their Contributions, and other Impoſitions: thereupon, having adjuſted all things with the Chief Officers of the Army, who were at his Devotion, in the Month of *April*, that was in the year 1653, he came into the Houſe of Parliament in a Morning when it was ſitting, attended with the Officers who were likewiſe Members of the Houſe, and told them "That he came thither to put an "end to their Power and Authority; which they had ma-"naged ſo ill, that the Nation could be no otherwiſe preſerv'd "than by their Diſſolution; which he adviſed them, without "farther Debate, quietly to ſubmit unto.

Cromwell and his Officers diſſolve the Parliament.

THEREUPON another Officer, with ſome Files of Muſqueteers, enter'd into the Houſe, and ſtay'd there till all the Members walk'd out; *Cromwell* reproaching many of the Members by Name, as they went out of the Houſe, with their Vices and Corruptions, and amongſt the reſt, Sr *Harry Vane* with his breach of Faith and Corruption; and having given the Mace to an Officer to be ſafely kept, he cauſed the Doors to be lock'd up; and ſo diſſolv'd that Aſſembly, which had

had ſate almoſt thirteen years, and under whoſe Name he had wrought ſo much miſchief, and reduced three Kingdoms to his own entire obedience and ſubjection, without any example or Precedent in the Chriſtian World that could raiſe his Ambition to ſuch a preſumptuous Undertaking, and without any rational dependence upon the friendſhip of one Man who had any other intereſt to advance his deſigns, but what he had given him by preferring him in the War.

When He had thus proſperouſly paſſed this *Rubicon*, he loſt no time in publiſhing a Declaration of the grounds and reaſons of his Proceeding, for the ſatisfaction of the People: in which he put them in mind, how miraculouſly God had "Appear'd for them in reducing *Ireland* and *Scotland* to ſo "great a degree of *Peace*, and *England* to a perfect quiet, "whereby the Parliament had opportunity to give the Peo- "ple the harveſt of all their Labour, Blood, and Treaſure, and "to ſettle a due Liberty in reference to Civil and Spiritual "things, whereunto they were obliged by their Duty, and "thoſe great and wonderful things God had wrought for "them. But that they had made ſo little progreſs towards this "good end, that it was matter of much grief to the good Peo- "ple of the Land, who had thereupon apply'd themſelves to "the Army, expecting Redreſs by their means; who, being "very unwilling to meddle with the Civil Authority, thought "fit that ſome Officers, who were Members of the Parlia- "ment, ſhould move, and deſire the Parliament to proceed "vigorouſly in reforming what was amiſs in the Common- "wealth; and in ſettling it upon a Foundation of Juſtice and "Righteouſneſs: that they found this, and ſome other Endea- "vours they had uſed, produced no good effect, but rather "an averſeneſs to the things themſelves, with much bitterneſs "and averſion to the People of God, and his Spirit acting in "them: inſomuch as the Godly Party in the Army was now "become of no other Uſe, than to countenance the ends of a "corrupt Party, that deſired to perpetuate themſelves in the "ſupreme Government of the Nation: that, for the obviat- "ing thoſe Evils, the Officers of the Army had obtain'd ſe- "veral meetings with ſome Members of the Parliament, to "conſider what remedies might properly be apply'd; but that "it appear'd very evident unto them, that the Parliament, by "want of Attendance of many of their Members, and want "of Integrity in others who did attend, would never anſwer "thoſe ends, which God, his People, and the whole Nation, "expected from them; but that this Cauſe, which God had "ſo greatly bleſſed, muſt needs languiſh under their hands; "and by degrees be loſt, and the Lives, Liberties, and Com- "forts of his People, be deliver'd into their Enemies hands.

"All which being ſeriouſly and ſadly conſider'd by the honeſt "People of the Nation, as well as by the Army, it ſeem'd a "Duty incumbent upon them, who had ſeen ſo much of the "power and preſence of God, to conſider of ſome effectual "means, whereby to eſtabliſh Righteouſneſs and Peace in "theſe Nations: that, after much Debate, it had been judg- "ed neceſſary, that the ſupreme Government ſhould be, by "the Parliament, devolv'd for a time upon known Perſons, "fearing God, and of approv'd Integrity, as the moſt hope- "ful way to countenance all God's People, preſerve the Law, "and adminiſter Juſtice impartially; hoping thereby, that Peo- "ple might forget Monarchy, and underſtand their true In- "tereſt in the election of ſucceſſive Parliaments, and ſo the "Government might be ſettled upon a right baſis, without "hazard to this glorious Cauſe, or neceſſity to keep up Ar- "mies for the defence thereof: that being reſolv'd, if poſſi- "ble, to decline all extraordinary Courſes, they had prevailed "with about twenty Members of the Parliament to give them "a conference; with whom they debated the juſtice and ne- "ceſſity of that Propoſition; but found them of ſo contrary "an opinion, that they inſiſted upon the continuance of the "preſent Parliament, as it was then conſtituted, as the only "way to bring thoſe good things to paſs which they ſeem'd "to deſire: that they inſiſted upon this with ſo much vehe- "mence, and were ſo much tranſported with paſſion, that "they cauſed a Bill to be prepared for the perpetuating this "Parliament, and inveſting the ſupreme power in themſelves. "And for the preventing the conſummation of this Act, and "all the ſad and evil conſequences, which, upon the grounds "thereof, muſt have enſued, and whereby, at one blow, the "Intereſt of all honeſt Men, and of this glorious Cauſe, had "been in danger to be laid in the duſt, they had been neceſſi- "tated (though with much repugnance) to put an end to the "Parliament.

THERE needs not be any other deſcription of the temper of the Nation at that time, than the remembring that the diſſolution of that Body of Men who had reign'd ſo long over the three Nations, was generally very grateful and acceptable to the People, how unuſual ſoever the circumſtances thereof had been; and that this Declaration, which was not only, ſubſcribed by *Cromwell*, and his Council of Officers, but was own'd by the Admirals at Sea, and all the Captains of Ships, and by the Commanders of all the Land Forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, was look'd upon as very reaſonable; and the Declaration, that iſſued thereupon, by which the People were required to live peaceably, and quietly to ſubmit themſelves to the Government of the Council of State, which

ſhould

ſhould be nominated by the General, until ſuch a time as a Parliament, conſiſting of Perſons of approv'd fidelity and honeſty, could meet, and take upon them the Government of thoſe Nations, found an equal ſubmiſſion, and obedience.

THE Method he purſued afterwards, for the compoſing a Government, by firſt putting it into a moſt ridiculous Confuſion, and by deveſting himſelf of all pretences to Authority, and putting what he had no title to keep into the hands of Men ſo well choſen, that they ſhould ſhortly after delegate the power in form of Law to him for the preſervation of the Nation, was not leſs admirable; and puts me in mind of what *Seneca* ſaid of *Pompey*, "That he had brought the People of "*Rome* to that paſs, by magnifying their power and authority, *ut ſalvus eſſe non poſſit niſi beneficio ſervitutis*. And if *Cromwell* had not now made himſelf a Tyrant, all Bonds being broken, and the univerſal Guilt diverting all inclinations to return to the King's obedience, they muſt have periſh'd together in ſuch a confuſion, as would rather have expoſed them as a Prey to Forreigners, than diſpoſed them to the only reaſonable way for their preſervation; there being no Man that durſt mention the King, or the old form of Government.

IT was upon the twentieth of *April* that the Parliament had been diſſolv'd; and though *Cromwell* found that the People were ſatisfied in it, and the Declaration publiſh'd thereupon, yet he knew, it would be neceſſary to provide ſome other viſible power to ſettle the Government, than the Council of Officers; all whom he was not ſure he ſhould be able long entirely to govern, many of them having clear other Notions of a Republick than he was willing *England* ſhould be brought to. A Parliament was ſtill a name of more veneration than any other aſſembly of Men was like to be, and the contempt the laſt was fallen into, was like to teach the next to behave it ſelf with more diſcretion. However the Ice was broken for diſſolving them, when they ſhould do otherwiſe; yet he was not ſo well ſatisfied in the general temper, as to truſt the Election of them to the humour and inclination of the People.

Cromwell and his Officers chooſe a Parliament.

HE reſolv'd therefore to chooſe them himſelf, that he might with the more Juſtice unmake them when he ſhould think fit; and with the Advice of his Council of Officers, for he made yet no other Council of State, he made choice of a number of Men conſiſting of above one hundred Perſons, who ſhould meet as a Parliament to ſettle the Government of the Nation. It can hardly be believ'd that ſo wild a Notion ſhould fall into any Man's imagination, that ſuch a People ſhould be fit to contribute towards any ſettlement, or that from their Actions any thing could reſult, that might advance his particular deſign. Yet upon the view and conſi-

deration of the Persons made choice of, many did conclude, "That he had made his own scheme entirely to himself; and "though he communicated it with no Man that was known, "concluded it the most natural way to ripen, and produce "the Effects, it did afterwards, to the end he proposed to "himself.

Conditions and Qualities of the Persons nominated.

THERE were amongst them divers of the Quality and Degree of Gentlemen, and who had Estates, and such a proportion of credit and reputation, as could consist with the guilt they had contracted. But much the Major part of them consisted of inferior Persons, of no Quality, or Name, Artificers of the meanest Trades, known only by their gifts in Praying and Preaching; which was now practised by all degrees of Men, but Scholars, throughout the Kingdom. In which number, that there may be a better judgment made of the rest, it will not be amiss to name one, from whom that Parliament it self was afterwards denominated, who was *Praise-God* (that was his Christian Name) *Barebone*, a Leather-seller in *Fleet-street*, from whom (he being an eminent Speaker in it) it was afterwards call'd *Praise-God Barebone*'s Parliament. In a word they were generally a pack of weak senseless Fellows, fit only to bring the Name, and Reputation of Parliaments, lower than it was yet.

From one of the Members this was nick-named Praise-God Bareborne's *Parliament.*

Cromwell *calls them together by his own Warrant to meet* July 4.

IT was fit these new Men should be brought together by some new way: and a very new way it was; for *Cromwell* by his Warrants, directed to every one of them, telling them "Of the necessity of dissolving the late Parliament, and of an "equal necessity, that the Peace, Safety, and good Govern-"ment of the Common-wealth should be provided for, and "therefore that he had, by the Advice of his Council of Of-"ficers, nominated divers Persons fearing God, and of ap-"prov'd fidelity and honesty, to whom the great Charge and "Trust of so weighty Affairs was to be committed, and that "having good assurance of their love to, and courage for God, "and the Interest of his Cause, and the good People of this "Common-wealth; he concluded in these words, "I *Oliver* "*Cromwell*, Captain General and Commander in Chief of all "the Forces raised, or to be raised within this Common-"wealth, do hereby summon and require you personally to "be, and appear at the Council Chamber at *White-Hall*, upon "the fourth day of *July* next, then and there to take upon "you the said Trust. And you are hereby call'd, and ap-"pointed to serve as a Member of the County of *&c.* Upon this wild Summons, the Persons so nominated appear'd at the Council Chamber upon the fourth of *July*, which was near three Months after the Dissolution of the former Parliament.

CROMWELL

CROMWELL with his Council of Officers was ready to receive them, and made them a long discourse of "The fear "of God, and the honour due to his Name, full of Texts of "Scripture; and remember'd "The wonderful Mercies of God "to this Nation, and the continued Series of Providence, "by which he had appear'd in carrying on his Cause; and "bringing Affairs into that present glorious Condition, where-"in they now were. He put them in mind of "The noble "Actions of the Army in the famous Victory of *Worcester*, of "the Applications they had made to the Parliament, for a "good settlement of all the Affairs of the Common-wealth, "the neglect whereof made it absolutely necessary to dissolve "it. He assured them by many Arguments, some of which were urged out of Scripture, "That they had a very lawful "Call to take upon them the supreme Authority of the Na-"tion, and concluded with a very earnest desire, "That great "tenderness might be used towards all Conscientious Persons, "of what judgment soever they appear'd to be.

Cromwell speaks to them, and delivers them an Instrument for their Authority.

WHEN he had finish'd his Discouse, he deliver'd to them an Instrument engrossed in Parchment under his Hand and Seal, whereby, with the advice of his Council of Officers, he did devolve, and intrust the supreme Authority of this Common wealth into the hands of those Persons therein men-tion'd; and declar'd, "That they, or any forty of them were "to be held and acknowledged the supreme Authority of the "Nation, to which all Persons within the same, and the Ter-"ritories thereunto belonging, were to yield Obedience and "Subjection to the third day of the Month of *November*, "which should be in the year 1654, which was about a year and three Months from the time that he spoke to them; and three Months before the time prescrib'd should expire, they were to make choice of other Persons to succeed them, whose Power and Authority should not exceed one year, and then they were likewise to provide, and take care for a like Suc-cession in the Government. Being thus invested with this Authority, they repair'd to the Parliament House, and made choice of one *Rouse* to be their Speaker, an old Gentleman of *Devon-shire*, who had been a Member of the former Parlia-ment, and in that time been preferr'd and made Provost of the College of *Eaton*, which Office he then enjoy'd, with an opinion of having some knowledge in the Latin and Greek Tongues, but of a very mean understanding, but throughly engaged in the Guilt of the Times.

They repair to the Parliament House, and choose Rouse their Speaker.

AT their first coming together, some of them had the Mo-desty to doubt, that they were not in many respects so well qualified as to take upon them the Style and Title of a Par-liament. But that Modesty was quickly subdued, and they

They assume the Name of a Parliament:

were easily perswaded to assume that Title, and to consider themselves as the supreme Authority in the Nation. These Men thus brought together continued in this Capacity near six Months to the amazement, and even mirth of the People.

Their Actings and Consultations.

In which time they never enter'd into any grave and serious Debate, that might tend to any settlement, but generally expressed great sharpness and animosity against the Clergy, and against all Learning, out of which they thought the Clergy had grown, and still would grow.

THERE were now no Bishops for them to be angry with; they had already reduced all that Order to the lowest distress. But their quarrel was against all who had called themselves Ministers, and who, by being called so, receiv'd Tythes, and respect from their Neighbours. They look'd upon the Function it self to be Anti-Christian, and the Persons to be burthensome to the People, and the requiring, and payment of Tythes to be absolute Judaism, and they thought fit that they should be abolish'd altogether; and that there might not for the time to come be any race of People who might revive those pretences, they proposed "That all Lands belonging to "the Universities, and Colleges in those Universities, might "be sold, and the Monies that should arise thereby, be dis-"posed for the Publick Service, and to ease the People from "the payment of Taxes and Contributions.

WHEN they had tired and perplexed themselves so long in such Debates, assoon as they were met in the morning upon the twelfth of *December*, and before many of them were come who were like to dissent from the Motion, one of them stood up and declar'd, "That he did believe, they were not equal "to the Burthen that was laid upon them, and therefore that "they might dissolve themselves, and deliver back their Au-"thority into Their Hands from whom they had receiv'd it;

On the 12th of Decemb. *they delivered up their power to* Cromwell.

which being presently consented to, their Speaker, with those who were of that mind, went to *White-Hall*, and redeliver'd to *Cromwell* the Instrument they had receiv'd from him, acknowledged their own Impotency, and besought him to take care of the Common-wealth.

BY this frank Donation He and his Council of Officers were once more possessed of the Supreme Soveraign Power of the Nation. And in few days after, his Council were too modest to share with him in this Royal Authority, but declar'd, "That the Government of the Common-wealth should "reside in a single Person; that That Person should be *Oliver*

Cromwell and his Council of Officers make him Lord Protector.

"*Cromwell*, Captain General of all the Forces in *England*, "*Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and that his Title should be *Lord* "*Protector* of the Common-wealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and "*Ireland*, and of the Dominions and Territories thereunto "belonging;

"belonging; and that He ſhould have a Council of one and "twenty Perſons to be Aſſiſtant to him in the Government.

MOST Men did now conclude, that the folly and ſottiſhneſs of this laſt Aſſembly was ſo much foreſeen, that, from their very firſt coming together, it was determin'd what ſhould follow their Diſſolution. For the method that ſucceeded, could hardly have been compoſed in ſo ſhort a time after, by Perſons who had not conſulted upon the contingency ſome time before. It was upon the twelfth of *December*, that the ſmall Parliament was diſſolv'd, when many of the Members, who came to the Houſe as to their uſual conſultations, found that they who came before, were gone to *White-Hall* to be diſſolv'd; which the other never thought of: And upon the ſixteenth day, the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, were ſent for to attend *Cromwell* and his Council to *Weſtminſter-Hall*; it being then Vacation-time; and being come thither, the Commiſſioners ſitting upon their uſual Seat, and not knowing why they were ſent for, the Declaration of the Council of Officers was read, whereby *Cromwell* was made Protector; who ſtood in the Court uncover'd, whilſt what was contain'd in a piece of Parchment was read, which was call'd the *Inſtrument of Government*; whereby it was ordain'd, "That the Protector ſhould "call a Parliament once in every three years; that the firſt "Parliament ſhould be Conven'd upon the third day of *September* following, which would be in the year 1654; and "that he ſhould not diſſolve any Parliament once met, till "they had ſate five Months; that ſuch Bills as ſhould be pre-"ſented to him by the Parliament, if they ſhould not be con-"firm'd by him within twenty days, ſhould paſs without "him, and be look'd upon as Laws: That he ſhould have a "ſelect Council to aſſiſt him, which ſhould not exceed the "Number of one and twenty, nor be leſs than thirteen: That "immediately after his death, the Council ſhould chooſe an-"other Protector, before they roſe: That no Protector after "him ſhould be General of the Army: That the Protector "ſhould have power to make Peace and War: That, with the "conſent of his Council, he ſhould make Laws, which ſhould "be binding to the Subjects during the intervals of Parliament.

December 16. *He is Inſtall'd in* Weſtminſter-Hall *according to an Inſtrument of Government;*

The Subſtance of it.

WHILST this was reading, *Cromwell* had his hand upon the Bible; and it being read, he took his Oath, "That he "would not violate any thing that was contain'd in that In-"ſtrument of Government; but would obſerve, and cauſe "the ſame to be obſerv'd; and in all things, according to the "beſt of his underſtanding, govern the Nation according to "the Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms, ſeeking Peace and cauſing "Juſtice and Law to be equally adminiſter'd.

Cromwell *takes an Oath to obſerve it.*

THIS

THIS new invented Ceremony being in this manner perform'd, He himself was cover'd, and all the rest bare; and *Lambert*, who was then the second Person in the Army, carried the Sword before his Highness (which was the Style he took from thenceforth) to his Coach, all they whom he call'd into it, sitting bare: and so he return'd to *White-Hall*; and immediately Proclamation was made by a Herald, in the *Palace-Yard* at *Westminster*, "That the late Parliament having "dissolv'd themselves, and resign'd their whole Power and "Authority, the Government of the Common-wealth of "*England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by a Lord Protector, and "successive Triennial Parliaments, was now establish'd: And "whereas *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain General of all the Forces "of the Common-wealth, is declared Lord Protector of the "said Nations, and had accepted thereof, publication was "now made of the same; and all Persons, of what Quality "or Condition soever, in any of the said three Nations, were "strictly charged and commanded to take notice thereof, and "to conform and submit themselves to the Government so "establish'd; and all Sheriffs, Mayors, *&c.* were requir'd to "publish this Proclamation, to the end that none might have "cause to pretend Ignorance therein. Which Proclamation was at the same time publish'd in *Cheapside* by the Lord Mayor of *London*; and, with all possible expedition, by the Sheriffs, and other Officers, throughout *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. And in some time after, the City of *London* invited their new Protector to a very splendid Entertainment at *Grocers-Hall*, upon an *Ash-Wednesday*; the Streets being railed, and the Solemnity of his Reception such as had been at any time perform'd to the King: And He, as like a King, graciously conferr'd the honour of Knighthood upon the Lord Mayor at his departure.

He is proclaim'd Protector.

The City invites him to Grocer's-Hall.

IN this manner, and with so little pains, this extraordinary Man, without any other reason than because he had a mind to it, and without the assistance, and against the desire of all Noble Persons or Men of Quality, or of any Number of Men, who, in the beginning of the Troubles, were possessed of three hundred pounds Lands by the year, mounted himself into the Throne of three Kingdoms, without the Name of King, but with a greater Power and Authority than had ever been exercised, or claim'd by any King; and receiv'd greater evidence and manifestation of respect, and esteem, from all the Kings and Princes in *Christendom*, than had ever been shew'd to any Monarch of those Nations: which was so much the more notorious, in that they all abhorr'd him, when they trembled at his Power, and courted his Friendship.

THOUGH

THOUGH during this laſt year's unſettlement in *England*, *Cromwell* had, *ex plenitudine poteſtatis*, taken care that there was a good Winter Guard of Ships in the *Downs*, yet the *Dutch* had enjoy'd a very fruitful harveſt of Trade during that confuſion, and ſuſpenſion of Power; and had ſent out their Fleets of Merchant Men under a Convoy, by the North of *Scotland*; and, by the return of that Convoy, receiv'd their Fleet from the *Baltick* with ſecurity: So that, upon the hope thoſe domeſtick contentions in *England* would not be ſo ſoon compoſed, they begun to recover their Spirits again. But *Cromwell* had no ſooner broke the long Parliament, but, with great diligence, he cauſed a ſtrong Fleet to be made ready againſt the Spring; and committed the Command thereof to three Admirals joyntly; *Blake*, a Man well known, but not thought entirely enough devoted to *Cromwell*; *Monk*, whom he called out of *Scotland* as his own Creature; and *Dean*, a meer Sea-man, grown, from a common Mariner, to the reputation of a bold and excellent Officer.

A Fleet this year 1653. ſet forth under three Admirals.

THIS Fleet in the beginning of *June* in the year 1653, met with the *Dutch* about the middle Seas over between *Dover* and *Zeeland*; and made what haſte they could to engage them. But the Wind not being favourable, it was noon before the Fight begun; which continued very ſharp till the night parted them, without any viſible advantage to either ſide, ſave that *Dean*, one of the *Engliſh* Admirals, was kill'd by a Cannon ſhot from the Rear-Admiral of the *Dutch*. The next morning, the *Dutch* having the advantage of the ſmall Wind that was, the *Engliſh* charged ſo furiouſly upon the thickeſt part of them, without diſcharging any of their Guns till they were at a very ſmall diſtance, that they broke their Squadrons; and in the end forced them to fly, and make all the Sail they could for their own Coaſts, leaving behind them eleven of their Ships; which were all taken; beſides ſix which were ſunk. The Execution on the *Dutch* was very great, as was likewiſe the number of the Priſoners, as well Officers as Soldiers. The loſs of the *Engliſh* was greateſt in their General *Dean*: there was, beſides him, but one Captain, and about two hundred Common Sea-men kill'd: the Number of the wounded was greater; nor did they loſe one Ship, nor were ſo diſabled but that they follow'd with the whole Fleet to the Coaſt of *Holland*, whither the other fled; and being got into the *Vlie*, and the *Texel*, the *Engliſh* for ſome time block'd them up in their own Harbors, taking all ſuch Ships as came bound for thoſe parts.

The Dutch *beaten at Sea in* June.

THIS great Defeat ſo humbled the States, that they made all poſſible haſte to ſend four Commiſſioners into *England* to mediate for a Treaty, and a Ceſſation of Arms; who were receiv'd

The Dutch *ſend four Commiſſioners to treat of Peace.*

receiv'd very loftily by *Cromwell*, and with ſome reprehenſion for their want of warineſs in entring into ſo unequal a Contention: yet He declar'd a gracious inclination to a Treaty, till the concluſion whereof he could admit no Ceſſation; which being known in *Holland*, they would not ſtay ſo long under the reproach and diſadvantage of being beſieged, and ſhut up in their Ports; but made all poſſible haſte to prepare another Fleet, ſtrong enough to remove the *Engliſh* from their Coaſts; which they believ'd was the beſt Expedient to advance their Treaty: and there cannot be a greater Inſtance of the opulency of that People, than that they ſhould be able, after ſo many loſſes, and ſo late a great Defeat, in ſo ſhort a time to ſet out a Fleet ſtrong enough to viſit thoſe who had ſo lately overcome them, and who ſhut them within their Ports.

THEIR Admiral *Trump* had, with ſome of the Fleet, retired into the *Wierings*, at too great a diſtance from the other Ports for the *Engliſh* Fleet to divide it ſelf. He had, with a marvellous Induſtry, cauſed his hurt Ships to be repair'd; and more ſevere puniſhment to be inflicted on thoſe who had behaved themſelves cowardly, than had ever been uſed in that State. And the States publiſh'd ſo great and ample rewards to all Officers and Sea-men who would, in that conjuncture, repair to their Service, that by the end of *July*, within leſs than two Months after their Defeat, he came out of the *Wierings* with a Fleet of ninety and five Men of War; which aſſoon as the *Engliſh* had notice of, they made towards him. But the Wind riſing, they were forced to ſtand more to Sea, for fear of the Sands and Shelves upon that Coaſt. Whereupon *Van Trump*, all that Night, ſtood into the *Texel*; where he joyn'd five and twenty more of their beſt Ships; and with this Addition, which made an hundred and twenty Sail, he faced the *Engliſh*; who, being at this time under the Command of *Monk* alone, kept ſtill to the Sea; and having got a little more room, and the Weather being a little clearer, tack'd about, and were receiv'd by the *Dutch* with great courage and gallantry.

Trump *comes to Sea with another Fleet before the end of* July.

THE Battle continued very hot, and bloody on both ſides, from ſix of the Clock in the Morning till one in the Afternoon; when the Admiral of *Holland*, the famous *Van Trump*, whilſt he very ſignally perform'd the Office of a brave and bold Commander, was ſhot with a Muſquet Bullet into the heart, of which he fell dead without ſpeaking word. This blow broke the courage of the reſt; who ſeeing many of their Companions burnt and ſunk, after having endured very hot Service, before the Evening, fled, and made all the Sail they could towards the *Texel*; the *Engliſh* were not in a condition

Another Sea Fight; Trump *ſlain*; *the* Engliſh *got the Victory.*

dition to purſue them; but found themſelves obliged to retire to their own Coaſt, both to preſerve and mend their maim'd and tore Ships, and refreſh their wounded Men.

THIS Battle was the moſt bloody that had been yet fought, both ſides rather endeavouring the deſtruction of their Enemies Fleet than the taking their Ships. On the *Hollander's* part, between twenty and thirty of their Ships of War were fired, or ſunk, and above one thouſand Priſoners taken. The Victory coſt the *Engliſh* dear too; for four hundred common Men, and eight Captains, were ſlain out right, and above ſeven hundred common Men, and five Captains, wounded. But they loſt only one Ship, which was burn'd; and two or three more, though carried home, were diſabled for farther Service. The moſt ſenſible part of the loſs to the *Dutch* was the death of their Admiral *Van Trump*, who, in reſpect of his Maritime experience, and the frequent Actions he had been engaged in, might very well be reckon'd amongſt the moſt eminent Commanders at Sea of that Age, and to whoſe memory his Country is farther indebted than they have yet acknowledged.

THIS was the laſt Engagement at Sea between the two Common-wealths: for as the *Dutch* were, by this laſt Defeat, and loſs of their brave Admiral, totally diſpirited, and gave their Commiſſioners at *London* order to proſecute the Peace upon any conditions, ſo *Cromwell*, being by this time become Protector, was weary enough of ſo chargeable a War, and knew he had much to do to ſettle the Government at home, and that he might chooſe more convenient Enemies abroad, who would neither be able to defend themſelves as well, or to do him ſo much harm, as the *Hollanders* had done, and could do. And therefore when he had drawn the *Dutch* to accept of ſuch conditions as he thought fit to give them; among which one was, "That they ſhould not ſuffer any of the King's Party, "or any Enemy to the Common-wealth of *England*, to re- "ſide within their Dominions: and another, which was contain'd in a ſecret Article, to which the Great Seal of the States was affix'd, by which they obliged themſelves "Never "to admit the Prince of *Orange* to be their State-holder, Ge- "neral, or Admiral; and likewiſe to deliver up the Iſland of "*Polerone* in the *Eaſt-Indies* (which they had taken from the *Engliſh* in the time of King *James*, and uſurped it ever ſince) "into the hands of the *Eaſt India Engliſh* Company again; and to pay a good Sum of Money for the old barbarous violence exerciſed ſo many years ſince at *Amboyna*; for which the two laſt Kings could never obtain ſatisfaction and reparation: about the middle of *April* 1654, He made a Peace with the States General, with all the advantages he could deſire, having

Cromwell *makes Peace with the* Dutch Apr. 1654.

ing indeed all the Persons of power and interest there, fast bound to him upon their joynt interest.

He makes Portugal send an Embassadour for Peace.

And having now render'd himself terrible abroad, He forced *Portugal* to send an Embassadour to beg Peace, and to submit to expiate the offence they had committed in receiving Prince *Rupert*, by the payment of a great Sum of Money; and brought the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* to sue for his Allyance. He suspended for a time to choose a new Enemy, that he might make himself as much obey'd at home, as he was fear'd abroad: and in order to that, he prosecuted all those who had been of the King's Party with the utmost Rigour; laid new impositions upon them, and upon every light rumour of a Conspiracy, clapp'd up all those whom he thought fit to suspect, into close Prisons; enjoyn'd others not to stir from their own Houses, and banish'd all who had ever been in Arms for the King, from the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*; and laid other penalties upon them, contrary to the Articles granted to them when they gave up their Arms, and to the indemnity upon making their Compositions.

He persecutes the King's Party.

The discontents were general over the whole Kingdom, and among all sorts of People, of what Party soever. The Presbyterians preach'd boldly against the Liberty of Conscience, and the monstrous Licence that sprung from thence; and they who enjoy'd that Licence were as unsatisfied with the Government as any of the rest; talk'd more loudly, and threaten'd the Person of *Cromwell* more than any. But into these distempers *Cromwell* was not inquisitive; nor would give those Men an opportunity to talk, by calling them in question, who, he knew, would say more than he was willing any body should hear; but intended to mortify those unruly Spirits at the charge of the King's Party, and with the Spectacle of their suffering upon any the most trivial occasion. And if, in this general licence of discourse, any Man who was suspected to wish well to the King, let fall any light word against the Government, he was sure to be cast in Prison, and to be pursued with all possible severity and cruelty: and he could not want frequent opportunities of revenge this way. It was the greatest consolation to miserable Men, who had, in themselves or their Friends, been undone by their Loyalty, to meet together, and lament their conditions: and this brought on invectives against the Person of *Cromwell*; Wine, and good Fellowship, and the continuance of the discourse, disposing them to take notice of the universal hatred that the whole Nation had of him, and to fancy how easy it would be to destroy him. And commonly there was, in all those meetings, some corrupted Person of the Party, who fomented most the discourse, and, for a vile recompence, betray'd his Companions

The general discontents in the Nation.

ons, and, inform'd of all, and more than had been ſaid. Whereupon a new Plot was diſcover'd againſt the Common-wealth and the Perſon of the Protector, and a high Court of Juſtice was preſently erected to try the Criminals; which rarely abſolv'd any Man who was brought before them. But to this kind of Trial they never expoſed any Man but thoſe of the King's Party; the other, of whom they were more afraid, had too many Friends to ſuffer them to be brought before ſuch a Tribunal; which had been firſt erected to murder the King himſelf, and continued to root out all who adher'd to him. No Man who had ever been againſt the King (except he became afterwards for him) was ever brought before that extravagant Power; but ſuch were remitted to the Trial of the Law by Juries, which ſeldom condemn'd any.

A High Court of Juſtice erected a month after the Peace with Holland.

THE very next Month after the Peace was made, for the better eſtabliſhment of *Cromwell*'s Empire, a High Court of Juſtice was erected for the Trial of Perſons accuſed of "Holding correſpondence with *Charles Stewart* (which was the Style they allow'd the King) "And for having a deſign "againſt the life of the Protector, to ſeiſe upon the Tower, "and to proclaim the King. The chief Perſons they accuſed of this were, Mr *Gerrard*, a young Gentleman of a good Family, who had been an Enſign in the King's Army, but was not at preſent above twenty two years of Age: the other, one Mr *Vowel*; who kept a School, and taught many Boys about *Iſlington*. Mr *Gerrard* was charged with "Having been at *Pa*-"*ris*, and having there ſpoken with the King; which he confeſſed; and declared "That he went to *Paris* upon a buſineſs "that concern'd himſelf (which he named) "and when he "had diſpatched it, and was to return for *England*, he deſired "the Lord *Gerrard*, his Kinſman, to preſent him to the King, "that he might kiſs his hand; which he did in a large Room, "where were many preſent; and that, when he asked his Ma-"jeſty, whether he would command him any Service into "*England*? his Majeſty bid him to commend him to his "Friends there, and to charge them that they ſhould be quiet, "and not engage themſelves in any Plots; which muſt prove "ruinous to them, and could do the King no good: which was very true: for his Majeſty had obſerv'd ſo much of the temper of the People at his being at *Worceſter*, and his concealment after, the fear they were under, and how fruitleſs any Inſurrection muſt be, that he endeavour'd nothing more than to divert, and ſuppreſs all inclinations that way. However this High Court of Juſtice receiv'd proof, that Mr *Gerard* and Mr *Vowel* had been preſent with ſome other Gentlemen in a Tavern, where diſcourſe had been held, "How eaſy "a thing it was to kill the Protector, and at the ſame time to

Mr Gerrard *and Mr* Vowel *tried before them.*

"ſeiſe

"seise upon the Tower of *London*, and that, if at the same "time the King were proclaim'd, the City of *London* would "presently declare for his Majesty, and no body would op- "pose him.

They are condemn'd. Mr Vowel executed at Charing-Cross: his magnanimous behaviour.

UPON this Evidence, these two Gentlemen were condemn'd to be hang'd; and upon the tenth of *July*, about two Months after they had been in Prison, a Gallows was erected at *Charing-Cross*; whither Mr *Vowel* was brought; who was a Person utterly unknown to the King, and to any Person entrusted by him, but very worthy to have his name, and memory preserv'd in the List of those who shew'd most magnanimity and courage in sacrificing their Lives for the Crown. He expressed a marvellous contempt of death; "Which, he said, "He suffer'd without having committed any fault. He professed his duty to the King, and his reverence for the Church; and earnestly and pathetically advised the People to return to their fidelity to both; "Which, he told them "they "would at last be compell'd to do after all their Sufferings. He addressed himself most to the Soldiers; told them, "How "unworthily they prostituted themselves to serve the Ambi- "tion of an unworthy Tyrant; and conjured them "To for- "sake Him, and to serve the King; which, he was sure, they "would at last do. And so having devoutly recommended the King, and the Kingdom, and Himself, to God in very pious Prayers, he ended his Life with as much Christian Resolution, as can be expected from the most composed Conscience.

Mr Gerard beheaded on Tower-Hill in the afternoon of the same day.

THE Protector was prevail'd with to shew more respect to Mr *Gerard* in causing him to be beheaded, who was brought the Afternoon of the same day to a Scaffold upon the *Tower-Hill*. But they were so ill pleased with the behaviour of Him who suffered in the Morning, that they would not permit the other to speak to the People, but pressed him to discover all the Secrets of the Plot and Conspiracy. He told them, "That "if he had a hundred lives, he would lose them all to do the "King any service; and was now willing to die upon that "suspicion; but that he was very innocent of what was charg- "ed against him; that he had not enter'd into, or consented "to any Plot or Conspiracy, nor given any countenance to "any discourse to that purpose; and offer'd again to speak to the People, and to magnify the King: upon which they would not suffer him to proceed; and thereupon, with great and undaunted courage, he laid down his head upon the Block.

The same day and place the Portugal Embassadour's Brother beheaded.

THE same day was concluded with a very exemplary piece of Justice, and of a very different nature from the other two. The Embassadour of *Portugal* had a very splendid Equipage, and in his Company his Brother *Don Pantaleon Sa*, a Knight of

of *Malta*, and a Man eminent in many great Actions; who out of curiosity accompanied his Brother in this Embassy, that he might see *England*. This Gentleman was of a haughty and imperious nature; and one day being in the new Exchange, upon a suddain accident, and mistake, had a Quarrel with that Mr *Gerrard*, whom we now left without his Head; who had then return'd some negligence and contempt to the Rodomontadoes of the *Portuguese*, and had left him sensible of receiving some affront. Whereupon the *Don* repair'd thither again the next day, with many Servants, better arm'd, and provided for any Encounter, imagining he should there find his former Adversary, who did not expect that visit. But the *Portuguese* not distinguishing Persons, and finding many Gentlemen walking there, and, amongst the rest, one he believ'd very like the other, he thought he was not to lose the occasion, and enter'd into a new Quarrel; in which a Gentleman utterly unacquainted with what had formerly passed, and walking there accidentally, was kill'd, and others hurt; upon which, the People rising from all the Neighbour places, *Don Pantaleon* thought fit to make his retreat to his Brother's House; which he did, and caused the Gates to be lock'd, and put all the Servants in Arms to defend the House against the People; which had pursued him, and flock'd now together from all parts to apprehend those who had caused the disorder, and had kill'd a Gentleman.

The Embassadour knew nothing of the affair, but look'd upon himself as affronted, and assaulted by a rude Multitude; and took care to defend his House till the Justice should allay the Tumult. *Cromwell* was quickly advertised of the insolence, and sent an Officer with Soldiers to demand and seise upon all the Persons who had been engaged in the Action: and so the Embassadour came to be inform'd of the truth of the story, with which he was exceedingly afflicted and astonish'd. The Officer demanded the Person of his Brother, who was well known, and the rest of those who were present, to be deliver'd to him, without which he would break open the House, and find them wherever they were conceal'd. The Embassadour demanded the Privilege that was due to his House by the Law of Nations, and which he would defend against any Violence with his own Life, and the Lives of all his Family; but finding the Officer resolute, and that he should be too weak in the Encounter, he desired respite till he might send to the Protector; which was granted to him. He complain'd of the Injury that was done him, and desired an Audience. *Cromwell* sent him word, "That a Gentleman "had been murther'd, and many others hurt; and that Justice "must be satisfied; and therefore required that all the Per-

"ſons engaged might be deliver'd into the hands of his Offi-
"cer; without which, if he ſhould withdraw the Soldiers,
"and deſiſt the requiring it, the People would pull down the
"Houſe, and execute Juſtice themſelves; of which he would
"not anſwer for the effect. When this was done, he ſhould
"have an Audience, and all the ſatisfaction it was in his power
"to give. The Embaſſadour deſired "That his Brother, and
"the reſt, might remain in his Houſe, and he would be re-
"ſponſible, and produce them before the Juſtice as the time
"ſhould be aſſign'd. But nothing would ſerve but the delivery of the Perſons, and the People encreaſed their cry "That they
"would pull down the Houſe. Whereupon the Embaſſadour was compell'd to deliver up his Brother, and the reſt of the Perſons; who were all ſent Priſoners to *Newgate*. The Embaſſadour uſed all the Inſtances he could for his Brother, being willing to leave the reſt to the mercy of the Law; but could receive no other anſwer, but "That Juſtice muſt be done; and Juſtice was done to the full; for they were all brought to their Tryal at the Seſſions at *Newgate*, and there ſo many of them condemn'd to be hang'd as were found guilty. The reſt of thoſe who were condemn'd, were executed at *Tiburn*; and *Don Pantaleon* himſelf was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower*-Hill, as ſoon as Mr *Gerard* was executed; where he loſt his head with leſs grace than his Antagoniſt had done.

The condition of the Protector in reſpect of his Neighbours.

THOUGH the Protector had nothing now to do but at home, *Holland* having accepted Peace upon his own terms, *Portugal* bought it at a full price, and upon an humble Submiſſion, *Denmark* being contented with ſuch an Allyance as he was pleaſed to make with them, and *France* and *Spain* contending, by their Embaſſadours, which ſhould render themſelves moſt acceptable to him; *Scotland* lying under a heavy Yoke by the ſtrict Government of *Monk*, who after the Peace with the *Dutch* was ſent back to govern that Province, which was reduced under the Government of the *Engliſh* Laws, and their Kirk, and Kirkmen, entirely ſubdued to the obedience of the State with reference to Aſſemblies, or Synods; *Ireland* being confeſſedly ſubdued, and no oppoſition made to the Protector's Commands; ſo that Commiſſions were ſent to divide all the Lands which had belong'd to the *Iriſh*, or to thoſe *Engliſh* who had adhered to the King, amongſt thoſe Adventurers who had ſupplied Money for the War, and the Soldiers and Officers; who were in great Arrears for their pay, and who receiv'd liberal Aſſignations in Lands; one whole Province being reſerved for the *Iriſh* to be confined to; and all theſe Diviſions made under the Government of his younger Son, *Harry Cromwell*, whom he ſent thither as his Lieutenant of that Kingdom; who liv'd in the full Grandeur of the Office;

The State of Scotland *under him*:

Of Ireland.

notwith-

notwithstanding all this, *England* prov'd not yet so towardly as he expected. *Vane*, and the most considerable Men of the Independent Party, from the time he had turn'd them out of the Parliament, and so dissolv'd it, retired quietly to their Houses in the Country; poyson'd the Affections of their Neighbours towards the Government; and lost nothing of their credit with the People; yet carried themselves so warily, that they did nothing to disturb the Peace of the Nation, or to give *Cromwell* any advantage against them upon which to call them in question. *Disputes among his own Party.*

THERE were another less wary, because a more desperate Party, which were the Levellers; many whereof had been the most active Agitators in the Army, who had executed his Orders and Designs in incensing the Army against the Parliament, and had been at that time his sole Confidents and Bedfellows; who, from the time that he assumed the Title of Protector, which to them was as odious as that of King, professed a mortal hatred to his Person; and he well knew both these People had too much credit in his Army, and with some principal Officers of it. Of these Men he stood in more fear than of all the King's Party; of which he had in truth very little apprehension, though he colour'd many of the preparations he made against the other, as if provided against the dangers threaten'd from them. *especially the Levellers.*

BUT the time drew near now, when he was obliged by the Instrument of Government, and upon his Oath, to call a Parliament; which seem'd to him the only means left to compose the minds of the People to an entire submission to his Government. In order to this Meeting, though he did not observe the old course in sending Writs out to all the little Boroughs throughout *England*, which use to send Burgesses (by which Method some single Counties send more Members to the Parliament, than six other Counties do) he thought he took a more equal way by appointing more Knights for every Shire to be chosen, and fewer Burgesses; whereby the number of the whole was much lessen'd; and yet, the People being left to their own Election, it was not by him thought an ill temperament, and was then generally look'd upon as an alteration fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time. And so, upon the receipt of his Writs, Elections were made accordingly in all places; and such Persons, for the most part, chosen and return'd, as were believ'd to be the best affected to the present Government, and to those who had any Authority in it; there being strict Order given, "That "no Person who had ever been against the Parliament dur- "ing the time of the Civil War, or the Sons of any such "Persons, should be capable of being chosen to sit in that *He calls a Parliament after a new Method.*

"Parliament; nor were any ſuch Perſons made choice of.

His Parliament meets Sept. 3. 1654.

THE day of their meeting was the third of *September* in the year 1654, within leſs than a year after he had been declared Protector; when, after they had been at a Sermon in the Abby at *Weſtminſter*, they all came into the Painted Chamber; where his Highneſs made them a large diſcourſe; and told them "That that Parliament was ſuch a Congregation of

The Subſtance of his Speech to them:

"wiſe, prudent, and diſcreet Perſons, that *England* had ſcarce "ſeen the like: that he ſhould forbear relating to them the "Series of God's Providence all along to that time, becauſe it "was well known to them; and only declare to them, that "the erection of his preſent power was a ſuitable providence "to the reſt, by ſhewing what a condition theſe Nations were "in at its erection: that Then every Man's heart was againſt "another's, every Man's intereſt divided againſt another's, "and almoſt every thing grown Arbitrary: that there was "grown up a general contempt of God and Chriſt, the Grace "of God turn'd into wantonneſs, and his Spirit made a Cloak "for all wickedneſs and prophaneneſs, nay, that the Ax was "even laid to the root of the Miniſtry, and ſwarms of Jeſuits "were continually wafted over hither to conſume, and deſtroy "the Welfare of *England*: that the Nation was then likewiſe "engaged in a deep War with *Portugal*, *Holland*, and *France*, "ſo that the whole Nation was one heap of confuſion; but "that this preſent Government was calculated for the People's "Intereſt, let malignant Spirits ſay what they would; and that, "with humbleneſs towards God, and modeſty towards Them, "he would recount ſomewhat in the behalf of the Govern-"ment. Firſt, it had endeavour'd to reform the Law; it had "put into the Seat of Juſtice Men of known integrity, and "ability; it had ſettled a way for probation of Miniſters to "Preach the Goſpel: and beſides all this, it had called a free "Parliament: that, bleſſed be God, they that day ſaw a free "Parliament: then as to Wars, that a Peace was made with "*Denmark*, *Sweden*, the *Dutch*, and *Portugal*, and was like-"wiſe near concluding with *France*: that theſe things were "but entrances, and doors of hopes; but now he made no "queſtion to enable them to lay the top Stone of the Work, "recommending to them that maxim, that Peace, though it "were made, was not to be truſted farther than it conſiſted "with Intereſt: that the great Work which now lay upon "this Parliament, was, that the Government of *England* might "be ſettled upon terms of Honour: that they would avoid con-"fuſions, leſt Forreign States ſhould take Advantage of them: "that, as for himſelf, he did not ſpeak like one that would be "a Lord over them, but as one that would be a Fellow-Ser-"vant in that great Affair: and concluded, "That they ſhould

"go

"go to their Houſe, and there make choice of a Speaker: which they preſently did, and ſeem'd very unanimous in their firſt Act, which was the making choice of *William Lenthall* to be their Speaker; which Agreement was upon very diſagreeing Principles. *Cromwell* having deſign'd him, for lucks ſake, and being well acquainted with his temper, concluded, that he would be made a property in This, as well as he had been in the long Parliament, when he always complied with that Party that was moſt powerful. And the other Perſons who meant nothing that *Cromwell* did, were well pleaſed, out of hope that the ſame Man's being in the Chair might facilitate the renewing and reviving the former Houſe; which they look'd upon as the true legitimate Parliament, ſtrangled by the Tyranny of *Cromwell*, and yet that it had life enough left in it.

William Lenthall choſen their Speaker.

LENTHALL was no ſooner in his Chair than it was propoſed, "That they might in the firſt place conſider by what "Authority they came thither, and whether that which had "Conven'd them, had a Lawful power to that purpoſe. From which Subject the Protector's Creatures, and thoſe of the Army, endeavour'd to divert them by all the Arguments they could. Notwithſtanding which, the current of the Houſe inſiſted upon the firſt clearing that point, as the foundation, upon which all their Counſels muſt be built: and as many of the Members poſitively enough declar'd againſt that Power, ſo one of them, more confident than the reſt, ſaid plainly, "that they might eaſily diſcern the Snares which were laid "to entrap the Privileges of the People; and for his own "part, as God had made him inſtrumental in cutting down "Tyranny in one Perſon, ſo now he could not endure to ſee "the Nation's Liberties ſhackled by another, whoſe Right to "the Government could not be meaſured otherwiſe than by "the length of his Sword, which alone had embolden'd him "to Command his Commanders. This Spirit prevail'd ſo far, that, for eight days together, thoſe of the Council of Officers, and others (who were called the Court Party) could not divert the queſtion from being put, "Whether the Govern-"ment ſhould be by a Protector and a Parliament, any other way than by lengthning the Debate, and then Adjourning the Houſe when the queſtion was ready to be put, becauſe they plainly ſaw that it would be carried in the Negative.

Their Actings.

THE continuance of this warm Debate in the Houſe, in which the Protector's own Perſon was not treated with much reverence, exceedingly perplexed him; and obliged him once more to try, what reſpect his Soveraign Preſence would produce towards a better Compoſure. So he came again to the

Cromwell speaks to them in the Painted Chamber.

Painted Chamber, and sent for his Parliament to come to him; and then told them, "That the great God of Heaven and "Earth knew what Grief and Sorrow of heart it was to him, "to find them falling into Heats and Divisions; that he would "have them take notice of this, that the same Government "made Him a Protector, that made Them a Parliament: that "as they were intrusted in some things, so was He in others: "that in the Government were certain fundamentals, which "could not be alter'd; to wit, that the Government should be "in a single Person and a Parliament; that Parliaments should "not be perpetual, and always sitting; that the Militia should "not be trusted into one Hand, or Power, but so as the Par-"liament might have a check on the Protector, and the Pro-"tector on the Parliament; that in matters of Religion there "ought to be a Liberty of Conscience, and that Persecution "in the Church was not to be Tolerated: These, he said, "were unalterable fundamentals: as for other things in the "Government, they were examinable and alterable as the "State of Affairs did require: that, for his own part, he was "even overwhelm'd with Grief, to see that any of them should "go about to overthrow what was settled, contrary to the trust "they had receiv'd from the People; which could not but "bring very great inconveniences upon themselves and the "Nation. When he had made this frank Declaration unto them what they were to trust to, the better to confirm them in their duty, he had appointed a Guard to attend at the door of the Parliament House, and there to restrain all Men from entring into the House who refused to subscribe this following Engagement: "I do hereby promise and engage to be "true and faithful to the Lord Protector of the Common-"wealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and shall not (ac-"cording to the tenour of this Indenture, whereby I am re-"turn'd to serve in Parliament) propose to give any Consent "to alter the Government as it is settled in one Person and a "Parliament.

He admits none into the House but such as subscribed an Engagement to him.

THIS Engagement a considerable part of the Members utterly refused to sign; and call'd it a violation of the Privilege of Parliament, and an absolute depriving them of that freedom which was essential to it. So they were excluded, and restrain'd from entring into the House: and they who did subscribe it, and had thereupon Liberty to sit there, were yet so refractory to any Proposition that might settle him in the Government in the manner he desir'd it, that, after the five Months near spent in wrangling, and useless discourses (during which he was not to attempt the Dissolution of them, by his Instrument of Government) he took the first opportunity to dissolve them; and upon the two and twentieth of *January*,

He dissolves them Jan. 22.

nuary, with ſome reproaches, he let them know he could do the buſineſs without them; and ſo diſmiſſed them with much evidence of his Diſpleaſure: and they again retired to their habitations, reſolv'd to wait another opportunity of revenge, and in the mean time to give no evidence of their ſubmitting to his Uſurpation, by undertaking any Imployment or Office under his Authority, He as carefully endeavouring and watching to find ſuch an Advantage againſt them, as might make them lyable to the penalty of the Laws. Yet even his weakneſs and impotency upon ſuch a notorious Advantage, appear'd in two very notable Inſtances, which happen'd about that time, in the Caſe of two Perſons, whoſe Names were then much taken notice of upon the Stage of Affairs, *John Wildman*, and *John Lilburn*.

An account of John Wildman *and* John Lilburn. *Levellers.*

THE former had been bred a Scholar in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and being young, and of a pregnant Wit, in the beginning of the Rebellion meant to make his Fortune in the War; and choſe to depend upon *Cromwell*'s countenance and advice, when he was not above the degree of a Captain of a Troop of Horſe himſelf, and was much eſteem'd and valued by him, and made an Officer; and was ſo active in contriving and fomenting Jealouſies and Diſcontents, and ſo dextrous in compoſing, or improving any Diſguſts, and ſo inſpired with the Spirit of Praying and Preaching, when thoſe gifts came into requeſt, and became thriving Arts, that about the time when the King was taken from *Holmby*, and it was neceſſary that the Army ſhould enter into Conteſts with the Parliament, *John Wildman* grew to be one of the principal Agitators, and was moſt relied upon by *Cromwell* to infuſe thoſe things into the minds of the Soldiers, and to conduct them in the managery of their Diſcontents, as might moſt advance thoſe deſigns He then had; and quickly got the reputation of a Man of Parts; and, having a ſmooth Pen, drew many of the Papers which firſt kindled the Fire between the Parliament and the Army, that was not afterwards extinguiſh'd but in the ruin of Both. His reputation in thoſe Faculties made him quit the Army; where he was become a Major; and where he kept ſtill a great Intereſt, and betook himſelf to Civil Affairs, in the ſollicitation of Suits depending in the Parliament, or before Committees; where he had much Credit with thoſe who had moſt power to do Right or Wrong, and ſo made himſelf neceſſary to thoſe who had need of ſuch Protection from the Tyranny of the time. By theſe Arts he thrived, and got much more than he could have done in the Army, and kept, and encreaſed his Credit there, by the Intereſt he had in other places. When *Cromwell* declin'd the ways of eſtabliſhing the Common-wealth, *Wildman*, amongſt

John Wildman.

the reſt, forſook him; and enter'd, warily into any Counſels which were like to deſtroy him: And upon the diſſolution of this laſt Parliament, having leſs of flegm, and ſo leſs patience, than other Men, to expect another opportunity, and in the mean time to leave him to eſtabliſh his Greatneſs, he did believe he ſhould be able to make ſuch a Schiſm in the Army, as would give an opportunity to other enraged Perſons to take vengeance upon him.

CROMWELL knew the Man, and his undermining Faculties; knew he had ſome deſign in hand, but could not make any ſuch diſcovery as might warrant a publick Proſecution; but appointed ſome truſty Spies (of which he had plenty) to watch him very narrowly, and, by being often with him, to find his Papers; the ſpreading whereof, he knew, would be the Preamble to any Conſpiracy of His. Shortly after the diſſolution of that Parliament, theſe Inſtruments of *Cromwell*'s ſurpriſed him in a Room, where he thought he had been ſafe enough, as he was writing a Declaration; and ſeiſed upon the Papers; the title whereof was, "A Declaration, containing "the reaſons and motives which oblige Us to take up Arms "againſt *Oliver Cromwell*; and though it was not finiſh'd, yet in that that was done, there was all Venom imaginable expreſſed againſt him, and a large and bitter Narration of all his foul breach of Truſt, and Perjuries, enough to have expoſed any Man to the ſevereſt Judgment of that time; and as much as he could wiſh to diſcover againſt Him, or any Man whom he moſt deſired to deſtroy. The Iſſue was, the Man was ſtreightly Impriſon'd, and preparations made for his Trial, and towards his Execution, which all Men expected. But, whether *Cromwell* found that there were more engaged with him than could be brought to Juſtice, or were fit to be diſcover'd (as many Men believ'd) or that *Wildman* obliged himſelf for the time to come not only to be quiet, but to be a Spy for him upon others (as others at that time ſuſpected, and had reaſon for it afterwards) after a ſhort time of Impriſonment, the Man was reſtored to his Liberty; and reſorted, with the ſame ſucceſs and reputation to his former courſe of Life; in which he thrived very notably.

John Lilburn.

THE Caſe of *John Lilburn* was much more wonderful, and adminiſter'd more occaſion of diſcourſe and obſervation. This Man, before the Troubles, was a poor Book-binder; and for procuring ſome Seditious Pamphlets againſt the Church and State to be printed and diſperſed, had been ſeverely cenſured in the *Star-Chamber*, and receiv'd a ſharp Caſtigation, which made him more obſtinate and malicious againſt them; and, as he afterwards confeſſed, in the melancholy of his Impriſonment, and by reading the Book of Martyrs, he raiſed

in

in himſelf a marvellous inclination and appetite to ſuffer in the defence or for the vindication of any oppreſſed Truth; and found himſelf very much confirm'd in that ſpirit; and in that time diligently collected, and read all thoſe Libels and Books, which had anciently, as well as lately been written againſt the Church: from whence, with the venom, he had likewiſe contracted the impudence and bitterneſs of their Style; and by practice, brought himſelf to the faculty of writing like them: and ſo when that Licence broke in of printing all that malice and wit could ſuggeſt, he publiſh'd ſome Pamphlets in his own name, full of that confidence and virulency, which might aſperſe the Government moſt to the ſenſe of the People, and to their humour. When the War begun, he put himſelf into the Army; and was taken Priſoner by the King's Forces in that Engagement at *Brentford*, ſhortly after the Battle of *Edge-hill*; and being then a Man much known, and talk'd of for his qualities above mention'd, he was not ſo well treated in Priſon as was like to reconcile him; and being brought before the Chief Juſtice, to be tried for Treaſon, by a Commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer (in which method the King intended then to have proceeded againſt the Rebels which ſhould be taken) he behaved himſelf with ſo great impudence, in extolling the power of the Parliament, that it was manifeſt he had an ambition to have been made a Martyr for that Cauſe. But as he was liberally ſupplied from his Friends at *London* (and the Parliament in expreſs terms declar'd, "That they would inflict puniſhment "upon the Priſoners they had of the King's Party, in the "ſame manner as *Lilburn* and the reſt ſhould ſuffer at *Oxford*) ſo he did find means to corrupt the Marſhal who had the cuſtody of him; and made his eſcape into the Parliament Quarters; where he was receiv'd with publick Joy, as a Champion that had defied the King in his own Court.

FROM this time he was entertain'd by *Cromwell* with great familiarity, and, in his conteſts with the Parliament, was of much uſe to him, and privacy with him. But he begun then to find him of ſo reſtleſs and unruly a Spirit, and to make thoſe advances in Religion againſt the Presbyterians before he thought it ſeaſonable, that he diſpenſed with his preſence in the Army, where he was an Officer of Name, and made him reſide in *London*, where he wiſh'd that temper ſhould be improv'd. And when the Parliament was ſo much offended with his ſeditious humour, and the Pamphlets he publiſh'd every day in Religion, with reflections upon their proceedings, that they reſolv'd to proſecute him with great rigour (towards which the Aſſembly of Divines, which he had likewiſe provok'd, contributed their deſire, and demand) *Cromwell* writ a very

a very passionate Letter to the Parliament, "That they would "not so much discourage their Army, that was fighting for "them, as to censure an Officer of it for his opinion in point "of Conscience; for the Liberty whereof, and to free them-"selves from the shackles in which the Bishops would enslave "them, that Army had been principally raised. Upon which, all farther prosecution against *Lilburn* was declin'd at that time, though he declin'd not the farther provocation; and continued to make the Proceedings of the Parliament as odious as he could. But from the time that *Cromwell* had dispersed that Parliament, and was, in effect, in possession of the Soveraign Power, *Lilburn* withdrew his favour for him; and thought him now an Enemy worthy of his displeasure; and, both in discourses and writings, in Pamphlets and Invectives, loaded him with all the Aspersions of Hypocrisy, Lying, and Tyranny, and all other imputations and reproaches which either he deserv'd, or the malice or bitterness of the other's Nature could suggest to him, to make him the most universally odious that a faithless perjur'd Person could be.

CROMWELL could bear ill language and reproaches with less disturbance, and concerment, than any Person in Authority had ever done: yet the prosecution this Man exercised him with, made him plainly discern that it would be impossible to preserve his Dignity, or to have any security in the Government, whilst His Licence continued; and therefore, after he had set spies upon him to observe his Actions, and collect his Words, and upon advice with the Council at Law of the State, was confidently inform'd, "That, as well by the "old establish'd Laws, as by new Ordinances, *Lilburn* was "guilty of High Treason, and had forfeited his Life, if he "were prosecuted in any Court of Justice, he caused him to be sent to *Newgate*, and at the next Sessions to be indicted of High Treason: all the Judges being present, and the Council at Law to inforce the Evidence, and all care being taken for the return of such a Jury as might be fit for the importance of the Case, *Lilburn* appear'd undaunted, and with the confidence of a Man that was to play a Prize before the People for their own Liberty; he pleaded Not-guilty, and heard all the Charge and Evidence against him with patience enough, save that, by interrupting the Lawyers, sometimes, who prosecuted him, and by sharp answers to some questions of the Judges, he shew'd that he had no reverence for their Persons, nor any submission to their Authority. The whole day was spent in his Tryal; and when he came to make his Defence, he mingled so much Law in his discourse to invalidate their Authority, and to make it appear so Tyrannical, that neither their Lives, Liberties nor Estates were in any degree secure, whilst that

that Uſurpation was exerciſed; and anſwer'd all the matters objected againſt him with ſuch an aſſurance, making them "To contain nothing of High Treaſon, and That to be a Go-"vernment againſt which High Treaſon could not be com-"mitted; and telling them "That all true born *Engliſh* Men "were obliged to oppoſe this Tyranny, as he had done purely "for Their ſakes, and that he had done it only for their ſakes, "and to preſerve them from being Slaves, contrary to his own "profit and wordly Intereſt: He told them "How much he "had been in *Cromwell*'s Friendſhip: that he might have re-"ceiv'd any benefit, or preferment from him, if he would "have ſate ſtill, and ſeen his Country enſlav'd; which becauſe "he would not do, he was brought hither to have his life "taken from him by their Judgment; which he apprehend-"ed not: he defended himſelf with that vigour, and charm'd the Jury ſo powerfully, that, againſt all the direction and charge the Judges could give them (who aſſur'd them "That "the words and actions fully proved againſt the Priſoner, were "High Treaſon by the Law; and that they were bound, by "all the obligation of Conſcience, to find him guilty) after no long conſultation between themſelves, they return'd with their Verdict, "That he was Not-guilty: nor could they be perſwaded by the Judges to change or recede from their Ver-dict: which infinitely enraged and perplexed *Cromwell*; who look'd upon it as a greater Defeat than the loſs of a Battle would have been. And though *Lilburn* was thus acquitted in the year 1653, yet *Cromwell* would never ſuffer him to be ſet at Liberty, as by the Law he ought to have been, but ſent him from Priſon to Priſon, and kept him encloſed there till He himſelf died. Theſe two Inſtances of Perſons not other-wiſe conſiderable, are thought pertinent to be inſerted, as an evidence of the temper of the Nation; and how far the Spi-rits of that time were from paying a ſubmiſſion to that power, when no body had the courage to lift up their hands againſt it.

The King's condition abroad.

WHATEVER uneaſineſs and perplexity *Cromwell* found in his condition at home, the King found no benefit from it abroad, or from the Friendſhip, or the Indignation of other Princes; They had all the ſame terrible Apprehenſion of *Cromwell*'s power as if he had been landed with an Army in any of their Dominions, and look'd upon the King's condition as deſperate, and not to be ſupported. The Treaty between *France* and *England* proceeded very faſt; and every day pro-duced freſh Evidence of the good Intelligence between *Crom-well* and the Cardinal. The Ships and Priſoners which had been taken when they went to relieve *Dunkirk*, and by the taking whereof *Dunkirk* had been loſt, were now reſtored, and

Crom-well's Trea-ty with France.

and ſet at liberty; and ſuch mutual Offices perform'd between them, as, with frequent evidences of Averſion from the King and his Intereſt, made it very manifeſt to his Majeſty, that his reſidence would not be ſuffer'd to continue longer in *France*, after the Alliance ſhould be publiſh'd with *Cromwell*; which was not yet perfected, by the Cardinal's bluſhing to conſent to ſome Propoſitions, without which the other's faſt Friendſhip was not to be obtain'd; and he was not willing that modeſty ſhould be conquer'd at once, though every body knew it would quickly be proſtituted.

The King thinks of retreating out of France; *but whither? was the Queſtion.*

THERE could be no doubt but that the King was heartily weary of being in a place where he was ſo ill treated; where he liv'd ſo uncomfortably, and from whence he foreſaw that he ſhould ſoon be driven. But as he had no Money to enable him to remove, or to pay the Debts he ow'd there, ſo he knew not to what place to repair, where he might find a Civil Reception. *Holland* was bound not to admit him into their Dominions, and by their Example had ſhew'd other Princes, and States, what condition They muſt ſubmit to who would be Allies to *Cromwell*. The King of *Spain* was at the ſame time contending with *France* for *Cromwell*'s Friendſhip, and thought he had ſome Advantage with him by the Reſidence his Majeſty had in *France*: ſo there could be no thought of repairing into *Flanders*, and that he could be admitted to ſtay there. The Proteſtants, in moſt places, expreſſed much more Inclination to his Rebels than to Him. The Roman Catholicks look'd upon him as in ſo deſperate a condition, that he would in a ſhort time be neceſſitated to throw himſelf into their Arms by changing his Religion, without which they generally declared, "They would never give "him the leaſt Aſſiſtance. In this diſtreſs, his Majeſty reſum'd the conſiderations he had formerly enter'd upon, of ſending to the Diet; which was ſummon'd by the Emperour to meet ſhortly at *Ratisbone*, to make choice of a King of the *Romans*. And *Germany* being then in Peace, the Emperour made little doubt of finding a concurrence in the choice of the King of *Hungary* his eldeſt Son to be made King of the *Romans*, and thereby to be ſure to ſucceed him in the Empire. Our King had long deſign'd to ſend the Lord *Wilmot* on that Errand, to try what the Emperour, and Princes of *Germany*, would do, in ſuch a conjuncture, towards the uniting all other Princes with themſelves, in undertaking a quarrel they were all concern'd in, to reſtore a Prince ſo injur'd and oppreſs'd by ſo odious a Rebellion; and in the mean time, of which there appear'd to be more hope, what contribution they would make towards his Support; and likewiſe, upon this occaſion, what fit place might be found, in the neareſt parts of *Germany*,

Germany, for the King to repair to; where he might attend his better deſtiny.

It was moſt ſuitable to the occaſion, and the neceſſity of the King's Condition, that this Affair ſhould be diſpatched in as private a way as was poſſible, and with as little expence, it being impoſſible to ſend an Embaſſadour in ſuch an Equipage, as at ſuch an illuſtrious Convention of all the Princes of the Empire, was neceſſary. *Wilmot* preſſed very much for that Character, that he might the more eaſily accompliſh his being made an Earl; for which he had obtain'd the King's promiſe in a fit ſeaſon. And he took great pains to perſwade the King, "That this was a proper ſeaſon, and very much "for the Advancement of his Service: but, that if he had the "Title of an Earl, which would be look'd upon as a high "Qualification, he would not aſſume the Character of Em-"baſſadour, though he would carry ſuch a Commiſſion with "him, but make all his Negotiations as a private Envoy; of which he promiſed the King wonderful Effects, and pretended to have great aſſurance of Money, and of making Levies of Men for any Expedition. The King, rather to comply with the general expectation, and to do all that was in his power to do, than out of any hope of notable Advantage from this Agitation, was contented to make him Earl of *Rocheſter*; and gave him all ſuch Commiſſions, and Credentials, as were neceſſary for the Employment; and ſent him from *Paris* in the *Chriſtmas* time, that he might be at *Ratisbone* at the meeting of the Diet, which was to be in the beginning of *April* following; means having been found to procure ſo much Money as was neceſſary for that Journey, out of the Aſſignment that had been made to the King for his Support: of which there was a great Arrear due, and which the Cardinal cauſed at this time to be ſupplied, becauſe he looked upon this ſending to *Ratisbone* as a preparatory for the King's own remove.

The King makes Wilmot *Earl of* Rocheſter; *and ſends him to the Diet at* Ratisbone.

Though *Scotland* was vanquiſhed, and ſubdued, to that degree, that there was no Place nor Perſon who made the leaſt ſhew of oppoſing *Cromwell*; who, by the Adminiſtration of *Monk*, made the Yoke very grievous to the whole Nation; yet the Preachers kept their Pulpit Licence; and, more for the affront that was offer'd to Presbytery, than the Conſcience of what was due to Majeſty, many of them preſumed to pray for the King; and generally, though ſecretly, exaſperated the minds of the People againſt the preſent Government. The High-landers by the Advantage of their Situation, and the hardineſs of that People, made frequent Incurſions in the night into the *Engliſh* Quarters; and kill'd many of their Soldiers, but ſtole more of their Horſes: and where there was moſt

The affairs of Scotland *at this time.*

most appearance of Peace, and Subjection, if the Soldiers ſtragled in the night, or went ſingle in the day, they were uſually knock'd on the head; and no Enquiry could diſcover the Malefactors.

MANY Expreſſes were ſent to the King, as well from thoſe who were Priſoners in *England*, as from ſome Lords who were at liberty in *Scotland*, "That *Middleton* might be "ſent into the High-lands with his Majeſty's Commiſſion; and in the mean time the Earl of *Glencarne*, a gallant Gentleman, offer'd, if he were Authoriz'd by the King, to draw a Body of Horſe and Foot together in the High-lands, and infeſt the Enemy, and be ready to ſubmit to *Middleton*, aſſoon as he ſhould arrive there with a ſupply of Arms and Ammunition. Accordingly the King had ſent a Commiſſion to the Earl of *Glencarne*; who behaved himſelf very worthily, and gave *Monk* ſome trouble. But he preſſing very earneſtly, that *Middleton* might be ſent over to compoſe ſome Animoſities, and Emulations, which were growing up to the breaking off that Union, without which nothing could ſucceed, his Majeſty, about the time that the Earl of *Rocheſter* was diſpatch'd for *Ratisbone*, ſent likewiſe *Middleton* into *Scotland*, with ſome few Officers of that Nation, and ſuch a poor ſupply of Arms and Ammunition, as, by the activity and induſtry of *Middleton*, could be got upon the credit and contribution of ſome Merchants and Officers in *Holland* of that Nation, who were willing to redeem their Country from the Slavery it was in. With this very ſlender Aſſiſtance he Tranſported himſelf in the Winter into the High-lands; where, to welcome him, he found the few, whom he look'd to find in Arms, more broken with Faction amongſt themſelves, than by the Enemy; nor was he able to reconcile them. But after *Glencarne* had deliver'd his thin unarm'd Troops to *Middleton*, and condeſcended to Fight a Duel with an Inferior Officer, who provoked him to it after he was out of his Command, whether he was troubled to have another Command over him, who, upon the matter, had no other Men to Command but what were raiſed by him, though he had exceedingly preſſed *Middleton*'s being ſent over to that purpoſe, or whether convinced with the impoſſibility of the Attempt, he retired firſt to his own Houſe, and then made his Peace with *Monk*, that he might live quietly, and retain'd ſtill his Affection and Fidelity to the King; which he made manifeſt afterwards in a more favourable conjuncture: and at the ſame time he excuſed himſelf to the King, for giving over an Enterpriſe which he was not able to proſecute, though *Middleton* ſuſtain'd it a full year afterwards.

The King ſent a Commiſſion to the Earl of Glencarne.

And Middleton *is ſent into* Scotland.

Glencarne *retires to his own Houſe; and made his Peace with* Monk.

THE truth is, the two Perſons who were moſt concern'd in

in that Expedition, had no degree of hope that it would be attended with any ſucceſs, the King, and *Middleton*; who had both ſeen an Army of that People, well provided with all things neceſſary, not able to do any thing where they fought upon terms more Advantageous. And how could thoſe now, drawn together by chance, half arm'd and undiſciplin'd, be able to contend with Victorious Troops, which wanted nothing, and would hardly part with what they had got? But his Majeſty could not refuſe to give them leave to Attempt what they believ'd they could go through with; and *Middleton*, who had promiſed them to come to them, when he was aſſured he ſhould be enabled to carry over with him two thouſand Men, and good ſtore of Arms, thought himſelf obliged to venture his Life with them who expected him, though he could carry no more with him than is mention'd; and by his behaviour there, notwithſtanding all diſcouragements, he manifeſted how much he would have done, if others had perform'd half their promiſes.

It will not be amiſs in this place to mention an Adventure that was made during his being in the High-lands, which deſerves to be recorded for the honour of the Undertakers. There was attending upon the King a young Gentleman, one Mr *Wogan*, a very handſome Perſon, of the age of three or four and twenty. This Gentleman had, when he was a youth of fifteen or ſixteen years, been by the corruption of ſome of his neareſt Friends, engaged in the Parliament Service againſt the King; where the eminency of his courage made him ſo much taken notice of, that he was of general eſtimation, and belov'd by all; but ſo much in the friendſhip of *Ireton*, under whom he had the Command of a Troop of Horſe, that no Man was ſo much in credit with him. By the time of the Murther of the King he was ſo much improv'd in Age and underſtanding, that by that horrible and impious Murther, and by the information and advice of ſober Men in his converſation, he grew into ſo great a deteſtation of all that People, that he thought of nothing but to repair his own Reputation, by taking vengeance of thoſe who had couſen'd and miſled him: and in order thereunto, aſſoon as the Marquis of *Ormond* reſum'd the Government of *Ireland* again for the King (which was the only place then where any Arms were borne for his Majeſty) captain *Wogan* repair'd thither to him through *Scotland*; and behaved himſelf with ſuch ſignal Valour, that the Marquis of *Ormond* gave him the Command of his own Guards, and every Man the Teſtimony of deſerving it. He came over with the Marquis into *France*; and being reſtleſs to be in Action, no ſooner heard of *Middleton*'s being arriv'd in *Scotland*, than he reſolv'd to find himſelf with him;

and

and immediately asked the King's leave not only for himself, but for as many of the young Men about the Court as he could perſwade to go with him; declaring to his Majeſty, "That he reſolv'd to paſs through *England*. The King, who had much Grace for him, diſſwaded him from the Undertaking, for the difficulty and danger of it, and denied to give him leave. But neither his Majeſty, nor the Marquis of *Ormond*, could divert him; and his importunity continuing, he was left to follow his Inclinations: and there was no news ſo much talked of in the Court, as that Captain *Wogan* would go into *England*, and from thence march into *Scotland* to General *Middleton*; and many young Gentlemen, and others who were in *Paris*, liſted themſelves with him for the Expedition. He went then to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who, during the time of the King's ſtay in *France*, executed the Office of Secretary of State, to deſire the diſpatch of ſuch Paſſes, Letters, and Commiſſions, as were neceſſary for the Affair he had in hand. The Chancellor had much kindneſs for him, and having heard of his deſign by the common talk of the Court, and from the free diſcourſes of ſome of thoſe who reſolv'd to go with him, repreſented "The danger of the "enterpriſe to himſelf, and the diſhonour that would reflect "upon the King, for ſuffering Men under his Paſs, and with "his Commiſſion, to expoſe themſelves to inevitable ruin: "that it was now the diſcourſe of the Town, and would "without doubt be known in *England* and to *Cromwell*, be"fore he and his Friends could get thither, ſo that it was "likely they would be apprehended the firſt minute they ſet "their foot on Shore; and how much his own particular Per"ſon was more liable to danger than other Mens he knew "well; and, upon the whole matter, very earneſtly diſſwaded him from proceeding farther.

He anſwer'd moſt of the particular conſideration with contempt of the danger, and confidence of going through with it, but with no kind of reaſon (a talent that did not then abound in him) to make it appear probable. Whereupon the Chancellor expreſly refuſed to make his Diſpatches, till he could ſpeak with the King; "With whom, he ſaid, he "would do the beſt he could to perſwade his Majeſty to "hinder his Journey; with which the Captain was provok'd to ſo great paſſion, that he broke into tears, and beſought him not to diſſwade the King; and ſeem'd ſo muchtranſported with the reſolution of the Adventure, as if he would not outlive the diſappointment. This paſſion ſo far prevail'd with the King, that he cauſed all his diſpatches to be made, and deliver'd to him. And the very next day He and his Companions, being ſeven or eight in number, went out of *Paris* together, and took Poſt for *Calais*.

They

THEY landed at *Dover*, continued their Journey to *London*, and walked the Town; ſtay'd there above three Weeks, till they had bought Horſes, which they quarter'd at Common Inns, and liſted Men enough of their Friends and Acquaintance to proſecute their purpoſe. And then they appointed their Rendezvous at *Barnet*, marched out of *London*, as *Cromwell's* Soldiers, and from *Barnet* were full fourſcore Horſe well Armed, and appointed, and Quarter'd that Night at St *Albans*; and from thence, by eaſy Journies, but out of the Common Roads, marched ſafely into *Scotland*; beat up ſome Quarters which lay in their way, and without any miſadventure joyn'd *Middleton* in the High-lands; where poor *Wogan*, after many brave Actions perform'd there, receiv'd upon a Party, an ordinary fleſh wound; which for want of a good Surgeon proved mortal to him, to the very great grief of *Middleton*, and all who knew him. Many of the Troopers, when they could ſtay no longer there, found their way again through *England*, and return'd to the King.

IN the diſtreſs which the King ſuffer'd during his abode in *France*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's part was the moſt uneaſy and grievous. For though all who were angry with Him, were as angry with the Marquis of *Ormond*, who liv'd in great Friendſhip with him, and was in the ſame truſt with the King in all his Counſels which were reſerv'd from others; yet the Marquiſs's Quality, and the great Services he had perform'd, and the great ſufferings he underwent for the Crown, made him above all their exceptions: and they believ'd his averſion from all their Devices to make marriages, and to traffick in Religion, proceeded moſt from the credit the other had with him. And the Queen's diſpleaſure grew ſo notorious againſt the Chancellor, that after he found by degrees that ſhe would not ſpeak to him, nor take any notice of him when ſhe ſaw him, he forbore at laſt coming in her preſence; and for many Months did not ſee her face, though he had the honour to lodge in the ſame Houſe, the Palace Royal, where both their Majeſties kept their Courts; which encouraged all who deſired to ingratiate themſelves with her Majeſty, to expreſs a great prejudice to the Chancellor, at leaſt to withdraw from his converſation: and the Queen was not reſerv'd in declaring, that ſhe did exceedingly deſire to remove him from the King; which nothing kept him from deſiring alſo, in ſo uncomfortable a condition, but the conſcience of his duty, and the confidence his Majeſty had in his fidelity.

The Queen's diſpleaſure againſt the Chancellor of the Exchequer in France.

THIS diſinclination towards him produced, at one and the ſame time, a contrivance of an odd Nature, and a Union between two ſeemingly irreconcileable Factions, the Papiſts and the Presbyterians: which was diſcover'd to the King by

a false brother, before the Chancellor had any intimation of it. The Lord *Balcarris*, with Dr *Frazier*, and some other *Scots* about the Court, thought themselves enough qualified to undertake in the name of all the Presbyterians; and caused a Petition to be prepared, in which they set out, "That the "Presbyterian Party had great Affections to serve his Majes- "ty, and much power to do it; and that they had many Pro- "positions, and Advices to offer to his Majesty for the Ad- "vancement thereof: but that they were discouraged, and "hindred from offering the same, by reason that his Majesty "entrusted his whole Affairs to the Chancellor of the Exche- "quer; who was an old known and declared Enemy to all "their Party; in whom they could repose no trust: and "therefore they besought his Majesty, that He might be re- "mov'd from his Council, at least not be suffer'd to be privy "to any thing that should be proposed by Them; and they "should then make it appear how ready, and how able they "were in a very short time to advance his Majesty's Affairs.

A Petition intended of the Scotish *Presbyterians by* Balcarris *and* Frazier, *that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might be remov'd.*

ANOTHER Petition was prepared in the name of his Roman Catholick Subjects; which said, "That all his Majesty's "Party which had adher'd to him, were now totally suppres- "sed; and had, for the most part, compounded with his Ene- "mies, and submitted to their Government: that the Church "Lands were all sold, and the Bishops dead, except very few, "who durst not exercise their Function: so that he could ex- "pect no more aid from any who were concern'd to support "the Government of the Church as it had been formerly esta- "blished; that by the defeat of Duke *Hamilton*'s Party first, "and then by his Majesty's ill success at *Worcester*, and the to- "tal reduction of the Kingdom of *Scotland* afterwards by *Crom- "well*, his Majesty might conclude what greater aid he was "to expect from the Presbyterian Party. Nothing therefore "remain'd to him of hope for Restoration, but from the "affection of his Roman Catholick Subjects; who, as they "would never be wanting as to their Persons, and their Estates "which were left, so they had hope to draw from the Catho- "lick Princes, and the Pope himself, such considerable assi- "stance both in Men and Money, that his Majesty should "owe his Restitution, under the Blessing of God, to the sole "power and assistance of the Catholicks. But they had great "reason to fear, that all these hopes would be obstructed and "render'd of no use, not only by there being no Person about "his Majesty in whom the Catholicks could have any confi- "dence, but by reason that the Person most trusted by him, "and through whose hands all Letters and Dispatches must "pass, is a known Enemy to all Catholicks; and therefore "they besought his Majesty, that that Person, the Chancellor

And of the Roman Catholicks *also, against him.*

"of

"of the Exchequer, might be removed from him; where-"upon he ſhould find great benefit to accrue to his Service. It was concluded amongſt them, that when theſe two Petitions ſhould be weigh'd and conſider'd, the Queen would eaſily convince his Majeſty, that a Perſon who was ſo odious to all the Roman Catholicks, from whoſe Affections his Majeſty had moſt reaſon to promiſe himſelf relief, and to all the Proteſtants who could contribute to his aſſiſtance or ſubſiſtence, could not be fit to be continued in any Truſt about him.

WHEN matters were thus adjuſted, which were the longer in preparation, becauſe the Perſons concern'd could not, without ſuſpicion and ſcandal, meet together, but were to be treated with by Perſons mutually employ'd, one Mr *Walſingham*, a Perſon very well known to all Men who at that time knew the Palace Royal, who had been employed in the affair, came to the King, and, whether out of ingenuity, and diſlike of ſo foul a combination, or as he thought the diſcovery would be grateful to his Majeſty, informed him of the whole Intrigue, and gave a Copy of the Petitions to the King; who ſhew'd them to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and inform'd them of the whole deſign. And from this time his Majeſty made himſelf very merry with it, and ſpoke of it ſometimes at dinner, when the Queen was preſent; and asked pleaſantly, "When the two Petitions "would be brought againſt the Chancellor of the Exche-"quer? which being quickly known to ſome of the Perſons engaged in the proſecution, they gave it over, and thought not fit to proceed any farther in it; though both Parties continued their implacable malice towards him, nor did he find any eaſe or quiet by their giving over that deſign, their Animoſities againſt him ſtill breaking out one after another, as long as the King remain'd in *France*; the Queen taking all occaſions to complain to the Queen Regent of the King's unkindneſs, that ſhe might impute all that ſhe diſliked to the Chancellor; and the Queen Mother of France was like to be very tender in a point that ſo much concern'd her ſelf, that any Man ſhould dare to interpoſe between the Mother and the Son.

The deſign diſcover'd by one Mr Walſingham, *to the King; which quaſh'd them both.*

THERE was an accident fell out, that adminiſter'd ſome argument to make thoſe Complaints appear more reaſonable. The Cardinal *de Retz* had always expreſſed great civilities towards the King, and a deſire to ſerve him; and upon ſome occaſional conference between them, the Cardinal ask'd the King "Whether he had made any attempt to draw any Aſſi-"ſtance from the Pope, and whether he thought that nothing "might be done that way to his advantage? The King told him, "Nothing had been attempted that way; and that He "was

A diſcourſe of the King's with Cardinal de Retz.

"was better able to judge, whether the Pope was like to do "any thing for a Man of his Faith. The Cardinal ſmiling, ſaid, "He had no thought of ſpeaking of his Faith; yet in ſhort, he ſpoke to him like a wiſe and honeſt Man; "That if "any Overtures were made him of the change of his Religi- "on, he muſt tell his Majeſty, it becomes him as a Cardinal "to wiſh his Majeſty a Catholick for the ſaving his Soul; but "he muſt declare too, that if he did change his Religion, he "would never be reſtored to his Kingdoms. But he ſaid, "He "did believe (though the Pope was old, and much decay'd in his generoſity; for *Innocent* the 10th was then living) "That "if ſome proper Application was made to the Princes of *Ita-* "*ly*, and to the Pope himſelf, though there would not be got- "ten wherewithal to raiſe and maintain Armies, there might "be ſomewhat conſiderable obtain'd for his more pleaſant "Support, wherever he ſhould chooſe to reſide. He ſaid, "He "had himſelf ſome Alliance with the Great Duke, and in- "tereſt in other Courts, and in *Rome* it ſelf, and if his Majeſty "would give him leave, and truſt his diſcretion, he would "write in ſuch a manner in his own Name to ſome of his "Friends, as ſhould not be of any prejudice to his Majeſty if "it brought him no convenience. The King had reaſon to acknowledge the obligation, and to leave it to his own wiſ- dom, what he would do. In the concluſion of the diſcourſe, the Cardinal ask'd his Majeſty a queſtion or two of matter of fact, which he could not anſwer; but told him, "He would "give a punctual information of it the next day in a Letter: which the Cardinal deſired might be aſſoon as his Majeſty thought fit, becauſe he would, upon the receipt of it, make his diſpatches into *Italy*. The particular things being out of the King's Memory, aſſoon as he return'd, he ask'd the Chan- cellor of the Exchequer concerning them; and having re- ceiv'd a punctual Account from him, his Majeſty writ a Let- ter the next day to the Cardinal, and gave him information as to thoſe particulars. Within very few days after this, the Car- dinal coming one day to the *Louvre* to ſee the Queen Mo- ther, he was arreſted by the Captain of the Guard, and ſent Priſoner to the *Baſtile*; and in one of his Pockets, which they ſearch'd, that Letter the King had ſent to him was found, and deliver'd to the Queen Regent; who preſently imparted it to the Queen of *England*; and after they had made themſelves merry with ſome improprieties in the *French*, the King hav- ing, for the ſecrecy, not conſulted with any Body, they diſco- ver'd ſome purpoſe of applying to the Pope, and to other Ca- tholick Princes; and that his Majeſty ſhould enter upon any ſuch Counſel, without firſt conſulting with the Queen his Mo- ther, could proceed only from the inſtigation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Cardinal de Retz *ſent to the* Baſtile.

HER

HER Majeſty with a very great proportion of ſharpneſs, reproach'd the King for his Neglect, and gave him his Letter. The King was exceedingly ſenſible of the Little reſpect the Queen Mother had ſhew'd towards him, in communicating his Letter in that manner to his Mother; and expoſtulated with her for it; and took that occaſion to enlarge more upon the injuſtice of his Mother's complaints, than he had ever done. And from that time the Queen Mother, who was in truth a very worthy Lady, ſhew'd much more kindneſs to the King. And a little time after, there being a Maſque at the Court that the King liked very well, he perſwaded the Chancellor to ſee it; and vouchſafed, the next Night, to carry him thither himſelf, and to place the Marquis of *Ormond* and Him next the Seat where all their Majeſties were to ſit. And when they enter'd, the Queen Regent ask'd, "Who that fat Man was "who ſat by the Marquis of *Ormond*? The King told her aloud, "That it was the naughty Man who did all the Miſchief, "and ſet him againſt his Mother: at which the Queen her ſelf was little leſs diſorder'd than the Chancellor was. But they within hearing laugh'd ſo much, that the Queen was not diſpleaſed; and ſomewhat was ſpoken to his Advantage, whom few thought to deſerve the Reproach.

Prince Rupert with his Fleet arrives at Nantes.

AT this time the King was inform'd by the *French* Court, "That Prince *Rupert*, who had been ſo long abſent, having "gone with the Fleet from *Holland* before the Murther of the "late King, and had not been heard of in ſome years, was "now upon the Coaſt of *France*, and ſoon after at *Nantes* "in the Province of *Britain*, with the *Swallow*, a Ship of the "King's, and with three or four other Ships; and that the *Con-* "*ſtant Reformation*, another Ship of the King's, in which Prince "*Maurice* had been; was caſt away in the *Indies* near two "years before; and that Prince *Rupert* himſelf was return'd "with very ill health. The King ſent preſently to welcome him, and to invite him to *Paris* to attend his health; and his Majeſty preſumed that, by the Arrival of this Fleet, which he thought muſt be very rich, he ſhould receive ſome Money, that would enable him to remove out of *France*; of which He was as weary as It was of Him.

GREAT Expectations was raiſed in the *Engliſh* Court, that there would be ſome notable change upon the Arrival of this Prince; and though he had profeſſed much kindneſs to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he parted from *Holland*, yet there was hope that he would not appear now his Friend, the rather for that he had left *Ireland* with ſome declared unkindneſs towards the Marquis of *Ormond*. And all Men knew that the Atturney General, who was unſatisfied with every body, would have moſt influence upon that Prince; and that

his Highneſs could not be without credit enough with the King to introduce him into buſineſs; which they thought would at leaſt leſſen the Chancellor. In order to which, it was no ſooner known that Prince *Rupert* was landed in *France*, but the Lord *Jermyn* viſited, and made great court to Sr *Edward Herbert*; between whom and him there had been greater ſhew of Animoſity than between any two of the Nation who were beyond the Seas, they having for ſome years ſeldom ſpoken to, never well of, each other. And *Herbert* who was of a rough and proud nature, had declared publickly, "That he would have no Friendſhip with any Man who "believed the other to be an honeſt Man. Between theſe two a great friendſhip is ſuddainly made; and the Atturney is every day with the Queen, who had ſhew'd a greater Averſion from him than from any Man, not only upon the buſineſs of the Duke of *York*, but upon many other Occaſions. But now ſhe commended him to the King, "As a wiſe Man, of great Ex- "perience, and of great Intereſt in *England*.

The Queen Mother moves the King to make Herbert Lord Keeper; and he is made.

FROM the death of Sr *Richard Lane*, who had been Keeper of the Great Seal under his late Majeſty, there had not only been no Officer in that place, but from the defeat at *Worceſter*, the King had been without any Great Seal, it having been there loſt. But he had lately imploy'd a Graver to prepare a Great Seal; which he kept himſelf, not intending to confer that Office, whilſt he remain'd abroad. But now the Queen preſſed the King very earneſtly, to make the Atturney General Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; which was a promotion very natural, Men ordinarily riſing from the one Office to the other. The King knew the Man very well, and had neither eſteem nor kindneſs for him; yet he well foreſaw, that when Prince *Rupert* came to him, he ſhould be preſſed both by his Mother and Him ſo importunately, that he ſhould not with any eaſe be able to refuſe it. Then he believ'd that, if the Man himſelf were in good humour, he would be of great uſe in compoſing any ill humour that ſhould ariſe in the Prince; to which it was apprehended he might be apt to be inclined. And therefore his Majeſty thought it beſt (ſince no body diſſwaded him from the Thing) to oblige him frankly himſelf before the Prince came; and ſo call'd him to his Council, and made him Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; with which he ſeem'd wonderfully delighted; and for ſome time liv'd well towards every Body; though, as to any thing of buſineſs, he appear'd only in his old excellent faculty of raiſing doubts, and objecting againſt any thing that was propoſed, and propoſing nothing himſelf; which was a temper of Underſtanding he could not rectify, and, in the preſent State of Affairs, did leſs miſchief than it would have done in a time when any thing was to have been done.

BE-

BEFORE the Prince came to *Paris* he gave the King ſuch an account, as made it evident that his Majeſty was to expect no Money: "That what Treaſure had been gotten together, "which, he confeſſed, had amounted to great value, had been "all loſt in the Ship in which himſelf was (that ſprung a plank in the *Indies*, when his Highneſs was miraculouſly preſerv'd) "and, in the Boat, carried to another Ship, when that the "*Antelope*, with all the Men, and all that had been gotten, "ſunk in the Sea; and that much of the other purchaſe had "been likewiſe caſt away in the Ship in which his Brother "periſh'd; which was after his own misfortune: So that all that was brought into *Nantes*, would ſcarce pay off the Seamen, and diſcharge ſome debts at *Toulon*, which the Prince had contracted at his former being there, during the time that the King had been in *Holland*: And "That the Ships "were all ſo eaten with worms, even the *Swallow* it ſelf, that "there was no poſſibility of ſetting them out again to Sea. This was all the Account the King could receive of that whole Affair, when the Prince himſelf came to *Paris*; with which though the King was not ſatisfied, yet he knew not how to remedy it, the Prince taking it very ill that any Account ſhould be required of Him; and the Keeper quickly perſwaded his Highneſs, that it was only the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Influence, that diſpoſed the King with ſo much ſtrictneſs to examine his Account.

Prince Rupert *gives an ill Account of his Fleet.*

THERE was another deſign now ſet on foot, by which they concluded they ſhould ſufficiently mortify the Chancellor; who, they thought, had ſtill too much Credit with his Maſter. When the King went into *Scotland*, Mr *Robert Long*, who hath been mention'd before, was Secretary of State; who, having been always a Creature of the Queen's, and dependent upon the Lord *Jermyn*, had ſo behaved himſelf towards them, during his ſhort ſtay in *Scotland* (for he was one of thoſe who was remov'd from the King there, and ſent out of that Kingdom) that when his Majeſty return'd from *Worceſter* to *Paris*, they would by no meaus ſuffer that he ſhould wait upon his Majeſty; and accuſed him of much breach of truſt, and diſhoneſty, and amongſt the reſt, that he ſhould ſay, which could be proved, "That it was impoſſible for any "Man to ſerve the King honeſtly, and to preſerve the good "opinion of the Queen, and keep the Lord *Jermyn*'s favour. The truth is, that Gentleman had not the good fortune to be generally well thought of, and the King did not believe him faultleſs; and therefore was contented to ſatisfy his Mother, and would not permit him to execute his Office, or to attend in his Councils. Whereupon he left the Court, and liv'd privately at *Roan*; which was the reaſon that the Chancellor

An Affair concerning Mr Long; *who petitions the King to be reſtored to the Secretary's Place.*

had been commanded to execute that place, which intitled him to so much trouble. Upon this conjunction between the Lord *Fermyn* and the Keeper, the last of whom had in all times inveigh'd against Mr *Long*'s want of Fidelity, they agreed, that there could not be a better expedient found out to lessen the Chancellor's Credit, than by restoring *Long* to the execution of the Secretary's Function. Whereupon they sent for him, and advised him to prepare a Petition to the King, "That he might be again restored to his Office and Attendance, "or that he might be charged with his Crimes, and be far- "ther punish'd, if he did not clear himself, and appear inno- "cent. This Petition was presented to the King, when he was in Council, by the Queen; who came thither only for that purpose, and desired that it might be read; which being done, the King was surprised, having not in the least receiv'd any notice of it; and said, "That her Majesty was the prin- "cipal Cause that induced his Majesty to remove him from "his place, and she then believ'd that he was not fit for "the Trust. She said, "She had now a better opinion of "him, and that she had been misinform'd. The King thought it unfit to receive a Person into so near a Trust, against whose Fidelity there had been such publick exceptions; and his Majesty knew that few of his Friends in *England* would correspond with him; and therefore would not be perswaded to restore him. This was again put all upon the Chancellor's Account, aud the influence He had upon the King.

is refused by the King.

Whereupon Mr Long *accuses the Chancellor of the Exchequer of his having been in* England, *and conversed with* Cromwell.

THEREUPON Mr *Long* accused the Chancellor of having betray'd the King; and undertook to prove that he had been over in *England*, and had private conference with *Cromwell*: which was an aspersion so impossible, that every body laugh'd at it: yet because he undertook to prove it, the Chancellor pressed, "That a day might be appointed for him to produce "his proof: And at that day, the Queen came again to the Council, that she might be present at the Charge. There Mr *Long* produced *Massonet*, a Man who had serv'd him, and afterwards been an Under-Clerk for writing Letters and Commissions, during the time of the King's being in *Scotland*, and had been taken Prisoner at *Worcester*; and, being released with the rest of the King's Servants, had been employ'd, from the time of the King's Return, in the same Service under the Chancellor; the Man having, before the Troubles, taught the King, and the Duke of *York*, and the rest of the King's Children to write, being indeed the best Writer, for the fairness of the hand, of any Man in that time.

The business heard in Council:

Massonet *is produced as a hear-say Witness of it.*

MASSONET said, "That after his release from his Impri- "sonment, and whilst he staid in *London*, he spoke with a "Maid, who had formerly serv'd him, that knew the Chan- "cellor

"cellor very well, and who assured him, that one evening "she had seen the Chancellor go into *Cromwell*'s Chamber at "*White-Hall*; and after he had been shut up with him some "hours, she saw him conducted out again. And Mr *Long* desired time, that he might send over for this Woman, who should appear and justify it. To this impossible discourse, the Chancellor said, "He would make no other defence, than "that there were Persons then in the Town, who, he was "confident, would avow that they had seen him once every "day, from the time he return'd from *Spain* to the day on "which he attended his Majesty at *Paris*; as indeed there were; and when he had said so, he offer'd to go out of the Room; which the King would not have him to do. But he told his Majesty, "That it was the course; and that he ought "not to be present at the Debate that was to concern himself; and the Keeper, with some warmth, said "It was true; and so he retired to his own Chamber. The Lord *Fermyn*, assoon as he was gone, said, "He never thought the Accusation had "any thing of probability in it; and that he believ'd the "Chancellor a very honest Man; but the use that he thought "ought to be made of this Calumny, was, that it appear'd "that an honest and innocent Man might be calumniated, as "he thought Mr *Long* had likewise been; and therefore they "ought both to be clear'd. The Keeper said, "He saw not "ground enough to condemn the Chancellor; but he saw no "cause neither to declare him innocent: that there was one "Witness which declared only what he had heard; but that "he undertook also to produce the Witness her self if he "might have time; which in justice could not be denied; "and therefore he proposed, that a competent time might be "given to Mr *Long* to make out his proof; and that in the "mean time the Chancellor might not repair to the Council: with which Proposition the King was so offended, that, with much warmth, he said, "He discern'd well the design; and "that it was so false and wicked a Charge, that, if he had no "other exception against Mr *Long* than this foul and foolish "Accusation, it was cause enough never to trust him. And therefore he presently sent for the Chancellor, and as soon as he came in, commanded him to sit in his place; and told him, "He was sorry he was not in a condition to do him more "Justice than to declare him innocent; which he did do, and commanded the Clerk of the Council to draw up a full Order for his Vindication, which his Majesty himself would sign.

The King acquits the Chancellor.

The Keeper accuses the Chancellor of the Exchequer of having spoken ill of the King.

THE Keeper could not contain himself from appearing very much troubled: and said, "If what he heard from a Person of "honour who, he thought, would justify it, were true, the

"Chan-

" Chancellor had aſperſed the King in ſuch a manner, and ſo " much reviled his Majeſty in point of his honour, that he " was not fit to ſit there. The Chancellor was wonderfully ſurpriſed with the Charge; and humbly beſought his Majeſty, " That the Lord Keeper might produce his Author, or be " look'd upon as the Contriver of the Scandal. The Keeper anſwer'd, " That if his Majeſty would appoint an hour the next " day for the Council to meet, he would produce the Perſon " who, he was confident, would juſtify all he had ſaid.

The Lord Gerard produced to prove it.

THE next day, the King being ſate in Council, the Keeper deſir'd that the Lord *Gerard* might be called in; who preſently appear'd; and being ask'd, " Whether he had at any time heard " the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſpeak ill of the King? he anſwer'd, Yes. And thereupon made a relation of a conference that had paſſed between the Chancellor and Him a year before, when the King lay at *Chantilly*; " That one day, after " dinner, the King took the Air, and being in the Field his " Majeſty alighted out of his Coach, and took his Horſe, with " other of the Lords to ride into the next Field to ſee a Dog " ſet Patridge; and that he, the Lord *Gerard*, and the Chan- " cellor remain'd in the Coach, when he enter'd into diſcourſe " of the King's condition; and ſaid, that he thought his Ma- " jeſty was not active enough, nor did think of his buſineſs; " and, that the Chancellor, who was known to have credit " with him, ought to adviſe him to be active, for his Honour " and his Intereſt; otherwiſe his Friends would fall from him. " But, that it was generally believ'd, that he, the Chancellor, " had no mind that his Majeſty ſhould put himſelf into " Action, but was rather for ſitting ſtill; and therefore it con- " cern'd him, for his own juſtification, to perſwade the King " to be Active, and to leave *France*, where he could not but " obſerve that every body was weary of him. To all which " the Chancellor took great pains to purge himſelf from be- " ing in the fault; and ſaid, that no body could think that he " could take delight to ſtay in a place where he was ſo ill " uſed; but laid all the fault upon the King; who, he ſaid, was " indiſpoſed to buſineſs, and took too much delight in plea- " ſures, and did not love to take pains; for which he was " heartily ſorry, but could not help it; which *Gerard* ſaid, " he thought was a great reproach and ſcandal upon the King, " from a Man ſo obliged and truſted, who ought not to aſperſe " his Maſter in that manner.

The Chancellor's Defence.

THE Chancellor was a little out of countenance; and ſaid, " He did not expect that Accuſation from any body, leſs that " the Lord *Gerard* ſhould diſcover any private diſcourſe that " had paſſed a year before between them two, and which ap- " pear'd by his relation to have been introduced by himſelf, " and

"and by his own freedom: that whoſoever believ'd that he "had a mind to traduce the King, would never believe that "he would have choſen the Lord *Gerard*, who was known "to be none of his Friend, to have communicated it to. He ſaid, "He did very well remember, that the Lord *Gerard* did, "at that time when they two remain'd alone in the Coach, "very paſſionately cenſure the King's not being Active, and "blamed him, the Chancellor, for not perſwading his Maje- "ſty to put himſelf into Action; and that He was generally "believ'd to be in the fault: upon which he had ask'd him, "what he did intend by being Active, and what that Action "was, and where, to which he wiſh'd the King ſhould be per- "ſwaded? He anſwer'd, with an increaſe of paſſion, and ad- "dition of Oaths, that rather than ſit ſtill in *France*, his Ma- "jeſty ought to go to every Court in *Chriſtendom*; that inſtead "of ſending an Embaſſadour who was not fit for any Buſineſs, "he ſhould have gone himſelf to the Diet at *Ratisbone*, and "ſollicited his own buſineſs: which would have been more "effectual; and that, if he could not find any other way to "put himſelf into Action, he ought to go into the High- "lands of *Scotland* to *Middleton*, and there try his Fortune. To all which the Chancellor ſaid, he did remember that he replied, "He believ'd the King was indiſpoſed to any of that "Action he propoſed: and though he did not believe, that he "had uſed thoſe Expreſſions, of the King's delighting in plea- "ſures, and not loving buſineſs ſo well as he ought to do, if "the Lord *Gerard* would poſitively affirm he had, he would "rather confeſs it, and ſubmit himſelf to his Majeſty's judg- "ment, if he thought ſuch words proceeded from any malice "in his heart towards him, than, by denying it, continue the "Debate: And then he offer'd to retire; which the King forbid him to do; upon which the Keeper was very angry; and ſaid, "The words amounted to an Offence of a high Na- "ture; and that he was ſorry his Majeſty was no more ſenſi- "ble of them: that for any Man, eſpecially a Counſellor, and "a Man in ſo near truſt, to accuſe his Maſter of not loving his "buſineſs, and being inclined to pleaſures, was to do all he "could to perſwade all Men to forſake him; and proceeding with his uſual warmth and poſitiveneſs, the King interrupted him; and ſaid, "He did really believe the Chancellor had uſed "thoſe very words, becauſe he had often ſaid That, and much "more to himſelf; which he had never taken ill: that he "did really believe that he was himſelf in a fault, and did not "enough delight in his buſineſs; which was not very plea- "ſant; but he did not know that ſuch putting himſelf in- "to Action, which was the common word, as the Lord "*Gerard* adviſed, was like to be attended with thoſe benefits,

"which

"which, he was confident, he wiſh'd. In fine, he declared, "he was very well ſatisfied in the Chancellor's Affection, and "took nothing ill that he had ſaid; and directed the Clerk "of the Council to enter ſuch his Majeſty's Declaration in his "Book; with which both the Keeper and the Lord *Gerard* were very ill ſatisfied. But from that time there were no farther publick attempts againſt the Chancellor, during the time of his Majeſty's abode in *France*. But it may not be unſeaſonable to inſert in this place, that after the King's return into *England*, there came the Woman to the Chancellor who had been carried over to *Roan* by *Maſſonet*, and importuned by Mr *Long* to teſtify that ſhe had ſeen the Chancellor with *Cromwell*; for which ſhe ſhould have a preſent liberal reward in Money from him, and a good Service at *Paris*; which when the Woman refuſed to do, he gave her Money for her Journey back, and ſo ſhe return'd: of which the Chancellor inform'd the King. But Mr *Long* himſelf coming at the ſame time to him, and making great Acknowledgments, and asking pardon, the Chancellor frankly remitted the injury; which Mr *Long* ſeem'd to acknowledge with great gratitude ever after.

THE King wearied with theſe domeſtick Vexations, as well as with the uneaſineſs of his Entertainment, and the change he every day diſcover'd in the countenance of the *French* Court to him, grew very impatient to leave *France*; and though he was totally diſappointed of the expectation he had to receive Money by the Return of Prince *Rupert* with that Fleet, he hoped that when the Prizes ſhould be ſold, and all the Seamen diſcharg'd, and Prince *Rupert* be ſatisfied his demands, which were very large, there would be ſtill left the Ships, and Ordnance and Tackling, which (though they requir'd great Charge to be fitted out again to Sea, yet) if ſold, he preſumed, would yield a good Sum of Money to enable him to remove, and ſupport him ſome time after he was remov'd; for there were, beſides the Ship it ſelf, fifty good Braſs Guns on board the *Swallow*, which were very valuable. His Majeſty therefore writ to Prince *Rupert* (who was return'd to *Nantes* to diſcharge ſome Sea-men, who ſtill remain'd, and to ſell the reſt of the Prizes) "That he ſhould find ſome good Chapmen "to buy the Ships, and Ordnance, and Tackle, at the value "they were worth: which was no ſooner known at *Nantes*, than there appear'd Chapmen enough, beſides the Marſhal of *Melleray*, who being Governour of that place, and of the Province, had much Money always by him to lay out on ſuch occaſions. And the Prince writ the King word, "That he had "then a good Chapman, who would pay well for the Braſs "Cannon; and that he ſhould put off all the reſt at good rates.

But

But he writ again the next Week, "That, when he had even "finish'd the contract for the Brass Cannon, there came an "Order from the Court, that no Man should presume to buy "the Brass Cannon, and to Marshal *Malleray* to take care that "they were not carried out of that Port.

THE Prince apprehended, that this unexpected restraint proceeded from some claim and demand from *Cromwell*; and then expected, that it would likewise relate to the *Swallow* it self, if not to the other Ships; and the Marshal contributed to, and cherished this Jealousy, that the better Markets might be made of all the rest; himself being always a sharer with the Merchants, who made any purchases of that kind: as he had, from the time that his Highness first came into that Port, always insinuated into him in confidence, and under great good will and trust, "That he should use all expedition in the "sale of the Prizes, lest either *Cromwell* should demand the "whole (which he much doubted) or that the Merchants, "Owners of the Goods, should upon the hearing where they "were, send and arrest the said Ships and Goods, and demand "restitution to be made of them in a course of Justice; in "either of which cases, he said "He did not know, consider- "ing how things stood with *England*, what the Court would "determine: though, he promised, he would extend his Au- thority to serve the Prince, as far as he could with his own "safety; and defer the publishing and execution of any Or- "ders he should receive, till the Prince might facilitate the "dispatch: and by this kind Advice very good Bargains had been made for those Goods which had been sold; of which the Marshal had an Account to his own desire.

BUT when, upon this unwelcome Advertisement, the King made his Address to the Cardinal to revoke this Order; and, as the best reason to oblige him to gratify him, told him, "That the Money, which should be raised upon the Sale of "those Cannon, was the only means he had to remove him- "self out of *France*, which he intended shortly to do, and "to go to the hither parts of *Germany*, and that his Sister, the "Princess of *Orange*, and He, had some thoughts of finding "themselves together, in the beginning of the Summer, at "the *Spaw*: which indeed had newly enter'd into the King's consideration, and had been entertain'd by the Princess Royal; the Cardinal, being well pleased with the reason, told his Ma- jesty, "That this Order was not newly made, but had been "very Ancient, that no Merchants or any private Subjects, "should buy any Brass Ordnance in any Port, lest ill use "might be made of them; and that the Order was not now "reviv'd with any purpose to bring any prejudice to his Ma- "jesty; who should be no loser by the restraint; for that him-

"self

"ſelf would buy the Ordnance, and give as much for them as "they were worth; in order to which, he would forthwith "ſend an Agent to *Nantes* to ſee the Cannon; and, upon "conference with a Perſon employ'd by the King, they two "ſhould agree upon the price, and then the Money ſhould be "all paid together to his Majeſty in *Paris*: intimating "That "he would diſpute the matter afterwards with *Cromwell*; as if he knew, or foreſaw, that he would make ſome demand.

IT was well for the King that this condition was made for the payment of this Money in *Paris*; for of all the Money paid or receiv'd at *Nantes*, as well for the Ships, Tackle, and Ordnance, as for the Prize-Goods, not one penny ever came to the King's hands, or to his uſe, but what he receiv'd at *Paris* from the Cardinal for the Braſs Guns which were upon the *Swallow*; for the valuing whereof the King ſent one thither to treat with the Officer of the Cardinal. All the reſt was diſpoſed, as well as receiv'd, by Prince *Rupert*; who when he return'd to *Paris*, gave his Majeſty a confuſed Account; and averr'd, "That the expences had been ſo great, "that there was not only no Money remaining in his hands, "but that there was a debt ſtill due to a Merchant; which he deſired his Majeſty to promiſe to ſatisfy.

The King reſolves to go into Germany.

THE King's reſolution to go into *Germany* was very grateful to every body, more from the wearineſs they had of *France*, than from the foreſight of any benefit and advantage that was like to accrue by the remove. But his Majeſty, who needed no ſpurs for that Journey, was the more diſpoſed to it by the extraordinary importunity of his Friends in *England*; who obſerving the ſtrict correſpondence that was between the Cardinal and *Cromwell*, and knowing that the Allyance between them was very near concluded, and being inform'd that there were conditions agreed upon, which were very prejudicial to the King, did really apprehend that his Majeſty's Perſon might be given up; and thereupon they ſent *Harry Seymour*, who, being of his Majeſty's Bed-Chamber, and having his leave to attend his own Affairs in *England*, they well knew would be believ'd by the King, and being addreſſed only to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he might have opportunity to ſpeak with the King privately and undiſcover'd, and return again with ſecurity, as he, and divers Meſſengers of that kind, frequently did. He was ſent by the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, with the privity of thoſe few who were truſted by them, "To be very importunate with the King, "that he would remove out of *France*; and to communicate "to his Majeſty all which they receiv'd from Perſons who "were admitted into many of the ſecret reſolutions, and pur-

Mr Harry Seymour *ſent to the King from his Friends in* England.

"poſes

"poſes of *Cromwell*. And becauſe they well knew in what ſtreights the King was for Money, they found ſome means at that time to ſend him a Supply of about three thouſand pounds; which the King receiv'd, and kept with great ſecrecy. They ſent him word likewiſe, "That wherever he "ſhould chooſe to reſide out of *France*, they were confident "his Servants in *England*, under what perſecution ſoever they "lay, would ſend him ſome ſupply: but whilſt he remain'd "in *France*, no body would be prevail'd with to ſend to him. The King was glad to be confirm'd in the reſolution he had taken, by his Friends advice; and that they had in ſome degree enabled him to proſecute it; which was the more valuable, becauſe it was known to none. Yet his Debts were ſo great in *Paris*, and the Servants who were to attend him in ſo ill a condition, and ſo without all conveniences for a Journey, that, if the Cardinal, over and above the Money for the Cannon (which the King did not deſire to receive till the laſt) did not take care for the payment of all the Arrears, which were due upon the Aſſignment they had made to him, he ſhould not be able to make his Journey.

BUT in this he receiv'd ſome eaſe quickly; for when the Cardinal was ſatisfied, that his Majeſty had a full reſolution to be gone, which he ſtill doubted, till he heard from *Holland* that the Princeſs Royal did really provide for her Journey to the *Spaw*, he did let the King know, "That, againſt "the time that his Majeſty appointed his remove, his Ar- "rears ſhould be either entirely paid, or ſo much of his Debts "ſecured to his Creditors, as ſhould well ſatisfy them; and "the reſt ſhould be paid to his Receiver for the charge of "the Journey; and likewiſe aſſured his Majeſty, "That, for "the future, the monthly Aſſignation ſhould be punctually "paid to whomſoever his Majeſty would appoint to receive "it. This promiſe was better comply'd with than any other that had been made, till ſome years after, the King thought fit to decline the receiving thereof; which will be remember'd in its place.

The Cardinal pays the King all his arrears from France.

ALL things being in this ſtate, the King declared his reſolution to begin his Journey, aſſoon as he could put himſelf into a capacity of moving, upon the receipt of the Money he expected, and all preparations were made for enabling the Family to be ready to wait upon his Majeſty, and for the better regulating, and governing it, when the King ſhould be out of *France*; there having never been any order taken in it whilſt he remain'd there, nor could be, becauſe his Majeſty had always eaten with the Queen, and her Officers had govern'd the expence; ſo that by the failing of receiving Money that was promiſed, and by the Queen's Officers receiving

ceiving all that was paid, to carry on the expence of their Majesty's Table, which the King's Servants durst not enquire into, very few of his Majesty's Servants had receiv'd any wages from the time of his coming from *Worcester* to the remove he was now to make. Nor was it possible now to satisfy them what they might in justice expect, but they were to be contented with such a Proportion as could be spared, and which might enable them, without reproach and scandal, to leave *Paris* and attend him. They were all modest in their desires, hoping that they should be better provided for in another place. But now the King met with an obstruction, that he least suspected, from the extraordinary narrowness of the Cardinal's nature, and his over good husbandry in bargaining. The Agent he had sent to *Nantes* to view the Cannon, made so many scruples and exceptions upon the price, and upon the weight, that spent much time; and at last, offer'd much less than they were worth, and than the other Merchant had offer'd, when the Injunction came that restrain'd him from proceeding. The King knew not what to propose in this. The Cardinal said, "He understood not the price of "Cannon himself, and therefore he had employ'd a Man that "did; and it was reasonable for him to govern himself by "His Conduct; who assured him, that he offer'd as much as "they could reasonably be valued at. It was moved on the King's behalf, "That he would permit others to buy them; "which, he said, "He could not do, because of the King his "Master's restraint; and if any Merchant, or other Person, "should agree for them, *Cromwell* would demand them "wherever they should be found; and there were not many "that would dispute the Right with Him. In conclusion, the King was compell'd to refer the matter to himself, and to accept what he was content to pay; and when all was agreed upon according to his own pleasure, he required new abatements in the manner of payment of the Money, all allowance for paying it in Gold, and the like, fitter to be insisted on by the meanest Merchant, than by a Member of the sacred College, who would be esteem'd a Prince of the Church.

The Condition of King Charles *the first's Children after their Father's death.*

WHILST the King is preparing for his Journey to meet the Princess of *Orange*, it will be fit to look back a little on the condition of the rest of his Brothers and Sisters. After that the Princess *Henrietta* had been secretly convey'd from *Oatlands* into *France*, by the Lady *Moreton* her Governess, in the Year forty six; and the Duke of *York*, in the Year forty eight, had made his escape from St *James's*; where He, and the rest of the Royal Family that remain'd in *England*, were under the Care and Tuition of the Earl of *Northumberland*; the Parliament would not suffer, nor did the Earl desire, that the

the reſt ſhould remain longer under his Government. But the other two, the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and the Duke of *Gloceſter*, were committed to the Counteſs of *Leiceſter*; to whom ſuch an allowance was paid out of the Treaſury, as might well defray their Expences, with that reſpect that was due to their Birth; which was perform'd towards them as long as the King their Father Liv'd. But aſſoon as the King was Murder'd, it was order'd that the Children ſhould be remov'd into the Country, that they might not be the objects of reſpect to draw the Eyes and Application of People towards them. The Allowance was retrench'd, that their Attendants and Servants might be leſſen'd; and order was given, "That they ſhould "be treated without any Addition of Titles, and that they "ſhould ſit at their Meat as the Children of the Family did, "and all at one Table. Whereupon they were remov'd to *Penſhurſt*, a Houſe of the Earl of *Leiceſter*'s in *Kent*; where they liv'd under the Tuition of the ſame Counteſs, who obſerv'd the Order of the Parliament with Obedience enough: yet they were carefully look'd to, and treated with as much reſpect as the Lady pretended ſhe durſt pay to them.

THERE, by an Act of Providence, Mr *Lovel*, an honeſt Man, who had been recommended to teach the Earl of *Sunderland*, whoſe Mother was a Daughter of the Houſe of *Leiceſter*, became likewiſe Tutor to the Duke of *Gloceſter*; who was, by that means, well taught in that Learning that was fit for his Years, and very well inſtructed in the Principles of Religion, and the Duty that he owed to the King his Brother: all which made the deeper impreſſion in his very pregnant Nature, by what his Memory retain'd of thoſe Inſtructions which the King his Father had, with much fervour, given him before his death. But ſhortly after, the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, and the Duke of *Gloceſter*, were remov'd from the Government of the Counteſs of *Leiceſter*, and ſent into the Iſle of *Wight* to *Carisbrook* Caſtle; where *Mildmay* was Captain; and the Care of them committed to him, with an Aſſignation for their Maintenance; which he was to order, and which in truth was given as a boon to him; and he was required ſtrictly, "That no Perſon ſhould be permitted to kiſs their hands, and "that they ſhould not be otherwiſe treated than as the Chil-"dren of a Gentleman; which *Mildmay* obſerv'd very exact-"ly; and the Duke of *Gloceſter* was not call'd by any other Style than, Mr *Harry*. The Tutor was continued, and ſent thither with him; which pleaſed him very well. And here they remain'd at leaſt two or three Years. The Princeſs died in this Place; and, according to the Charity of that time towards *Cromwell*, very many would have it believ'd to be by

Poyſon; of which there was no appearance, nor any proof ever after made.

But whether this reproach and ſuſpicion made any impreſſion in the mind of *Cromwell*, or whether he had any jealouſy that the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who was now about twelve years of Age, and a Prince of extraordinary Hopes both from the Comlineſs and Gracefulneſs of his Perſon, and the Vivacity and Vigour of his Wit and Underſtanding, which made him much ſpoken of, might, at ſome time or other, be made uſe of by the diſcontented Party of his own Army to give him trouble, or whether he would ſhew the contempt he had of the Royal Family, by ſending another of it into the World to try his Fortune, he did declare one day to the Parliament, "That he was well content that the Son of the late King, who "was then in *Carisbrook* Caſtle, ſhould have liberty to Tranſ- "port himſelf into any parts beyond the Seas, as he ſhould "deſire: which was at that time much wonder'd at, and not believ'd; and many thought it a preſage of a worſe inclination; and for ſome time there was no more ſpeech of it. But notice and advice being ſent to the Duke by thoſe who wiſh'd his Liberty, that he ſhould proſecute the obtaining that Order and Releaſe, He, who deſired moſt to be out of reſtraint, ſent his Tutor, Mr *Lovel*, to *London*, to be adviſed by Friends what he ſhould do to procure ſuch an Order, and Warrant, as was neceſſary for his Tranſportation. And he, by the advice of thoſe who wiſh'd well to the Affair, did ſo dextrouſly ſollicite it, that he did not only procure an Order from the Parliament that gave him Liberty to go over the Seas with the Duke, and to require *Mildmay* to permit him to Embark, but likewiſe five hundred pounds from the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, which he receiv'd, to defray the Charges and Expences of the Voyage; being left to provide a Ship himſelf, and being oblig'd to Embark at the Iſle of *Wight*, and not to ſuffer the Duke to go on Shore in any other part of *England*.

This happen'd in the latter end of the Year 1652; and was ſo well proſecuted, that, ſoon after, the King receiv'd advertiſement from his Siſter in *Holland*, "That the Duke of "*Gloceſter* was arriv'd there; and would be the next day with "her; which was no ſooner known than the Queen very earneſtly deſired, that he might be preſently ſent for to *Paris*, that ſhe might ſee him; which ſhe had never done ſince he was about a year old; for within ſuch a ſhort time after he was Born, the Troubles were ſo far advanced, that her Majeſty made her Voyage into *Holland*, and from that time had never ſeen him. The King could not refuſe to ſatisfy his Mother in ſo reaſonable a deſire, though he did ſuſpect that there might

might be a farther purpose in that design of seeing him, than was then own'd. And therefore he had dispatched presently a Messenger to the *Hague*, that his Brother might make all possible haste to *Paris*. He was accordingly presently sent for, and came safely to *Paris*, to the satisfaction of all who saw him.

Now all Expedition was used to provide for the King's remove, so generally desired of all; and, for the future, the Charge of governing the Expences of the Family, and of payment of the Wages of the Servants, and indeed of issuing out all Monies, as well in Journies as when the Court resided any where, was committed to *Stephen Fox*, a young Man bred under the severe discipline of the Lord *Piercy*, now Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houshold. This *Stephen Fox* was very well qualified with Languages, and all other parts of Clerkship, Honesty, and Discretion, that were necessary for the discharge of such a Trust; and indeed his great industry, Modesty, and Prudence, did very much contribute to the bringing the Family, which for so many Years had been under no Government, into very good Order; by which his Majesty, in the pinching streights of his Condition, enjoy'd very much ease from the time he left *Paris*.

Mr Stephen Fox *admitted to manage the King's Money.*

Prince *Rupert* was now return'd from *Nantes*; and finding that he should receive none of the Money the Cardinal was to pay for the Brass Ordnance, and being every day more indispos'd by the Chagrin Humour of the Keeper (who endeavour'd to enflame him against the King, as well as against most other Men, and thought his Highness did not give evidence enough of his concernment and Friendship for him, except he fell out with every Body with whom He was angry) resolv'd to leave the King; wrought upon, no doubt, besides the frowardness of the other Man, by the despair that seem'd to attend the King's Fortune; and told his Majesty, "That he was "resolv'd to look after his own Affairs in *Germany*; and first "to visit his Brother in the *Palatinate*, and require what was "due from him for his Appennage; and then to go to the "Emperour, to receive the Money that was due to him upon "the Treaty of *Munster*; which was to be all paid by the Emperour; from the prosecution of which purpose his Majesty did not dissuade him; and, possibly, heard it with more indifferency than the Prince expected; which raised his natural Passion; insomuch, as the day when he took his leave, that no body might imagine that he had any thoughts ever to return to have any relation to, or dependence upon the King, he told his Majesty, "That, if he pleased, he might dispose of "the place of Master of the Horse; in which he had been settled by the late King, and his present Majesty had, to pre-

Prince Rupert *leaves the King: and goes into* Germany.

Resigns to him the place of Master of the Horse.

ſerve that Office for him, and to take away the pretence the Lord *Piercy* might have to it, by his having had that Office to the Prince of *Wales*, recompenſed Him with the place of Lord Chamberlain, though not to his full content. But the King bore this Reſignation likewiſe from the Prince with the ſame countenance as he had done his firſt Reſolution; and ſo, towards the end of *April*, or the beginning of *May*, his Highneſs left the King, and begun his Journey for the *Palatinate*.

SHORTLY after the Prince was gone, the King begun to think of a day for his own departure, and to make a Liſt of his Servants he intended ſhould wait upon him. He foreſaw that the only end of his Journey was to find ſome place where he might ſecurely attend ſuch a Conjuncture as God Almighty ſhould give him, that might invite him to new Activity, his preſent buſineſs being to be quiet; and therefore he was wont to ſay, "That he would provide the beſt he could "for it, by having only ſuch about him as could be quiet. He could not forget the vexation the Lord Keeper had always given him, and how impoſſible it was for him to live eaſily with any body; and ſo, in the making the Liſt of thoſe who were to go with him, he left his Name out; which the Keeper could not be long without knowing; and thereupon he came to the King, and asked him, "Whether he did not intend that "he ſhould wait upon him? His Majeſty told him, No; for "that he reſolv'd to make no uſe of his Great Seal; and there-"fore that he ſhould ſtay at *Paris*, and not put himſelf to the "trouble of ſuch a Journey, which he himſelf intended to "make without the eaſe and benefit of a Coach: which in truth he did, putting his Coach-Horſes in a Waggon, wherein his Bed and Cloaths were carried: nor was he owner of a Coach in ſome years after. The Keeper expoſtulated with him in vain upon the diſhonour that it would be to him to be left behind, and the next day brought the Great Seal, and deliver'd it to him; and deſir'd "That he would ſign a Paper, in which "his Majeſty acknowledged, that he had receiv'd again his "Great Seal from him; which the King very willingly ſign'd; and he immediately remov'd his Lodging; and left the Court; and never after ſaw his Majeſty; which did not at all pleaſe the Queen; who was as much troubled that He was to ſtay where She was, as that he did not go with the King.

The Lord Keeper Herbert *reſigns his Office to the King.*

THE Queen prevailed with the King at parting, in a particular in which he had fortified himſelf to deny her, which was, "That he would leave the Duke of *Gloceſter* with her; which ſhe asked with ſo much importunity, that, without very much diſobliging her, he could not reſiſt. She deſired him "To conſider in what condition he had been bred till he "came

The Queen prevails with the King to leave the Duke of Gloceſter *with her.*

"came into *France*, without Learning either exerciſe or lan-
"guage, or having ever ſeen a Court, or good Company; and
"being now in a place, and at an Age, that he might be in-
"ſtructed in all theſe, to carry him away from all theſe Ad-
"vantages to live in *Germany*, would be interpreted by all the
"world, not only to be want of kindneſs towards his Bro-
"ther, but want of all manner of reſpect to Her. The reaſon-
ableneſs of this diſcourſe, together with the King's utter diſ-
ability to ſupport him in the condition that was fit for him,
would eaſily have prevailed, had it not been for the fear that
the purpoſe was to pervert him in his Religion; which when
the Queen had aſſured the King "Was not in her thought, and
"that ſhe would not permit any ſuch attempt to be made, his
Majeſty conſented to it.

Now the day being appointed for his Majeſty to begin his Journey, the King deſir'd that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might likewiſe part in the Queen's good grace, at leaſt without her notable diſfavour, ſhe having been ſo ſevere towards him, that he had not for ſome Months preſum'd to be in her preſence: ſo that though he was very deſirous to kiſs her Majeſty's hand, he himſelf knew not how to make any Advance towards it. But the day before the King was to be gone, the Lord *Piercy*, who was directed by his Majeſty to ſpeak in the Affair, and who in truth had kindneſs for the Chancellor, and knew the prejudice againſt him to be very unjuſt, brought him word that the Queen was content to ſee him, and that he would accompany him to her in the Afternoon. Accordingly at the hour appointed by her Majeſty, they found her alone in her private Gallery, and the Lord *Piercy* withdrawing to the other end of the Room, the Chancellor told her Majeſty, "That now ſhe had vouchſafed to admit him into her "preſence, he hoped, ſhe would let him know the ground of "the diſpleaſure ſhe had conceiv'd againſt him; that ſo hav-"ing vindicated himſelf from any fault towards her Majeſty, "he might leave her with a confidence in his Duty, and re-"ceive her Commands, with an aſſurance that they ſhould be "punctually obey'd by him. The Queen, with a louder voice, and more emotion than ſhe was accuſtom'd to, told him, "That ſhe had been contented to ſee him, and to give "him leave to kiſs her hand, to comply with the King's de-"ſires, who had importuned her to it; otherwiſe, that he liv'd "in that manner towards her, that he had no reaſon to ex-"pect to be welcome to her: that ſhe need not aſſign any par-"ticular miſcarriage of his, ſince his diſreſpect towards her "was notorious to all Men; and that all Men took notice, "that he never came where ſhe was, though he lodged under "her Roof (for the Houſe was hers) "And that ſhe thought

Upon the King's departure from France, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had an Audience of the Queen Mother.

"she had not seen him in six Months before; which she look'd "upon as so high an Affront, that only her respect towards the "King prevailed with her to endure it.

When her Majesty made a pause, the Chancellor said, "That her Majesty had only mention'd his punishment, and "nothing of his fault: that how great soever his infirmities "were in defect of Understanding, or in good manners, he had "yet never been in *Bedlam*; which he had deserv'd to be, if "he had affected to publish to the world that he was in the "Queen's disfavour, by avoiding to be seen by her: that he "had no kind of Apprehension that they who thought worst "of him, would ever believe him to be such a Fool, as to "provoke the Wife of his dead Master, the greatness of whose "Affections to her was well known to him, and the Mother "of the King, who subsisted by her favour, and all this in "*France*, where himself was a banish'd Person, and she at "home, where she might oblige, or disoblige him at her plea-"sure. So that he was well assured, that no body would think "him guilty of so much folly and madness, as not to use all "the endeavours he possibly could to obtain her Grace and "Protection: that it was very true, he had been long with-"out the presumption of being in her Majesty's presence, af-"ter he had undergone many sharp Instances of her displea-"sure, and after he had observ'd some alteration and aversion "in her Majesty's looks and countenance, upon his coming "into the Room where she was, and during the time he stay'd "there; which others likewise observ'd so much, that they "withdrew from holding any conversation with him in those "places, out of fear to offend her Majesty: that he had often "desir'd, by several Persons, to know the cause of her Maje-"sty's displeasure, and that he might be admitted to clear him-"self from any unworthy Suggestions which had been made "of him to her Majesty; but could never obtain that honour; "and therefore he had conceiv'd, that he was obliged, in good "manners, to remove so unacceptable an object from the eyes "of her Majesty, by not coming into her presence; which "all who knew him, could not but know to be the greatest "Mortification that could be inflicted upon him; and there-"fore he most humbly besought her Majesty at this Audience, "which might be the last he should receive of her, she would "dismiss him with the knowledge of what had been taken "amiss, that he might be able to make his innocence and in-"tegrity appear; which he knew had been blasted by the ma-"lice of some Persons; and thereby misunderstood and mis-"interpreted by her Majesty. But all this prevailed not with her Majesty; who, after she had, with her former passion, ob-jected his credit with the King, and his endeavours to lessen

that

that Credit which she ought to have, concluded, "That she "should be glad to see reason to change her opinion; and so, carelessly, extended her hand towards him; which he kissing, her Majesty departed to her Chamber.

The King left Paris *in* June 1654.

It was about the beginning of *June* in the year 1654, that the King left *Paris*; and because he made a private Journey the first night, and did not joyn his Family till the next day, which administer'd much occasion of discourse, and gave occasion to a bold Person to publish, amongst the Amours of the *French* Court, a particular that reflected upon the Person of the King, though with less Licence than he used towards his own Soveraign, it will not be amiss in this place to mention a Preservation God then wrought for the King, that was none of the least of his Mercies vouchsafed to him; and which shews the wonderful Liberty that was then taken by some near him, to promote their own designs, and projects, at the price of their Master's Honour, and the Interest of their Country, or the Sense they had of that Honour and Interest.

There was at that time in the Court of *France*, or rather in the jealousy of that Court, a Lady of great Beauty, of a presence very graceful and alluring, and a Wit and Behaviour that Captivated those who were admitted into her presence; her Extraction was very Noble, and her Alliance the best under the Crown, her Fortune rather competent, than abounding, for her degree; being the Widow of a Duke of an Illustrious Name, who had been kill'd fighting for the King in the late Troubles, and left his Wife Childless, and in her full Beauty. The King had often seen this Lady with that esteem, and inclination, which few were without, both her Beauty, and her Wit deserving the homage that was paid to her. The Earl of *Bristol*, who was then a Lieutenant General in the *French* Army, and always Amorously inclined, and the more inclined by the difficulty of the attempt, was grown powerfully in love with this Lady; and to have the more power with her, communicated those Secrets of State which concern'd her safety, and more the Prince of *Condè*, whose Cousin German she was; the communication whereof was of benefit, or convenience to both: yet though he made many Romantick Attempts to ingratiate himself with her, and such as would neither have become, or been safe to any other Man than himself, who was accustom'd to extraordinary flights in the Air, he could not arrive at the high success he proposed. At the same time, the Lord *Crofts* was transported with the same Ambition; and though his Parts were very different from the others, yet he wanted not art and address to encourage him in those Attempts, and could bear repulses with more tranquillity of mind, and acquiescence, than the other could. When

theſe two Lords had lamented to each other their mutual Infelicity, they agreed generouſly to merit their Miſtreſs's favour by doing her a Service that ſhould deſerve it; and boldly propoſed to her the Marriage of the King; who, they both knew, had no diſlike of her Perſon: and they purſued it with his Majeſty with all their Artifices. They added the reputation of her Wiſdom and Virtue to that of her Beauty, and "That ſhe might be inſtrumental to the procuring more Friends "towards his Reſtoration, than any other Expedient, then in "view; and at laſt prevailed ſo far with the King, who no doubt had a perfect Eſteem of her, that he made the Overture to her of Marriage; which ſhe receiv'd with her natural modeſty and addreſs, declaring herſelf "To be much unwor-"thy of that Grace; and beſeeching and adviſing him "To "preſerve that affection and inclination for an object more "equal to him, and more capable to contribute to his Ser-"vice; uſing all thoſe Arguments for refuſal, which might prevail with and enflame him to new importunities.

THOUGH theſe Lords made themſelves, upon this Advance, ſure to go through with their deſign, yet they foreſaw many obſtructions in the way. The Queen, they knew, would never conſent to it, and the *French* Court, would obſtruct it, as they had done that of *Mademoiſelle*; nor could they perſwade the Lady her ſelf to depart from her Dignity, and to uſe any of thoſe Arts which might expedite the deſign. The Earl of *Briſtol* therefore, that the News might not come to his Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer by other hands, frankly imparted it to him, only as a paſſion of the King's that had exceedingly tranſported him; and then magnified the Lady, "As a Perſon that would exceedingly cultivate the "King's Nature, and render him much more dexterous to ad-"vance his Fortune: and therefore he profeſſed, "That he "would not diſſwade his Majeſty from gratifying ſo noble an "affection; and uſed many Arguments to perſwade the Chancellor too to think very well of the choice. But when he found that he was ſo far from concurring with him, that he reproach'd his great Preſumption for interpoſing in an Affair of ſo delicate a nature, as by his Conduct might prove the ruin of the King, he ſeem'd reſolv'd to proſecute it no farther, but to leave it entirely to the King's own Inclination; who, upon ſerious reflections upon his own Condition, and conference with thoſe he truſted moſt, quickly concluded that ſuch a Marriage was not like to yield much advantage to his Cauſe; and ſo reſolv'd to decline any farther advance towards it. Yet the ſame Perſons perſwaded him, that it was a neceſſary Generoſity to take his laſt farewel of her; and ſo, after he had taken leave of his Mother, he went ſo much out of

his

his way as to visit her at her House; where those Lords made their last effort; and his Majesty, with great esteem of the Lady's Virtue, and Wisdom, the next day joyn'd his Family, and prosecuted his Journey towards *Flanders*; his small step out of the way, having raised a confident rumour in *Paris* that he was Married to that Lady.

THE King had receiv'd a Pass from the Arch-Duke for his passing through *Flanders*, so warily worded, that he could not but take notice, that it was expected and provided for, that he should by no means make any unnecessary stay in his Journey; and he found the Gates of *Cambray* shut when he came thither; and was compell'd to stay long in the Afternoon, before they were open'd to receive him; which they excused, "By reason that they understood the Enemy was at hand, "and intended to sit down before that City; of which there appear'd in the face of all the People, and the Governour himself, a terrible Apprehension. But, upon recollection, his Majesty was well receiv'd by the Governour, and treated and lodged that night by him in his House; who was the better composed by his Majesty's assuring him, "That the *French* "Army was at a great distance from him, and that his Ma- "jesty had passed through it the day before (when Marshal *Turenne* had drawn up the Army to receive his Majesty; the Duke of *York* having there likewise taken his leave of the King) "and by the march that they then appear'd to make, "there was great reason to conclude that they had no design "upon *Cambray*; which good information made the King's presence the more acceptable. But besides the civility of that Supper, and Lodging that Night, his Majesty had not the least Address from the Arch-Duke, who was within four or five Leagues with his Army, but passed without the least notice taken of him, through those Provinces; so great a terrour possessed the hearts of the *Spaniards*, lest their shewing any respect to the King in his passage through their Country, should incense *Cromwell* against them, whose friendship they yet seem'd to have hope of.

The King comes to Cambray *in his Journey.*

The King passes thro' Flanders *without being taken notice of by the Arch-Duke.*

HIS Majesty intended to have made no stay, having receiv'd Letters from the *Hague*, that his Sister was already in her Journey for the *Spaw*. But, when he came to *Mons*, he found two Gentleman there, who came out of *England* with Letters and Instructions from those of his Friends there who retain'd their old Affections. By them his Majesty was inform'd that many of them recover'd new Courage from the General discontent which possessed the Kingdom, and which every day encreased by the continual Oppressions, and Tyranny they sustain'd. The Taxes and Impositions every day were augmented, and *Cromwell*, and his Council, did greater

At Mons *he meets with Messengers to him from his Friends in* England. *They notify to him the State of Affairs in* England, *relating chiefly to* Cromwell *and his Army.*

Acts

Acts of Soveraignty than ever King and Parliament had attempted. All Goals were full of such Persons as contradicted their Commands, and were suspected to wish well to the King; and there appear'd such a rend among the Officers of the Army, that the Protector was compell'd to displace many of them, and to put more confiding Men in their places. And as this remedy was very necessary to be applied for his Security, so it prov'd of great Reputation to him, even beyond his own hope, or at least his confidence. For the licence of the Common Soldiers, manifested in their general and publick discourses, censures, and reproaches of Him, and his Tyrannical proceedings (which Liberty he well knew was taken by many, that they might discover the Affections, and Inclinations of other Men, and for his Service) did not much affect him, or was not terrible to him otherwise than as they were Soldiers of this, or that Regiment, and under this or that Captain, whose Officers he knew well hated him, and who had their Soldiers so much at their Devotion, that they could lead them upon any Enterprise: and he knew well that this seditious Spirit possessed many of the principal Officers both of Horse and Foot, who hated him now, in the same proportion that they had heretofore lov'd him, above all the world. This loud distemper grew the more formidable to him, in that he did believe the fire was kindled and blown by *Lambert*, and that they were all conducted and inspired by his melancholick, and undiscern'd Spirit, though yet all things were outwardly very fair between them. Upon this disquisition he saw hazard enough in attempting any Reformation (which the Army thought he durst not undertake to do alone, and they fear'd not his proceeding by a Council of War, where they knew they had many Friends) but apparent danger, and very probable ruin, if he deferr'd it. And so trusting only to, and depending upon his own Stars, he cashier'd ten or a dozen Officers, though not of the highest Command, and those whom he most apprehended, yet of those petulant and active humours, which made them for the present most useful to the others, and most pernicious to Him. By this experiment he found the example wrought great effects upon many who were not touch'd by it, and that the Men who had done so much mischief, being now reduced to a private condition, and like other particular Men, did not only lose all their credit with the Soldiers, but behaved themselves with much more wariness and reservation towards all other Men. This gave him more ease than he had before enjoy'd, and raised his resolution how to proceed hereafter upon the like Provocations, and gave him great credit, and authority, with those who had believ'd that many Officers had a greater influence upon the Army than himself.

It was very evident that he had ſome War in his purpoſe; for from the time that he had made a Peace with the *Dutch*, he took greater care to encreaſe his Stores and Magazines of Arms and Ammunition, and to build more Ships, than he had ever done before; and he had given order to make ready two great Fleets in the Winter, under Officers who ſhould have no dependence upon each other; and Landmen were likewiſe appointed to be levied. Some principal Officers amongſt theſe, made great profeſſions of Duty to the King; and made tender of their Service to his Majeſty by theſe Gentlemen. It was thought neceſſary to make a days ſtay at *Mons*, to diſpatch thoſe Gentlemen; who were very well known, and worthy to be truſted. Such Commiſſions were prepared for them, and ſuch Inſtructions, as were deſir'd by thoſe who employ'd them. And his Majeſty gave nothing ſo much in Charge to the Meſſengers, and to all his Friends in *England* with whom he had correſpondence, as "That they ſhould live "quietly, without making any deſperate or unreaſonable at- "tempt, or giving advantage to thoſe who watch'd them, to "put them into Priſon, and to ruin their Eſtates and Fami- "lies. He told them, "The vanity of imagining that any In- "ſurrection could give any trouble to ſo well a form'd and "diſciplin'd Army, and the deſtruction that muſt attend ſuch "a raſh attempt: that, as he would be always ready to ven- "ture his own Perſon with them in any reaſonable, and well "form'd undertaking; ſo he would with patience attend God's "own time for ſuch an opportunity; and, in the mean time, "he would ſit ſtill in ſuch a convenient place as he ſhould "find willing to receive him; of which he could yet make no "judgment: however, it was very neceſſary that ſuch Com- miſſions ſhould be in the hands of diſcreet and able Men, in Expectation of two Contingencies, which might reaſonably be expected. The one, ſuch a Schiſm in the Army, as might divide it upon contrary Intereſts into open Conteſts, and Declarations againſt each other, which could not but produce an equal Schiſm in the Government: the other, the death of *Cromwell*, which was conſpired by the Levellers, under ſeveral Combinations. And if that fell out, it could hardly be imagin'd, that the Army would remain united to the particular deſign of any ſingle Perſon, but that the Parliament, which had been with ſo much violence turn'd out of doors by *Cromwell*, and which took it ſelf to be perpetual, would quickly aſſemble again together, and take upon themſelves the ſupreme Government.

The King adviſes his Friends in England *to be quiet.*

Lambert, who was unqueſtionably the ſecond Perſon in the Command of the Army, and was thought to be the firſt in their Affections, had had no leſs hand than *Cromwell* himſelf

ſelf in the Diſſolution of that Parliament, and was principal in raiſing him to be Protector under the Inſtrument of Government; and ſo could never reaſonably hope to be truſted, and employ'd by them in the abſolute Command of an Army that had already ſo notoriouſly rebell'd againſt their Maſters. Then *Monk*, who had the abſolute Command in *Scotland*, and was his Rival already, under a mutual jealouſy, would never ſubmit to the Government of *Lambert*, if he had no other Title to it than his own preſumption; and *Harry Cromwell* had made himſelf ſo popular in *Ireland*, that he would not, probably, be commanded by a Man whom he knew to be his Father's greateſt Enemy. Theſe conſiderations had made that impreſſion upon thoſe in *England* who were the moſt wary and averſe from any raſh Attempt, that they all wiſh'd that Commiſſions, and all other neceſſary powers, might be granted by the King, and depoſited in ſuch good hands as had the courage to truſt themſelves with the keeping them, till ſuch a conjuncture ſhould fall out as is mention'd, and of which few Men thought there was reaſon to deſpair.

The King arrives at the Spaw *where he meets the Princeſs of* Orange.

THE King having in this manner diſpatch'd thoſe Meſſengers, and ſettled the beſt way he could to correſpond with his Friends, continued his Journey from *Mons* to *Namur*; where he had a pleaſant paſſage by Water to *Liege*; from whence, in five or ſix hours, he reach'd the *Spaw*, the next day after the Princeſs Royal, his beloved Siſter, was come thither, and where they reſolv'd to ſpend two or three Months together, which they did, to their ſingular content and ſatisfaction. And for ſome time the Joy of being out of *France*, where his Majeſty had enjoy'd no other pleaſure than being alive, and the delight of the Company he was now in, ſuſpended all thoughts of what place he was next to retire to. For as it could not be fit for his Siſter to ſtay longer from her own Affairs in *Holland*, than the pretence of her health requir'd, ſo the *Spaw* was a place that no body could ſtay longer in than the ſeaſon for the Waters continued; which ended with the Summer.

The Earl of Rocheſter *returns to the King from* Ratiſbone.

THE King no ſooner arriv'd at the *Spaw*, than the Earl of *Rocheſter* return'd thither to him from his Negotiation at *Ratisbone*; where he had remain'd during the Diet, without owning the Character he might have aſſumed; yet perform'd all the Offices with the Emperour, and the other Princes, with leſs noiſe and expence, and with the ſame ſucceſs as he could have expected from any qualification. The truth is, all the *German* Princes were at that time very poor; and that meeting for the chooſing a King of the *Romans*, was of vaſt expence to every one of them, and full of Faction, and contradiction; ſo that they had little leiſure, and leſs inclination, to think

think of any buſineſs but what concern'd themſelves: yet in the cloſe of the Diet, by the conduct and dexterity of the Elector of *Mentz*, who was eſteem'd the wiſeſt, and moſt practical Prince of the Empire, and who, out of meer generoſity, was exceedingly affected with the ill fortune of the King; that Aſſembly was prevail'd with to grant a Subſidy of four Romer Months; which is the meaſure of all Taxes, and impoſitions in *Germany*; that is, by the Romer Months, which every Prince is to pay, and cauſe it to be collected from their Subjects in their own method. This Money was to be paid towards the better ſupport of the King of great *Britain*. And the Elector of *Mentz*, by his own Example, perſwaded as many of the Princes as he had credit with, forthwith to pay their proportions to the Earl of *Rocheſter*; who was ſollicitous enough to receive it. The whole Contribution, if it had been generouſly made good, had not amounted to any conſiderable Sum upon ſo important an occaſion. But the Emperour himſelf paid nothing, nor many other of the Princes, amongſt whom were the Elector *Palatine*, and the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe Caſſel*, who had both receiv'd great obligations from King *James*, and the laſt King his Son: So that the whole that was ever paid to the King, did not amount to ten thouſand pounds ſterling; a great part whereof was ſpent in the Negotiation of the Earl, and in the many Journies he made to the Princes, being extreamly poſſeſſed with the Spirit of being the King's General, which he thought he ſhould not be, except he made Levies of Men; for which he was very ſollicitous to make Contracts with old *German* Officers, when there was neither Port in view, where he might Embark them, nor a poſſibility of procuring Ships to Tranſport them, though *Cromwell* had not been poſſeſſed of any Naval power to have reſiſted them; ſo blind Men are, whoſe Paſſions are ſo ſtrong, and their Judgment ſo weak, that they can look but upon one thing at once.

The King obtains a ſmall ſubſidy from the Diet in Germany.

THAT part of the Money that was paid to his Majeſty's uſe, was managed with very good Husbandry, and was a ſeaſonable ſupport to his well order'd Family, which with his own Expences for his Table, and his Stable, and the Board-Wages, with which all his Servants from the higheſt to the loweſt were well ſatisfied, according to the eſtabliſhment after he left *France*, amounted not to above ſix hundred Piſtoles, a Month; which expence was not exceeded in many years, even until his coming into *Holland* in order to his Return into *England*. This method in the managery gave the King great eaſe; contented, and kept the Family in better order and humour than could reaſonably have been expected; and was the more ſatisfactory, by the no-care, and order, that had been obſerved

The monthly Expences of the King's ſmall Family.

observ'd during all the residence the King had made in *France*.

The King removes to Aken *from the* Spaw.

THE King stay'd not so long at the *Spaw* as he meant to have done, the small Pox breaking out there; and one of the young Ladies who attended upon the Princess Royal, being seised upon by it, died: so that his Majesty, and his Sister, upon very suddain thoughts, remov'd from the *Spaw* to *Aken*, or *Aquisgrane*, an Imperial, and free Town, govern'd by their own Magistrates; where the King of the *Romans* ought to receive his first Iron Crown, which is kept there. This place is famous for its hot Baths, whither many come after they have drank the cold Waters of the *Spaw*, and was a part of the prescription which the Physicians had made to the Princess, after she should have finish'd her Waters in the other Place. Upon that pretence, and for the use of those Baths, the Courts remov'd now thither; but in truth with a design that the King might make his Residence there, the Town being large, and the Country about it pleasant, and within five hours (for the Journies in those Countries are measured by hours) of *Maestricht*, the most pleasant Seat within the Dominions of the United Provinces. The Magistrates receiv'd the King so Civilly, that his Majesty, who knew no other Place where he was sure to be admitted, resolv'd to stay there; and in order thereunto, contracted for a convenient House, which belonged to one who was called a Baron; whether he resolv'd to remove, assoon as his Sister, who had taken the two great Inns of the Town for Her's, and the King's Accommodation, should return into *Holland*.

Secretary Nicholas *comes hither to the King, and the King gives him the Signet.*

HERE the good old Secretary *Nicholas*, who had remain'd in *Holland* from the time that, upon the Treaty of *Breda*, the King had Transported himself into *Scotland*, presented himself to his Majesty; who receiv'd him very graciously, as a Person of great Merit and Integrity from the beginning of the Troubles, and always entirely trusted by the King his Father. And now to him the King gave his Signet; which for three years had been kept by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, out of Friendship that it might be restored to him. And he had therefore refused in *France* to be admitted into the Secretary's Office, which he executed, because he knew that they who advised it, did it rather that *Nicholas* might not have it, than out of any kindness to himself. He held himself obliged by the Friendship that had ever been between them, to preserve it for him; and, assoon as he came to *Aken*, desired the King to declare him to be his Secretary; which was done; by which he had a fast Friend added to the Council, and of general reputation.

The accounts the King receives here out of England.

WHEN the King remain'd at *Aken*, he receiv'd many Expresses out of *England*, which inform'd him of the renew'd courage

courage of his Friends there: that the Faction and Animosity, which every day appear'd between the Officers of the Army, and in *Cromwell*'s Council, upon particular Interest, raised a general opinion and hope, that there would be an absolute rupture between them, when either Party would be glad to make a conjunction with the King's. In order thereunto, there was an Intelligence enter'd into throughout the Kingdom, that they might make use of such an occasion; and they sent now to the King to be directed by him, how they should behave themselves upon such and such contingencies; and sent for more Commissions of the same kind as had been formerly sent to them. The King renew'd his Commands to them, "Not "to flatter themselves with vain imaginations; nor to give "too easy credit to appearances of Factions and Divisions; "which would always be counterfeited, that they might the "more easily discover the Agitations, and Transactions of those "upon whom they look'd as inveterate and irreconcilable "Enemies to the Government.

He gives the same advice as before to his Friends.

News came from *Scotland*, that *Middleton* had some Successes in the High-lands; and the *Scotish* Lords who were Prisoners in *England*, assured the King, "That there was now so "entire a Union in that Nation for his Service, that they "wish'd his Majesty himself would venture thither: and the "Lord *Balcarris*, who was with the King, and entrusted by that People, used must Instance with him to that purpose; which, how unreasonable soever the Advice seem'd to be, Men knew not how to contradict by proposing any thing that seem'd more reasonable; and so underwent the reproach of being lazy and unactive, and unwilling to submit to any fatigue, or to expose themselves to any danger; without which, it was thought, his Majesty could not expect to be restored to any part of his Soveraignty.

The King receives an account from Scotland *and* Middleton.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer one day representing to the King the sadness of his condition, and the general discourses of Men, and, "That it was his Majesty's misfortune to "be thought by many not to be active enough towards his "own redemption, and to love his ease too much, in respect "both of his Age, and his Fortune, desired him "To consider "upon this news, and importunity from *Scotland*, whether "in those High-lands there might not be such a safe retreat "and residence, that he might reasonably say, that with the "affections of that People, which had been always firm both "to his Father and Himself, he might preserve himself in safe-"ty, though he could not hope to make any advance, or re-"cover the lower Part of that Kingdom possessed by the Ene-"my; and if so, whether he might not expect the good hand "of Providence, by some Revolution, more honourably

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's discourse to the King concerning his going into Scotland.

"There

The King's reply.

"There, than in ſuch Corners of other Princes Dominions, "as he might be forced to put himſelf into. His Majeſty diſcourſed very calmly of that Country, part whereof he had ſeen; of the miſerable poverty of the People, and their courſe of Life; and how "Impoſſible it was for him to live there with "ſecurity or with health; that, if ſickneſs did not deſtroy him, "which he had reaſon to expect from the ill Accommodation "he muſt be there contented with, he ſhould in a ſhort time "be betray'd and given up. And in this Debate, he told him that melancholick Concluſion, which *David Leſley* made at *Warrington* Bridge, which is mention'd before, when he told the King, "That thoſe Men would never fight; which his Majeſty had never, he ſaid, told to any body before. However, he ſaid, "If his Friends would adviſe him to that Expedition, "he would tranſport himſelf into the High-lands; though he "knew what would come of it, and that they would be ſorry "for it: which ſtopp'd the Chancellor from ever ſaying more to that purpoſe. And it was not long after that news came, of *Middleton*'s having been like to be given up to the Enemy by the treachery of that People, and of the defeat his Troops had receiv'd, and that he ſhould be at laſt forced to quit that miſerable Country; which, however, he reſolv'd to endure, as long as ſhould be poſſible.

THE Seaſon of the year now begun to approach that would oblige the Princeſs Royal to return to the *Hague*, leſt the jealous States, from her long abſence, might be induced to contrive ſome Act prejudicial to her, and her Son; which ſhe was the more liable to, from the unkind Differences between Her and the Princeſs Dowager, Mother of the deceaſed Prince of *Orange*, a Lady of great cunning and dexterity to promote her own Intereſt. The air of *Aken*, and the ill ſmell of the Baths, made that place leſs agreeable to the King than at firſt he believ'd it to be; and he wiſh'd to find a better Town to reſide in, which he might be put to endure long. The City of *Cologne* was diſtant from *Aken* two ſhort days Journey, and had the fame of an excellent Situation. But the People were reported to be of a proud and mutinous Nature, always in Rebellion againſt their Biſhop and Prince, and of ſo much Bigottry in Religion that they had expelled all Proteſtants out of their City, and would ſuffer no exerciſe of Religion, but of the Roman Catholick. So that there ſeem'd little hope that they would permit the King to reſide there; the rather, becauſe it was the Staple for the Wines of that Country, and maintain'd a good intelligence and trade with *England*. If the King ſhould ſend thither to provide a Houſe, and declare a purpoſe to ſtay there, and they ſhould refuſe to receive him, it might be of very ill conſequence, and fright any other places,

places, and *Aken* it ſelf, from permitting him to return thither; and therefore that Adventure was to be avoided. At laſt it was concluded, that the Princeſs Royal ſhould make *Cologne* her way into *Holland*; which was reaſonable enough, by the convenience of the River for the commodious Tranſportation of her Goods, and Family: and the King accompanying her ſo far, might make a judgment, upon his obſervation, whether it would be beſt for him to ſtay there, or to return to *Aken*; where he would leave his Family, as the place where he had taken a Houſe, and to which he meant in few days to return. With this reſolution they left *Aken*, about the middle of *September*; and Lodging one Night at *Juliers*, a little dirty Town upon a flat, not worthy to have made a Quarrel between ſo many of the Princes of *Europe*, nor of the fame it got by the Seige, they came the next day to *Cologne*; where they were receiv'd with all the Reſpect, Pomp, and Magnificence, that could be expected, or the City could perform. The Houſe which the Harbingers of the Princeſs had taken for her Reception, ſerv'd likewiſe to accommodate the King; and the Magiſtrates perform'd their Reſpects to both with all poſſible demonſtration of civility.

In September *the King and his Siſter come to Cologne.*

COLOGNE is a City moſt pleaſantly Situated upon the Banks of the *Rhine*; of a large extent, and fair and ſubſtantial Buildings; and encompaſſed with a broad and excellent Rampert, upon which are fair Walks of great Elms, where two Coaches may go on breaſt, and, for the beauty of it, is not inferior to the Walls of *Antwerp*, but rather ſuperior, becauſe This goes round the Town. The Government is under the Senate and Conſuls; of whom there was one then Conſul, who ſaid "He was deſcended from Father to Son of a Patri-"cian Roman Family, that had continued from the time the "Colony was firſt planted there. It had never been otherwiſe ſubject to the Biſhops, than in ſome points which refer to their Eccleſiſtical Juriſdiction; which They ſometimes endeavouring to enlarge, the Magiſtrates always oppoſe: and that gives the ſubject of the diſcourſe of Jealouſies, and Conteſts, between their Prince and Them; which are neither ſo frequent, nor of that moment, as they are reported to be. The Elector never reſides there, but keeps his Court at his Caſtle of *Bonne*, near four Miles from thence. And that Elector, who was of the Houſe of *Bavaria*, and a melancholick and peeviſh Man, had not then been in the City in very many years. The Number of Churches and Religious-Houſes is incredible; inſomuch as it was then averr'd, "That the Religi-"ous Perſons and Church-men made up a full moiety of the "Inhabitants of the Town; and Their Intereſt and Authority ſo far prevailed, that, ſome few years before the King came

thither, they expell'd all thoſe of the Proteſtant Religion, contrary to the Advice of the wiſeſt of the Magiſtates; who confeſſed "That the Trade of the Town was much decayed "thereby, and the Poverty thereof much increaſed. And it is very poſſible, that the vaſt Number, and unskilful Zeal of the Eccleſiaſtical and Religious Perſons, may at ſome time expoſe that noble City to the ſurpriſe of ſome powerful Prince, who would quickly deprive them of their long enjoy'd Privileges. And there was, in that very time of the King's ſtay there, a deſign by the *French* to have ſurpriſed it; *Schomberg* lying many days in wait there, to have perform'd that Service; which was very hardly prevented. The People are ſo much more civil than they were reported to be, that they ſeem to be the moſt converſible, and to underſtand the Laws of Society and Converſation better than any other People of *Germany*. To the King they were ſo devoted, that when they underſtood he was not ſo fixed to the reſolution of reſiding at *Aken*, but that he might be diverted from it, they very handſomely made tender to him of any accommodation that City could yield him, and of all the affection and Duty they could pay him; which his Majeſty moſt willingly accepted; and giving Order for the payment of the rent of the Houſe he had taken at *Aken*, which he had not at all uſed, and other diſburſments, which the Maſter of the Houſe had made to make it the more convenient for his Majeſty, and likewiſe ſending very gracious Letters to the Magiſtrates of that Town, for the civility they had expreſſed towards him, he ſent for that part of his Family which remain'd there, to attend him at *Cologne*; where he declared he would ſpend that Winter.

The Citizens invite the King to reſide there.

The King fixes there.

ASSOON as the King came to *Cologne*, he ſent to the Neighbour Princes, by proper meſſages and inſinuations, for that Money, which by the grant of the Diet, that is, by their own conceſſion, they were obliged to pay to his Majeſty; which though it amounted to no great Sum, yet it was of great conveniency to his Support. The Duke of *Newburgh*, whoſe Court was at *Duſſeldorp*, a ſmall days Journey from *Cologne*, and by which the Princeſs Royal was to paſs if ſhe made uſe of the River, ſent his Proportion very generouſly, with many expreſſions of great reſpect and duty, and with inſinuation "that he would be glad to receive the honour of Entertain-"ing the King, and his Siſter, in his Palace, as ſhe return'd. However he forbore to make any ſolemn Invitation, without which they could not make the Viſit, till ſome Ceremonies were firſt adjuſted; upon which that Nation is more punctual, and obſtinate, than any other People in *Europe*. He who gave the Intimation, and came only with a compliment to congratulate his Majeſty's and her Royal Highneſs's Arrival in thoſe parts,

parts, was well instructed in the particulars; of which there were only two of Moment, and the rest were Formalities from which they might recede, if those two were consented to. The one was, "That the King, at their first meeting, should at least "once treat the Duke with *Alteſſe*; the other, "That the "Duke might salute the Princess Royal; and without consenting to these two, there could be no meeting between them. Both the King and his Sister were naturally enough inclined to new sights, and festivities; and the King thought it of moment to him to receive the respect and civility of any of the *German* Princes: and among Them, there were few more considerable in their Dominions, and none in their Persons, than the Duke of *Newburgh*; who reckon'd himself upon the same Level with the Electors. And the King was inform'd, "That the Emperour himself always treated him with *Alteſſe*; and therefore his Majesty made no Scruple of giving him the same. The matter of saluting the Princess Royal was of a new and delicate nature; that dignity had been so punctually preserv'd, from the time of her coming into *Holland*, that the old Prince of *Orange*, Father of her Husband, would never pretend to it: yet that Ceremony depending only upon the custom of Countries, and the Duke of *Newburgh* being a Soveraign Prince, inferior to none in *Germany*, and his Embassadour always covering before the Emperour, the King thought fit, and her Royal Highness consented, that the Duke should salute her. And so all matters being adjusted without any Noise, the King, about the middle of *October*, accompanied his Sister by Water to *Dusseldorp*; where they arriv'd between three and four of the Clock in the Afternoon; and found the Duke and his Duchess waiting for them on the side of the Water; where after having perform'd their mutual Civilities and Compliments, the King, and the Princess Royal, and the Duke and the Duchess of *Newburgh*, went into the Duke's Coach, and the Company into the Coaches which were provided for them, and alighted at the Castle, that was very near; where his Majesty was conducted into his Quarter, and the Princess into Her's, the Duke and the Duchess immediately retiring into their own Quarters; where they new dressed themselves, and visited not the King again till above half an hour before Supper, and after the King and Princess had perform'd their Devotion.

THE Castle is a very princely House, having been the Seat of the Duke of *Cleve*; which Duchy, together with that of *Juliers*, having lately fallen to Heirs Females (whereof the Mothers of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and Duke of *Newburgh*, were two, when all the Pretenders seising upon that which lay most convenient to them, this of *Dusseldorp*, by

agreement, afterwards remain'd ſtill to *Newburgh*; whoſe Father being of the Reform'd Religion in the late contention, found the Houſe of *Brandenburgh* too ſtrong for him, by having the Prince of *Orange* and the States his faſt Friends; and thereupon, that he might have a ſtrong Support from the Emperour and King of *Spain*, became Roman Catholick, and thereby had the Aſſiſtance he expected. At the ſame time he put his Son, who was then very young, to be bred under the Jeſuits; by which Education, the preſent Duke was with more than ordinary Bigottry zealous in the Roman Religion.

He was a Man of very fine parts of knowledge, and in his manners and behaviour much the beſt bred of any *German*. He had the flowing civility, and language of the *French*, enough reſtrain'd, and controled by the *German* gravity and formality; ſo that, altogether, he ſeem'd a very accompliſh'd Prince, and became himſelf very well, having a good Perſon, and graceful Motion. He was at that time above thirty, and had been married to the Siſter of the former, and the then King of *Poland*; who leaving only a Daughter, he was now newly married to the Daughter of the Landgrave of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*, who upon her marriage became Roman Catholick. She had no eminent features of beauty, nor the *French* Language and Vivacity, to contribute to the Entertainment; ſo that ſhe was rather a Spectator of the feſtivity, than a part of it. The entertainment was very ſplendid and magnificent in all prepations, as well for the Tables which were prepared for the Lords and the Ladies, as That where his Majeſty and his Siſter and the Duke and the Ducheſs only ſate: the meals, according to the cuſtom of *Germany*, very long, with ſeveral ſorts of Muſick, both of Inſtruments and Voices; which, if not excellent, was new, and differ'd much from what his Majeſty was accuſtom'd to hear. There was Wine in abundance, but no Man preſſed to drink, if he called not for it; and the Duke himſelf an Enemy to all exceſſes.

After two days ſpent in this manner, in which time the King made a great Friendſhip with the Duke, which always continued, they parted; and there being near the River, diſtant another ſhort day's Journey, a handſome open Town of good receipt, call'd *Santen*, belonging to that part of the Duchy of *Cleve*, which was aſſign'd to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, the King reſolv'd to accompany his Siſter thither; where having ſpent that Night, the next Morning her Royal Highneſs after an unwilling Farewel, proſecuted her Journey to *Holland*, and his Majeſty return'd by Horſe to *Cologne*; where the ſame Houſe was prepared for him in which He and his Siſter had inhabited, whilſt ſhe ſtaid there. And by this time the end of *October* was come; which, in thoſe parts, is more than

The King brings his Siſter to Santen *in the Duchy of* Cleve: *where they part; and the King returns to* Cologne.

than the entrance into Winter. The Magiſtrates of the City renew'd their civilities, and profeſſions of reſpect to the King; which they always made good; nor could his Majeſty have choſen a more convenient retreat in any place; and He, being well refreſh'd with the divertiſements he had enjoy'd, betook himſelf with great chearfulneſs to compoſe his mind to his fortune; and, with a marvellous contentedneſs, preſcribed ſo many hours in the day to his retirement in his Cloſet; which he employ'd in reading, and ſtudying, both the *Italian* and *French* Languages; and, at other times, walked much upon the Walls of the Town, (for, as is ſaid before, he had no Coach, nor would ſuffer his Siſter to leave him one) and ſometimes rid into the Fields; and, in the whole, ſpent his time very well. *His way of life there.*

THE Nuntio of the Pope reſided in that City, and perform'd all reſpects to his Majeſty: He was a proper and grave Man, an *Italian* Biſhop, who never made the leaſt ſcruple at his Majeſty's enjoying the liberty of his Chappel, and the exerciſe of his Religion, though it was very publick; ſo that in truth his Majeſty was not without any reſpect that could be ſhew'd to him in thoſe parts, ſave that the Elector never came to ſee him, though he liv'd within little more than an hour; which he excuſed by ſome indiſpoſition of health, and unwillingneſs to enter into that City; though it proceeded as much from the ſullenneſs, and moroſeneſs of his Nature, unapt for any converſation, and averſe from all civilities; which made him for a long time to defer the payment of his ſmall Quota, which had been granted to the King by the Diet, and was at laſt extorted from him by an importunity unfit to have been preſſed upon any other Prince, or Gentleman. This Elector's defect of urbanity was the more excuſable, or the leſs to be complain'd of, ſince the Elector *Palatine*, ſo nearly allied to the Crown, and ſo much obliged by it, did not think fit to take any notice of the King's being ſo near him, or to ſend a Meſſenger to ſalute him.

WITHIN a ſhort time after his Majeſty's return to *Cologne*, he receiv'd news that exceedingly afflicted him, and the more, that he knew not what remedy to apply to the miſchief which he ſaw was likely to befall him upon it. From *Paris*, his Majeſty heard, that the Queen had put away the Tutor he had left to attend his Brother the Duke of *Gloceſter*; who remain'd at *Paris*, upon her Majeſty's deſire, that he might learn his Exerciſes. The Queen had conferr'd with him upon "the deſperateneſs of his condition, in reſpect of the King his "Brother's fortune, and the little hope that appear'd that his "Majeſty could ever be reſtored, at leaſt if he did not him-"ſelf become Roman Catholick; whereby the Pope, and *An account of the endeavours at Paris to pervert the Duke of Gloceſter in his Religion.*

"other Princes of that Religion, might be united in his quar-
"rel; which they would never undertake upon any other ob-
"ligation: that it was therefore fit that the Duke, who had
"nothing to ſupport him, nor could expect any thing from the
"King, ſhould be inſtructed in the Roman Catholick Reli-
"gion; that ſo, becoming a good Catholick, he might be ca-
"pable of thoſe advantages which her Majeſty ſhould be able
"to procure for him: That the Queen of *France* would here-
"upon confer Abbies, and Benefices upon him, to ſuch a va-
"lue, as would maintain him in that ſplendor as was ſuitable
"to his Birth: that, in a little time, the Pope would make
"him a Cardinal; by which he might be able to do the King
"his Brother much ſervice, and contribute to his Recovery;
"whereas, without this, he muſt be expoſed to great neceſſi-
"ty, and miſery, for that ſhe was not able any longer to give
"him maintenance. She found the Duke more reſolute than
ſhe expected from his Age; he was ſo well inſtructed in his
Religion, that he diſputed againſt the change; urged the
precepts he had receiv'd from the King his Father, and his dy-
ing in the Faith he had preſcribed to him; put her Majeſty
in mind of the promiſe ſhe had made to the King his Bro-
ther at parting; and acknowledged "That he had obliged him-
"ſelf to his Majeſty, that he would never change his Reli-
"gion; and therefore beſought her Majeſty, that ſhe would
"not farther preſs him, at leaſt till he ſhould inform the King
"of it. The Queen well enough knew the King's mind, and
thought it more excuſable to proceed in that Affair without
imparting it to him; and therefore took upon her the Autho-
rity of a Mother, and remov'd his Tutor from him; and com-
mitted the Duke to the care of Abbot *Mountague* her Almo-
ner; who, having the pleaſant Abby of *Pontoiſe*, entertain'd
his Highneſs there, ſequeſter'd from all reſort of ſuch Perſons
as might confirm him in his averſneſs from being converted.

ASSOON as the King receiv'd this Advertiſement, which both the Duke and his Tutor made haſte to tranſmit to him, he was exceedingly perplexed. On the one hand, his Majeſty knew the reproaches which would be caſt upon him by his Enemies, who took all the pains they could to perſwade the world, that he himſelf had changed his Religion; and though his exerciſe of it was ſo publick, wherever he was, that Strangers reſorted to it, and ſo could bear witneſs of it, yet their impudence was ſuch in their poſitive averment, that they perſwaded many in *England*, and eſpecially of thoſe of the Reform'd Religion abroad, that his Majeſty was in truth a Papiſt: and his leaving his Brother behind him in *France*, where it was evident the Queen would endeavour to pervert him, would be an Argument, that he did not deſire to prevent it: on the other

other ſide, he knew well the little credit he had in *France*, and how far they would be from aſſiſting him, in a conteſt of ſuch a nature with his Mother. However, that the world might ſee plainly that he did all that was in his power, he ſent the Marquis of *Ormond* with all poſſible Expedition into *France*; who, he very well knew, would ſteadily execute his Commands. He writ a Letter of complaint to the Queen, of her having proceeded in that manner in a matter of ſo near importance to him, and conjur'd her "To diſcontinue the proſecution of it; and to ſuffer his Brother the Duke of *Glocester* to repair with the Marquis of *Ormond* to his preſence. He commanded the Duke "Not to conſent to any Propoſitions which ſhould be made to him for the change of his Religion; and that he ſhould follow the advice of the Marquis of *Ormond*, and accompany him to *Cologne*. And he directed the Marquis of *Ormond* "To let Mr *Mountague*, and "whoſoever of the *Engliſh* ſhould joyn with him, know, that "they ſhould expect ſuch a reſentment from his Majeſty, if "they did not comply with his Commands, as ſhould be ſuitable to his honour, and to the affront they put upon him.

The King ſends the Marquis of Ormond *into* France *for him.*

THE Marquis behaved himſelf with ſo much wiſdom and reſolution, that though the Queen was enough offended with him, and with the expoſtulation the King made with her, and imputed all the King's ſharpneſs and reſolution to the Counſel he receiv'd from the Marquis and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, yet ſhe thought not fit to extend her power in detaining the Duke, both againſt the King's and his own Will; and the Duke, upon the receipt of the King's Letter, declar'd "that he would obey his Majeſty; and the Abbot found, that he muſt enter into an abſolute defiance with the King, if he perſiſted in adviſing the Queen not to comply with his Majeſty's directions: ſo that, after two or three days deliberation, the Queen expreſſing very much diſpleaſure at the King's proceeding, and that ſhe ſhould wholely be deveſted of the power and authority of a Mother, told the Marquis, "That the "Duke might diſpoſe of himſelf as he pleaſed; and that ſhe "would not concern her ſelf farther, nor ſee him any more. And thereupon the Duke put himſelf into the hands of the Marquis; who immediately remov'd him from *Pontoiſe* to the Houſe of the Lord *Hatton*, an *Engliſh* Lord, who liv'd then in *Paris*; where he remain'd for ſome days, until the Marquis could borrow Money (which was no eaſy matter) to defray the Journey to the King. And then they quickly left *Paris*; and ſhortly after came to the King; who was extremely ſatisfied with the Marquis's Negotiation and ſucceſs; and kept his Brother always with him, till the time that he return'd into *England*, the Queen remaining as much unſatisfied.

The Marquis brings the Duke to Cologne.

INNOCENT the tenth was now dead; wo had out-liv'd the underſtanding and Judgment he had been formerly Maſter of, and loſt all the Reputation he had formerly gotten; and, as *Jehoram, departed without being deſired.* He had fomented the Rebellion in *England* by cheriſhing that in *Ireland*; whither he had ſent a light headed Nuntio, who did much miſchief to his Majeſty's Service, as hath been touch'd before. The world was in great expectation who ſhould ſucceed Him, when, one day, the Duke of *Newburgh* ſent a Gentleman to the King to bring him the news that Cardinal *Chigi* was choſen Pope; "Of which, the Duke ſaid, "His Majeſty "had great cauſe to be glad; which the King underſtood not. But, the next day, the Duke himſelf came to the King, and told him, "That he came to Congratulate with his Majeſty for "the Election of the new Pope, who call'd himſelf *Alexander* "the ſeventh; and who, he ſaid, he was confident, would do "him great Service; and thereupon related a diſcourſe that had paſſed between Him and the new Pope, when he was Nuntio at *Cologne*, ſome years before: When they two conferring together ("As, he ſaid, "There was great confidence, "and Friendſhip between them) of the Rebellion in *England*, and of the execrable Murder of the late King, the Nuntio broke out into great Paſſion, even with Tears, and ſaid, "It "was a monſtrous thing that the two Crowns ſhould weary "and ſpend each others Strength, and Spirits, in ſo unjuſt and "groundleſs a War, when they had ſo noble an occaſion to "unite their Power to Revenge that impious Murther, in "which the Honour, and the Lives of all Kings, were con"cern'd; and, he ſaid, the Pope was concern'd never to let "either of them to be quiet, till he had reconciled them, and "obliged all Chriſtian King's and States, without conſidera"tion of any difference in Religion, to joyn together for the "Reſtoration of the King; which would be the greateſt Ho"nour the Pope could obtain in this World. All which, he "ſaid, "the Nuntio ſpoke with ſo much warmth and concern"ment, that he could not doubt, but that now God had "raiſed him to that Chair, he hoped, for that end, he would "remember his former opinion, and execute it himſelf; be"ing, he ſaid, "A Man of the moſt publick heart, and the "moſt ſuperior to all private deſigns, that the World had: the Duke taking great delight to remember many of his diſcourſes, and deſcribing him to be ſuch a Man, as he was generally believ'd to be for the firſt two years of his Reign, till he manifeſted his Affections with more Ingenuity. The Duke deſired his Majeſty to conſider, "Whether there might not be "ſomewhat he might reaſonably wiſh from the Pope; and if "it were not fit to be propoſed as from his Majeſty, he would "be

The Duke of Newburgh *ſends the King word, that* Cardinal Chigi *was choſen Pope; and his diſcourſe with his Majeſty concerning making ſome application to the Pope for ſupply and aſſiſtance.*

"be willing to promote it in his own Name, having, he "thought, ſome Intereſt in his Holineſs. And, he ſaid, "He "was reſolv'd to ſend a Perſon purpoſely to *Rome* with his "Congratulation, and to render his Odedience to the Pope; "and that he would inſtruct that Perſon in whatſoever his "Majeſty ſhould wiſh: and though he could not hope, that "any greater matter would be done towards his Majeſty's "Reſtoration, till the Peace ſhould be effected between the "two Crowns (which he knew the Pope would labour in till "he had brought it to paſs) yet he could not doubt but that, "out of the generoſity of his Holineſs, his Majeſty would re-"ceive ſome Supply towards his better Support; which, for "the preſent, was all that could be expected: that the Perſon "whom he intended to ſend was a Jeſuit, who was at that "preſent in *Newburgh*; but he had, or would ſend for him: "that though he was a Religious Man, yet he was a Perſon "of that Experience, Temper, and Wiſdom, that he had en-"truſted him in Affairs not only of the greateſt Secrecy, but "in Negotiations of the greateſt Importance; in which he "had always behaved himſelf with ſingular Prudence and "Judgment; and he aſſured his Majeſty "He was equal to "any Truſt; and if, upon what he had ſaid and offer'd, his "Majeſty thought he might be of uſe to him in his Journey, "he would ſend him to *Cologne*, aſſoon as he came, that he "might attend upon his Majeſty, and receive any Commands "he would vouchſafe to lay upon him.

THOUGH the King had in truth very little hope that the new Pope would be more magnanimous than the old, and did believe that the Maxim, with which *Innocent* had anſwer'd thoſe who would have diſpoſed him to ſupply the King with ſome Money, "That he could not, with a good Conſcience, "apply the Patrimony of the Church to the aſſiſtance and ſup-"port of Hereticks, would be as current Divinity with *Alexan-der*, and all his Succeſſors, yet he could not but be abun-dantly ſatisfied with the kindneſs of the Duke of *Newburgh*, and could not conclude how far his Interpoſition might pre-vail upon a Temper and Conſtitution ſo refin'd, and without thoſe Dregs which others had uſed to carry about them to that Promotion: therefore, after thoſe acknowledgments which were due for the Overtures, his Majeſty told him, "That he would entirely commit it to his Wiſdom, to do thoſe "Offices with the new Pope as he thought fit, ſince he could "expect nothing but upon that Account; and that he would "do any thing on His part which was fit for him to do, and "which ſhould be thought of moment to facilitate the other "Pretences. Whereupon the Duke told him, "That the bloody "Laws in *England* againſt the Roman Catholick Religion

"made

"made a very great noiſe in the World; and that his Majeſty "was generally underſtood to be a Prince of a tender and mer- "ciful Nature, which would not take delight in the execut- "ing ſo much Cruelty; and therefore he conceiv'd it might "be very agreeable to his inclination to declare, and promiſe, "that when it ſhould pleaſe God to Reſtore his Majeſty to "his Government, he would never ſuffer thoſe Laws to be "executed, but would cauſe them to be repealed; which ge- "nerous and pious Reſolution made known to the Pope, "would work very much upon him, and diſpoſe him to make "an anſwerable return to his Majeſty. The King anſwer'd, "That his Highneſs might very ſafely undertake on his be- "half, that if it ſhould be in his Power, it ſhould never be in "his Will, to execute thoſe ſevere Laws: but that it was not "in his Power abſolutely to repeal them; and it would be "leſs in his Power to do it, if he declared that he had a pur- "poſe to do it: therefore, "That muſt be left to time; and it "might reaſonably be preſum'd, that he would not be back- "ward to do all of that kind which he ſhould find himſelf "able to do; and the Declaration which he then made, his "Majeſty ſaid, that he would be ready to make to the Perſon "the Duke meant to ſend, if he came to him: which was ac- knowledged to be as much as could be deſired.

GERMANY is the part of the World, where the Jeſuits are look'd upon to have the Aſcendent over all other Men in the deepeſt myſteries of State and Policy, inſomuch as there is not a Prince's Court of the Roman Catholick Religion, where- in a Man is held to be a good Courtier, or to have a deſire to be thought a Wiſe Man, who hath not a Jeſuit to his Confeſſor; which may be one of the reaſons, that the Policy of that Na- tion is ſo different from, and ſo much undervalued by the other Politick Parts of the World. And therefore 'tis the leſs to be wonder'd at that this Duke, who had himſelf ex- traordinary Qualifications, retain'd that reverence for thoſe who had taught him when he was young, that he believ'd Them to grow, and to be improv'd as faſt as He, and ſo to be ſtill abler to inform him. Without doubt, he did believe his Jeſuit to be a very Wiſe Man; and, it may be, knew, that He would think ſo to whom he were ſent: and aſſoon as he came to him, he ſent him to the King to be inſtructed and inform'd of his Majeſty's pleaſure. The Man had a very good aſpect, and leſs vanity and preſumption than that Society uſe to have, and ſeem'd deſirous to merit from the King by do- ing him Service; but had not the ſame confidence he ſhould do it, as his Maſter had. And when he return'd from *Rome*, he brought nothing with him from the Pope but general good wiſhes for the King's Reſtoration, and ſharp complaints againſt

The Effect of this.

Cardinal

Cardinal *Mazarin* for being deaf to all Overtures of Peace; and that till then, all Attempts to ſerve his Majeſty would be vain and ineffectual; and concerning any Supply of Money, he told the Duke, that the Pope had uſed the ſame Adage that his Predeceſſor had done; and ſo that Intrigue was determin'd.

An inſurrection deſign'd in England by ſome of the King's Party.

THE reſt and quiet that the King propoſed to himſelf in this neceſſitated retreat, was diſturb'd by the impatience and activity of his Friends in *England*; who notwithſtanding all his Majeſty's Commands, and Injunctions, not to enter upon any ſuddain and raſh Inſurrections, which could only contribute to their own ruin, without the leaſt benefit or advantage to His Service, were ſo prick'd and ſtung by the inſolence of their Enemies, and the uneaſineſs of their own Condition and Fortune, that they could not reſt. They ſent Expreſſes every day to *Cologne* for more Commiſſions and Inſtructions, and made an Erroneous Judgment of their own ſtrength and power, by concluding that all who hated the preſent Government, would concur with them to overthrow it, at leaſt would act no part in the defence of it. They aſſured the King, "That they had made ſufficient proviſion of Arms and "Ammunition, and had ſo many Perſons engaged to appear "upon any day that ſhould be aſſign'd, that they only deſir'd "his Majeſty would appoint that day; and that they were ſo "united, that even the diſcovery before the day, and the clap-"ping up many Perſons in Priſon, which they expected, ſhould "not break the deſign. The King doubted they would be deceiv'd; and that, though the Perſons who ſent thoſe Expreſſes, were very honeſt Men, and had ſerv'd well in the War, and were ready to engage again, yet they were not equal to ſo great a work. However, it was not fit to diſcountenance or diſhearten them; for as many of his Party were too reſtleſs, and too active, ſo there were more of them remiſs and lazy, and even abandon'd to deſpair. The truth is, the unequal Temper of thoſe who wiſh'd very well, and the jealouſy, at leaſt the want of confidence in each other, made the King's Part exceeding difficult. Very many who held correſpondence with his Majeſty, and thoſe he aſſign'd to that Office, would not truſt each other; every body choſe their own knot, with whom they would converſe, and would not communicate with any body elſe; for which they had too juſt excuſes from the diſcoveries which were made every day by want of Wit, as much as want of Honeſty; and ſo Men were caſt into Priſon, and kept there, upon general Jealouſies. But this reſervation, ſince they could not all reſolve to be quiet, prov'd very grievous to the King; for he could not convert and reſtrain thoſe who were too forward, by the counſel of thoſe who ſtood in a better light, and could diſcern better what was to be done,

done, becauſe they could not be brought together to confer; and they who appear'd to be leſs deſperate, were by the others reproach'd with being leſs Affectionate, and to want Loyalty as much as Courage: ſo they who were undone upon one and the ſame Account, were oppreſſed, and torn in pieces by one and the ſame Enemy, and could never hope for recovery but by one and the ſame remedy, grew to reproach and revile one another, and contracted a greater Animoſity between themſelves, than againſt their Common Adverſary: nor could the King reconcile this diſtemper, nor preſerve himſelf from being invaded by it.

THOUGH the Meſſengers who were ſent, were addreſſed only to the King himſelf, and to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and were ſo carefully concealed, that no Notice was taken or Advertiſement ſent by the many Spies, who were ſuborn'd to give Intelligence of any one Expreſs that was ſent to *Cologne*, yet they had commonly ſome Friend or acquaintance in the Court, with whom they conferr'd; and ever return'd worſe ſatisfied with thoſe who made objections againſt what they propoſed, or ſeem'd to doubt that they would not be able to perform what they ſo confidently promiſed; and it was thought a very reaſonable conviction of a Man who liked not the moſt extravagant Undertaking, if he was not ready to propoſe a better: ſo that his Majeſty thought fit often to ſeem to think better of many things promiſed than in truth he did. The Meſſengers, which were ſent this Winter to *Cologne* (who, I ſay ſtill, were honeſt Men, and ſent from thoſe who were ſuch) propoſed to the King, as they had formerly done, "That when they were in Arms, and had provided a "place where his Majeſty might land ſafely, he would then "be with them, that there might be no diſpute upon Command: and in the Spring they ſent to him, "That the day "was appointed, the eighteenth of *April*, when the Riſing "would be general, and many places ſeiſed upon, and ſome "declare for the King; which were in the hands of the Army: for they ſtill pretended, and did believe, "That a part of the "Army would declare againſt *Cromwell* at leaſt, though not "for the King: that *Kent* was united to a Man; *Dover* Ca-"ſtle would be poſſeſſed, and the whole County in Arms "upon that day; and therefore, that his Majeſty would vouch-"ſafe to be in ſome place, concealed, upon the Sea-Coaſt, "which it was very eaſy for him to be on that day; from "whence, upon all being made good that was undertaken, "and full Notice given to his Majeſty that it was ſo, he might "then, and not before, tranſport himſelf to that part which "he thought to be in the beſt poſture to receive him, and "might give ſuch other directions to the reſt as he found ne-"ceſſary:

Propoſitions to the King to this purpoſe from England.

"neceſſary: and even all theſe particulars were communicated in confidence by the Meſſengers to their Friends who were near the King, and who again thought it but reaſonable to raiſe the Spirits of their Friends, by letting them know in how happy a condition the King's Affairs were in *England*; and "That his Friends were in ſo good a poſture throughout the "Kingdom, that they feared not that any diſcovery might be "made to *Cromwell*, being ready to own and juſtify their "Counſels with their Swords: ſo that all this quickly became more than whisper'd throughout the Court; and "That the "King was only expected to be nearer *England*, how diſguiſ-"ed ſoever, that he might quickly put himſelf into the head "of the Army that would be ready to receive him, whereby "all emulations about Command might be prevented, or im-"mediately taken away; and if his Majeſty ſhould now neg-"lect this opportunity, it might eaſily be concluded, that ei-"ther he was betrayed, or that their Counſels were conducted "by Men of very ſhallow capacities and underſtanding.

How weakly and improbably ſoever theſe preparations were adjuſted, the day was poſitively appointed, and was ſo near, at the time when his Majeſty had notice of it, that it was not poſſible for him to ſend Orders to contradict it: and he foreſaw, that if any thing ſhould be attempted without ſucceſs, it would be imputed to his not being at a diſtance near enough to countenance it. On the other hand, it was neither difficult, nor hazardous to his Majeſty, to remove that reproach, and to be in a place from whence he might advance if there were cauſe, or retire back to *Cologne*, if there were nothing to do; and all this with ſo little noiſe, that his abſence ſhould ſcarce be taken notice of. Hereupon, the Meſſenger return'd with the King's approbation of the day, and direction, "That aſſoon as the day ſhould be paſt, an Expreſs "ſhould be directed to *Fluſhing* at the Sign of the City of *Roan* (a known Inn in that Town) "to enquire for an *Engliſh*-man (whoſe name was given him) "who ſhould be able to in-"form him, whither he ſhould repair to ſpeak with the King.

The King approves of the day of Riſing.

Before the Meſſenger's departure, or the King's Reſolution was taken, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, who was always jealous that ſome body would be General before him, upon the firſt news of the general diſpoſition and reſolution to be in Arms, deſired the King, "That he would permit him to go "over in diſguiſe, to the end that getting to *London*, which "was very eaſy, he might, upon adviſing with the principal "Perſons engaged, of whom there was none who had not "been commanded by him, or was not inferior to him in "Command, aſſiſt them in their enterpriſe, and make the beſt "of that force which they could bring together: and if he

"found

"found that they were not in truth competently provided to "sustain the first shock, he might, by his Advice, and Au- "thority, compose them to expect a better conjuncture, and "in the mean time to give over all inconsiderable Attempts; "and there would be little danger in his withdrawing back "again to his Majesty.

The Earl of Rochester *obtains leave of the King to go into* England *in order thereunto.*

WITH this Errand the Earl left *Cologne*, under pretence of pursuing his business with the *German* Princes, upon the Donative of the Diet; for which he used to make many Journies; and no body suspected that he was gone upon any other design. But when he came into *Flanders*, he was not at all reserv'd; but in the hours of good Fellowship, which was a great part of the day and night, communicated his purpose to any Body he did believe would keep him Company, and run the same hazard with him; and finding Sr *Joseph Wagstaff*, who had serv'd the King in the last War very honestly, and was then watching at the Sea-Coast to take the first opportunity to Transport himself assoon as he should hear of the general Insurrection (which all Letters to all places mention'd as a matter resolv'd on) *Rochester* frankly declared to him what he was going about: so they hired a Bark at *Dunkirk*; and without any misadventure, found themselves in safety together at *London*; but many of those who should have been in Arms were seised upon, and secured in several Prisons.

Sr Joseph Wagstaff *goes with him.*

The King goes from Cologne *to* Zealand.

THE Messenger being dispatch'd, the King, at the time appointed, and that he might be sure to be near at the day, left *Cologne*, very early in the Morning, attended only by the Marquis of *Ormond*, and one Groom to look to their Horses: nor was it known to any Body, but to the Chancellor and the Secretary *Nicholas*, whither the King was gone, they making such relations to inquisitive People, as they thought fit. The day before the King went, Sr *John Mennes*, and *John Nicholas*, eldest Son to the Secretary, were sent into *Zealand*, to stay there till they should receive farther Orders; the former of them being the Person design'd to be at the Sign of the *Roan* in *Flushing*, and the other to be near to prepare any thing for the King's hand that should be found necessary, and to keep the Ciphers; both of them Persons of undoubted fidelity.

THERE was a Gentleman who lived in *Middleburg*, and of one of the best Families and the best Fortune there, who had married an *English* Lady, who had been brought up in the Court of the Queen of *Bohemia*, and was the Daughter of a Gentleman of a very noble Family, who had been long an Officer in *Holland*. The King had made this *Dutch*-man a Baronet; and some who were nearly acquainted with him, were confident that his Majesty might secretly

cretly repoſe himſelf in his Houſe, without any notice taken of him, as long as it would be neceſſary for him to be concealed. And his Majeſty being firſt aſſured of this, made his Journey directly thither, in the manner mentioned before; and being receiv'd, as he expected, in that Houſe, he gave preſent notice to Sr *John Mennes*, and Mr *Nicholas*, that they might know whether to reſort to his Majeſty upon any occaſion. Upon his firſt arrival there, he receiv'd intelligence, "That the Meſſenger who had been diſpatched from *Cologne*, "met with croſs winds and accidents in his return, which "had been his misforturne likewiſe in his Journey thither; ſo "that he came not ſo ſoon to *London* as was expected; "whereupon ſome conceiv'd that the King did not approve "the day, and therefore excuſed themſelves from appearing "at the time; others were well content with the excuſe hav-"ing diſcern'd with the approach of the day, that they had "Embark'd themſelves in a deſign of more difficulty than was "at firſt apprehended; and ſome were actually ſeiſed upon, "and impriſon'd, by which they were incapable of performing their promiſe. Though this diſappointment confirm'd the King in his former belief, that nothing ſolid could reſult from ſuch a general combination; yet he thought it fit, now he was in a Poſt where he might ſecurely reſt, to expect what the Earl of *Rocheſter*'s preſence, of whoſe being in *London* he was advertiſed, might produce. And by this time the Chancellor of the Exchequer, according to Order, was come to *Breda*; from whence he every day might hear from, and ſend to the King.

THERE cannot be a greater Manifeſtation of the univerſal prejudice and averſion in the whole Kingdom towards *Cromwell*, and his Government, than that there could be ſo many Deſigns and Conſpiracies againſt him, which were communicated to ſo many Men, and that ſuch ſignal and notable Perſons could reſort to *London*, and remain there, without any ſuch information or diſcovery, as might enable him to cauſe them to be apprehended; there being no body intent and zealous to make any ſuch diſcoveries, but ſuch whoſe Trade it was for great Wages to give him thoſe informations, who ſeldom care whether what they inform be true or no. The Earl of *Rocheſter* conſulted with great freedom in *London* with the King's Friends; and found that the Perſons impriſon'd were only taken upon general ſuſpicion, and as being known to be of that Party, not upon any particular diſcovery of what they deſign'd or intended to do; and that the ſame Spirit ſtill poſſeſſed thoſe who were at Liberty. The deſign in *Kent* appear'd not reaſonable, at leaſt not to begin upon; but he was perſwaded (and he was very Credulous) that in the North

North there was a foundation of ſtrong hopes, and a Party ready to appear powerful enough to poſſeſs themſelves of *York*; nor had the Army many Troops in thoſe parts. In the Weſt likewiſe there appear'd to be a ſtrong Combination, in which many Gentlemen were engaged, whoſe Agents were then in *London*, and were exceedingly importunate to have a day aſſign'd, and deſired no more, than that Sr *Joſeph Wagſtaff* might be Authoriſed to be in the Head of them; who had been well known to them; and he was as ready to engage with them. The Earl of *Rocheſter* liked the countenance of the North better; and ſent *Marmaduke Darcy*, a gallant Gentleman, and Nobly Ally'd in thoſe Parts, to prepare the Party there; and appointed a day and place for the Rendezvous; and promiſed to be himſelf there; and was contented that Sr *Joſeph Wagſtaff* ſhould go into the Weſt; who upon conference with thoſe of that Country, likewiſe appointed their Rendezvous upon a fixt day, to be within two Miles of *Saliſbury*. It was an Argument that they had no mean opinion of their ſtrength, that they appointed to appear that very day when the Judges were to keep their Aſſizes in that City, and where the Sheriff, and principal Gentlemen of the County were obliged to give their attendance. Of both theſe reſolutions the Earl of *Rocheſter*, who knew where the King was, took care to advertiſe his Majeſty; who, from hence, had his former faint hopes renew'd; and in a ſhort time after they were ſo improv'd, that he thought of nothing more, than how he might with the greateſt ſecrecy Tranſport himſelf into *England*; for which he did expect a ſuddain occaſion.

The Earl of Rocheſter *deſigns for the North; and* Wagſtaff *into the Weſt.*

Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaff* had been formerly Major General of the Foot in the King's Weſtern Army, a Man generally belov'd; and though he was rather for Execution than Counſel, a ſtout Man, who look'd not far before him; yet he had a great Companionableneſs in his Nature, which exceedingly prevail'd with thoſe, who, in the intermiſſion of Fighting, lov'd to ſpend their time in jollity and mirth. He, aſſoon as the day was appointed, left *London*, and went to ſome of his Friends Houſes in the Country, near the place, that he might aſſiſt the Preparations as much as was poſſible. Thoſe of *Hampſhire* were not ſo punctual at their own Rendezvous, as to be preſent at that near *Salisbury* at the hour; however, *Wagſtaff*, and they of *Wiltſhire*, appear'd according to expectation. *Penruddock*, a Gentleman of a fair Fortune, and great zeal and forwardneſs in the Service, *Hugh Grove*, *Jones*, and other Perſons of Condition, were there with a Body of near two hundred Horſe well Arm'd, which, they preſumed would every day be improv'd upon the acceſs of thoſe who had engaged themſelves in the Weſtern Aſſociation, eſpecially after the

The Riſing at Salisbury.

fame

fame of their being up, and effecting any thing, ſhould come to their ears. They accounted that they were already ſtrong enough to viſit *Salisbury* in all its preſent luſtre, knowing that they had many Friends there, and reckoning all that who were not againſt them, were for them; and that they ſhould there increaſe their Numbers both in Foot, and Horſe; with which the Town then abounded: Nor did their computation and conjecture fail them. They enter'd the City about five of the Clock in the Morning: they appointed ſome Officers, of which they had plenty, to cauſe all the Stables to be locked up, that all the Horſes might be at their devotion; others, to break open the Goales, that all there might attend their Benefactors. They kept a good Body of Horſe upon the Market-place, to encounter all oppoſition; and gave order to apprehend the Judges and the Sheriff, who were yet in their Beds, and to bring them into the Market-place with their ſeveral Commiſſions, not caring to ſeiſe upon the Perſons of any others.

All this was done with ſo little noiſe and diſorder, as if the Town had been all of one mind. They who were within doors, except they were commanded to come out, ſtayed ſtill there, being more deſirous to hear than to ſee what was done; very many being well pleaſed, and not willing that others ſhould diſcern it in their Countenance. When the Judges were brought out in their Robes, and humbly produced their Commiſſions, and the Sheriff likewiſe, *Wagſtaff* reſolv'd after he had cauſed the King to be proclaim'd, to cauſe them all three to be hang'd (who were half dead already) having well conſider'd with the Policy which Men in ſuch Actions are naturally poſſeſſed with, how he himſelf ſhould be uſed if he were under their hands, chooſing therefore to be before-hand with them. But he having not thought fit to deliberate this before-hand with his Friends, whereby their ſcrupulous Conſciences might have been confirm'd, many of the Country Gentlemen were ſo ſtartled with this propoſition, that they proteſted againſt it; and poor *Penruddock* was ſo paſſionate to preſerve their lives, as if works of this nature could be done by halves, that the Major General durſt not perſiſt in it; but was prevail'd with to diſmiſs the Judges, and, having taken their Commiſſions from them, to oblige them upon another occaſion to remember to whom they ow'd their lives, reſolving ſtill to hang the Sheriff; who poſitively, though humbly, and with many tears, refuſed to proclaim the King; which being otherwiſe done, they likewiſe prevail'd with him rather to keep the Sheriff alive, and to carry him with them to redeem an honeſter Man out of the hands of their Enemies. This ſeem'd an ill omen to their future agreement, and ſubmiſſion to the Commands of their General; nor was the ten-

derheartedneſs ſo general, but that very many of the Gentlemen were much ſcandaliſed at it, both as it were a contradiction to their Commander in Chief; and as it would have been a ſeaſonable Act of ſeverity to have cemented thoſe to perſeverance who were engaged in it, and have kept them from entertaining any hopes but in the ſharpneſs of their Swords.

THE Noiſe of this Action was very great both in and out of the Kingdom, whither it was quickly ſent. Without doubt it was a bold enterpriſe, and might have produced wonderful effects, if it had been proſecuted with the ſame reſolution, or the ſame raſhneſs, it was enter'd into. All that was reaſonable in the general contrivance of inſurrection and commotion over the whole Kingdom, was founded upon a ſuppoſition of the diviſion and faction in the Army; which was known to be ſo great, that it was thought *Cromwell* durſt not draw the whole Army to a general Rendezvous, out of apprehenſion that when they ſhould once meet together, he ſhould no longer be maſter of them. And thence it was concluded, that, if there were in any one place ſuch a Body brought together as might oblige *Cromwell* to make the Army, or a conſiderable part of it to march, there would at leaſt be no diſpoſition in them to fight to ſtrengthen his Authority, which they abhorr'd. And many did at that time believe, that if they had remain'd with that Party at *Salisbury* for ſome days, which they might well have done without any diſturbance, their Numbers would have much increaſed, and their Friends farther Weſt muſt have been prepared to receive them, when their retreat had been neceſſary by a ſtronger part of the Armies marching againſt them. *Cromwell* himſelf was alarmed; he knew well the diſtemper of the Kingdom, and in his Army, and now when he ſaw ſuch a Body gather'd together without any noiſe, that durſt in the middle of the Kingdom, enter into one of the chief Cities of it, when his Judges and all the Civil power of that Country was in it, and take them Priſoners, and proclaim the King in a time of full Peace, and when no Man durſt ſo much as name him but with a reproach, he could not imagine, that ſuch an enterpriſe could be undertaken without a univerſal conſpiracy; in which his own Army could not be innocent; and therefore knew not how to truſt them together. But all this apprehenſion vaniſh'd, when it was known, that within four or five hours after they had perform'd this exploit, they left the Town with very ſmall encreaſe or addition to their numbers.

The unfortunate Iſſue of it.

THE truth is, they did nothing reſolutely after their firſt Action; and were in ſuch diſorder, and diſcontent between themſelves, that without ſtaying for their Friends out of *Hampſhire* (who were to the number of two or three hundred Horſe,

Horſe, upon their way, and would have been at *Salisbury* that Night) upon pretence that they were expected in *Dorſetſhire*, they left the Town, and took the Sheriff with them, about two of the Clock in the Afternoon: but were ſo weary of their day's Labour, and their watching the Night before, that they grew leſs in love with what they were about, and diſfer'd again amongſt themſelves about the Sheriff; whom many deſired to be preſently releaſed; and that Party carried it in hope of receiving good Offices afterwards from him. In this manner they continued on their march Weſtward. They from *Hampſhire*, and other places, who were behind them, being angry for their leaving *Salisbury*, would not follow, but ſcatter'd themſelves; and they who were before them, and heard in what diſorder they had left *Wiltſhire*, likewiſe diſperſed: ſo that after they had continued their Journey into *Devonſhire*, without meeting any who would joyn with them, Horſe and Men were ſo tired for want of meat and ſleep, that one ſingle Troop of Horſe, inferior in number, and commanded by an Officer, of no credit in the War, being in thoſe parts by chance, followed them at a diſtance, till they were ſo ſpent, that he rather intreated than compell'd them to deliver themſelves; ſome, and amongſt thoſe *Wagſtaff*, quitted their Horſes, and found ſhelter in ſome honeſt Men's Houſes; where they were conceal'd till opportunity ſerv'd to Tranſport them into the parts beyond the Seas, where they arriv'd ſafely. But Mr *Penruddock*, Mr *Grove*, and moſt of the reſt, were taken Priſoners, upon promiſe given by the Officer that their Lives ſhould be ſaved; which they quickly found he had no Authority to make good. For *Cromwell* no ſooner heard of his cheap Victory, than he ſent Judges away with a new commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, and Order to proceed with the utmoſt ſeverity againſt the Offenders. But *Roles*, his Chief Juſtice, who had ſo luckily eſcaped at *Salisbury*, had not recover'd the fright; and would no more look thoſe Men in the Face who had dealt ſo kindly with him; but expreſly refuſed to be employ'd in the ſervice, raiſing ſome ſcruples in point of Law, whether the Men could be legally condemned; upon which *Cromwell*, ſhortly after, turn'd him out of his Office, having found others who executed his Commands. *Penruddock*, and *Grove*, loſt their heads at *Exeter*; and others were hanged there; who having recover'd the faintneſs they were in when they render'd, died with great courage and reſolution, profeſſing their Duty and Loyalty to the King: many were ſent to *Salisbury*, and tryed and executed there, in the place where they had ſo lately triumphed; and ſome who were condemn'd, where there were Fathers, and Sons, and Brothers, that the Butchery might appear with ſome remorſe, were repriev'd, and ſold, and ſent

Slaves to the *Barbadoes*; where their treatment was such, that few of them ever return'd into their own Country. Thus this little fire, which probably might have kindled and enflamed all the Kingdom, was for the preſent extinguiſh'd in the Weſt; and *Cromwell* ſecured without the help of his Army; which he ſaw, by the Countenance it then ſhew'd when they thought he ſhould have uſe of them, it was high time to reform; and in that he reſolv'd to uſe no longer delay.

The ill ſucceſs likewiſe of the deſign in the North.

THE Deſign of the North, which was thought to be much better prepared and provided for, made leſs noiſe, and expired more peaceably. The Earl of *Rocheſter*, who ſaw danger at a diſtance with great courage, and look'd upon it leſs reſolutely when it was nearer, made his Journey from *London*, with a Friend or two, into *York-ſhire* at the time appointed; and found ſuch an appearance of Gentlemen upon the place, as might very well have deſerv'd his patience. There had been ſome miſtake in the Notice that had been given, and they who did appear, undertook for many who were abſent, that, if he would appoint another ſhort day for a Rendezvous, he ſhould be well attended. *Marmaduke Darcy* had ſpent his time very well amongſt them, and found them well diſpoſed, and there could be no danger in ſtaying the time propoſed, many of them having Houſes, where he might be well concealed, and the Country generally wiſh'd well to the King, and to thoſe who concern'd themſelves in his Affairs. But he took many exceptions; complain'd, as if they had deceiv'd him; and asked many Queſtions, which were rather reaſonable than ſeaſonable, and which would have furniſh'd reaſons againſt entring upon the deſign, which were not to be urged now when they were to execute, and when indeed they ſeem'd to have gone too far to retire. He had not yet heard of the ill Succeſs at *Salisbury*; yet he did not think the force which the Gentlemen were confident they could draw together, before they could meet with any oppoſition, ſufficient to enter upon any Action, that was like to be dangerous in the end: So he reſolv'd to ſtay no longer; the Gentlemen being as much troubled that he had come at all; they parted with little good Will to each other, the Earl returning through by-roads to *London*, which was the ſecureſt place, from whence he gave the King notice of the hopeleſneſs of Affairs. If he had not been a Man very fortunate in diſguiſes, he could never have eſcaped ſo many perambulations. For as he was the leaſt wary in making his Journies in ſafe hours, ſo he departed very unwillingly from all places where there was good eating and drinking; and enter'd into Conferences with any Strangers he met, or joyn'd with.

The Earl of Rocheſter *returns to* London; *whence he adviſes the King of the ill ſucceſs.*

WHEN

WHEN he return'd from the North, he lodged at *Aylesbury*; and having been obſerv'd to ride out of the way in a large ground, not far from the Town, of which he ſeem'd to take ſome Survey, and had ask'd many queſtions of a Country Fellow who was there (that ground in truth belonging to his own Wife) the next Juſtice of Peace had notice of it; who being a Man devoted to the Government, and all that Country very ill affected always to the King, and the News of *Salisbury*, and the Proclamation thereupon, having put all Men upon their Guard, came himſelf to the Inn where the Earl was; and being inform'd, that there were only two Gentlemen above at Supper (for Sr *Nicholas Armorer* was likewiſe with the Earl, and had accompanied him in that Journey) he went into the Stable; and upon view of the Horſes found they were the ſame which had been obſerv'd in the Ground. The Juſtice commanded the keeper of the Inn, one *Gilvy*, who, beſides that he was a Perſon notoriouſly affected to the Government, was likewiſe an Officer, "That he "ſhould not ſuffer thoſe Horſes, nor the Perſons to whom "they belonged, to go out of the Houſe, till he, the ſaid "Juſtice, came thither in the Morning; when he would exa-"mine the Gentlemen, who they were, and from whence "they came. The Earl was quickly advertiſed of all that paſſed below, and enough apprehenſive of what muſt follow in the Morning. Whereupon he preſently ſent for the Maſter of the Houſe, and no Body being preſent but his Companion, he told him, "He would put his Life into his hands; "Which he might deſtroy or preſerve: That he could get no-"thing by the one, but by the other he ſhould have profit, and "the good Will of many Friends, who might be able to do him "good. Then he told him who he was; and as an earneſt of more benefit that he might receive hereafter, he gave him thirty or forty *Jacobus*'s, and a fair Gold Chain, which was more worth to be ſold than one hundred pounds. Whether the Man was moved by the reward, which he might have poſſeſſed without deſerving it, or by generoſity, or by wiſdom and foreſight, for he was a Man of very good Underſtanding, and might conſider the Changes which follow'd after, and in which this Service prov'd of advantage to him, he did reſolve to permit and contrive their Eſcapes: And though he thought fit to be accountable to the Juſtice for their Horſes, yet he cauſed two other as good for their purpoſe, of his own, to be made ready by a truſty Servant in another Stable; who, about Midnight, Conducted them into *London*-way; which put them in Safety. The Inn-keeper was viſited in the Morning by the Juſtice; whom, he carried into the Stable, where the Horſes ſtill ſtood, he having ſtill

An accident that befell him in his return.

kept the Key in his own Pocket, not making any doubt of the Persons whilst he kept their Horses; but the Inn-keeper confessed they were Escaped out of his House in the Night, how or whither he could not imagine. The Justice threaten'd loud; but the Inn-keeper was of that unquestionable Fidelity, and gave such daily demonstration of his Affection to the Common-wealth, that *Cromwell* more suspected the connivance of the Justice (who ought not to have deferr'd the examination of the Persons till the Morning) than the Integrity of a Man so well known, as the Inn-keeper was. The Earl remain'd in *London* whilst the enquiry was warm and importunate, and afterwards easily procured a passage for *Flanders*; and so return'd to *Cologne*.

The King leaves Zeeland; *and return's to* Cologne.

ASSOON as the King receiv'd Advertisment of the ill Successes in *England*, and that all their hopes were for the present blasted there, he left *Zeeland*, and returning by *Breda* staid in a Dorp near the Town, till the Chancellor of the Exchequer attended him; and then return'd with all speed to *Cologne*; where his little Court was quickly gather'd together again, and better disposed to sit still, and expect God's own time. His Majesty was exceedingly afflicted with the loss of so many honest Gentlemen in *England*, who had engaged themselves so desperately, not only without, but expressly against his Majesty's Judgment: And he was the more troubled, because he was from several of his Friends from thence advertised, "That all his Counsels were discover'd; and that "*Cromwell* had perfect intelligence of whatsoever his Majesty "resolv'd to do, and of all he said Himself; so that it would "not be safe for any Body to correspond with him, or to med-"dle in his Affairs or Concernments: That his coming into "*Zeeland*, and his continuance there, was known to *Crom-*"*well*, with all the particulars of his Motion; that many Per-"sons of Condition were seised upon, and imprison'd for ha-"ving a design to possess themselves of some Towns, and "Places of strength; which intelligence could not be given "but from *Cologne*; implying, "That the miscarriage in all "the last designs, proceeded wholly from the Treason of "some Persons near his Majesty. The King did not at all wonder that *Cromwell*, and his Instruments, took great pains to make it generally be believ'd, that they knew all that was resolv'd or thought of at *Cologne*; but that any Men who were really devoted to his Service, and who had kindness and esteem for all those who were trusted by his Majesty, should be wrought upon to believe those reports, very much disturbed him.

WHILST he was in this Agony, and immediately after his return to *Cologne*, a discovery was made of a Villany, that made

made him excuſe his Friends in *England* for their Jealouſy, and yet compoſed his own mind from any fear of being betray'd, it being an Impoſture of ſuch a Nature, as was dangerous and ridiculous together. There was one *Manning*, a proper young Gentleman, bred a Roman Catholick in the Family of the Marquis of *Worceſter*, whoſe Page he had been. His Father, of that Religion likewiſe, had been a Colonel in the King's Army; and was ſlain at the Battle of *Alresford*; where this young Man, being then a Youth, was hurt, and maim'd in the left Arm and Shoulder. This Gentleman came to *Cologne* ſhortly after the King came thither firſt, and pretended, "That he had ſold the incumber'd Fortune his Father "had left him; upon which he had enough to maintain him, "and reſolv'd to ſpend it in waiting upon the King, till his "Majeſty ſhould be able to raiſe an Army; in which he hoped "to have an opportunity to revenge his Father's Blood; with many diſcourſes of that Nature; and he brought a Letter to Dr *Earles* from his Uncle *Manning*, who was well known to him, to commend his Nephew to his converſation. He was a handſome Man, had ſtore of good Cloaths, and plenty of Money; which, with the memory of his Father, eaſily introduced him, and made him acceptable to the Company that was there. He knew moſt of the King's Party in *England*, and ſpoke as if he were much truſted by them, and held correſpondence with them; and had every Week the Diurnal, and the News of *London*, which ſeldom elſe came ſo far as *Cologne*. He aſſociated himſelf moſt with the good-fellows, and eat in their Company, being well provided for the expence. By degrees he inſinuated himſelf with the Earl of *Rocheſter*, and told him "That all the King's Party look'd upon him, as "the General who muſt Govern and Command them; for "which they were very impatient: That he himſelf would be "ready to run his Fortune, and attend him into *England*; "and that he had two hundred good Men liſted, who would "appear well Mounted and Armed, whenever he ſhould re"quire them; and that he knew where good Sums of Money "lay ready to be applied to that Service. The Earl was raviſh'd with this diſcourſe, and look'd upon him as a Man ſent from Heaven to advance his deſigns; and ask'd him, "Whe"ther he had been with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and "communicated all this to him? He ſaid "He had, at his firſt "coming to Town, waited upon the Chancellor; and intend"ed to have ſpoken of this, and much more, than he had yet "ſpoken, if he had been vacant, or willing to hear: but he "ſeem'd to him too reſerv'd; which he imputed then to ſome "buſineſs that poſſeſſed him, and therefore made him a ſecond "viſit; when he found him with the ſame warineſs, and with-

The diſcovery of the Treachery of Manning; and a particular account of it.

"out a desire to be inform'd by him concerning the Affairs of "that Kingdom; so that he resolv'd to visit him no more.

In the end, he told the Earl, "That he would impart a "secret to him of the last importance, and which he had not "yet had opportunity to inform the King of, and, he did be- "lieve, it would be the same thing to impart it to his Lord- "ship as to his Majesty himself: The Sum was, that he was "trusted by the young Earl of *Pembroke*, whose Affections "were entire for his Majesty, to assure the King of the same; "and that though it would not be safe for him to appear in "the head, and beginning of an Insurrection, he would ad- "vance it as much as if he were there in Person; and be- "cause he knew the West was better prepared to begin the "Work than any other part of the Kingdom, he had caused "three thousand pounds to be laid aside, and kept ready at "*Wilton*, which should be deliver'd to any Man, who, in the "King's Name, should require it of such a Man (naming a "Person, who was known to be much trusted by that Earl) "upon delivery of a private Token he produced out of his "Pocket (which was a clean piece of Paper, sealed with three impressions of an Antick Head in hard Wax) "which, he said, "The Earl requir'd him to present to the King when he "thought it might be seasonable. He added, "That he would "be glad to be himself in that first Engagement, and so to be "present when that Token should be deliver'd; yet he consi- "der'd, that he was not enough known to have such a Secret "imparted to him, as the time of such an Action ought to be; "and therefore, if it pleased the King, he would presently de- "liver that Token into his Lordship's hands; who, he was "confident, would be the first that would have opportunity to "employ it.

The Earl had the Journey then in his head, which he made shortly after; and thought such a Treasure as this would much advance the Service. He made haste to inform the King of the whole, that he might have his approbation to receive the Token. To that purpose, he brought the Man to the King; who had never before taken other notice of him, than for his bringing the Diurnal constantly to be read to his Majesty after Dinner, or Supper, as he receiv'd it. He made a large Relation to the King of what the Earl of *Pembroke* had commanded him to say, and presented the Token to his Majesty for the three thousand pounds; the manner of his discourse being such, as the King had not the least suspicion of the truth of it. Assoon as he left the King, the Earl brought him to the Chancellor, conjuring him to use him with great kindness and gently reproaching him for his want of Courtesy to him before, which he wonder'd at; for it was very true that

Manning

Manning had visited him twice before, and it was as true, that he had receiv'd him with as much Civility as was possible, having known his Father, and most of his Family, and was glad to see him frequently at Prayers, well knowing that he had been bred a Roman Catholick; and the young Man had seem'd much pleased with the Reception he had given him. But from the time that he made that Relation concerning the Earl of *Pembroke*, which he repeated over to him as he had related it to the King, the Chancellor always suspected him; and could not prevail with himself to have any familiarity with him; which the other complain'd heavily of, and the Chancellor was much reproach'd for not treating a Person of so much Merit, who had lost his Father and had been himself maim'd in the King's Service, with more openness; for he did always use him with all necessary Civility. But the Chancellor's knowledge of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and of the humour that then possessed him, and of the uneasiness of his own Fortune, which did not make him at that time Master of much Money, besides that he believ'd that, if the thing were true, he should have receiv'd advertisement sooner of it from a Person who was most trusted by the Earl, and who corresponded very constantly with the Chancellor, made him distrust him. He therefore told the King, "That he doubted *Manning* had made that part of the story to make himself the "more welcome; which his Majesty did not think was a reasonable jealousy; but wish'd him to use all the means he could to discover the truth. The Chancellor had no farther suspicion of him than upon the account of that story, nor the least apprehension that he was a Spy.

When it was publickly known that the King was absent from *Cologne*, at that time that he made his Journey to *Zeeland*, in the manner that is mention'd before, the Earl of *Rochester* being departed from thence some time before, Mr *Manning* appear'd wondefully troubled, and complain'd to some, "That he being entrusted by all the King's Friends, who "would not credit any Orders but such as should pass through "his hands, the King was now gone without imparting it to "him; which would be the ruin of his design. He went to the Chancellor, and lamented himself, "That there should be "any Sword drawn in *England* before His; his Father's Blood "boiled within him and kept him from sleep. He desired him therefore, "That he would so far communicate the design "to him, that he might only know to what part of *England* "to Transport himself, that he might be in Action assoon as "might be possible. He could draw nothing from the Chancellor; who told him, "That he knew of no probability of "any Action; and therefore could give no advcie. Upon which

which he complain'd much of the Chancellor's want of kindneſs to him: But he loſt no time in following the King; and having great acquaintance with *Herbert Price*, a Man much truſted by the Earl of *Rocheſter*, and that affected to know, or to be thought to know the greateſt Secrets, he prevailed upon him, upon bearing his Charges, to accompany him, that they might find out where the King was, at leaſt that they might be ready on the Sea Coaſt to Tranſport themſelves into *England* upon the firſt occaſion. Whether by accident, or that the Earl of *Rocheſter* had made any mention of *Zeeland* to Mr *Price*, thither they both came; and ſeeing Sr *John Mennes*, and Mr *Nicholas* there, they believ'd there might likewiſe be others of their *Cologne* Friends. *Herbert Price*, as he was a Man of a very Inquiſitive Nature, watched ſo narrowly, that he found an opportunity to meet the King in an Evening, when he uſed to walk to take a little Air after the days confinement. The King, ſince he was diſcover'd, thought it beſt to truſt him; and charged him "Not only to make no "diſcovery, but to remove out of the Iſland, leſt his being "ſeen there, might raiſe ſuſpicion in other Men. He did very importunately deſire the King that he might bring *Manning* to ſpeak with him, as not only an honeſt Man (as no doubt he thought him to be) but a Man of that importance and truſt, as might contribute much to his preſent Service. But the King would by no means admit him, nor did he ſee him; yet afterwards, upon this reflection, his Majeſty concluded that *Cromwell* came to be inform'd of his being in *Zeeland*, without any reproach to Mr *Price*'s Fidelity; which was not ſuſpected, though his preſumption, and importunity, were always very inconvenient.

SHORTLY after the King's return to *Cologne*, *Manning* likewiſe came thither with his accoſtom'd confidence. And in this time the Chancellor receiv'd Advertiſement from *England*, "That he had no kind of truſt from the Earl of *Pem*- "*broke*, but on the contrary, had been turn'd out of his Ser- "vice upon matter of diſhoneſty; and that he was a looſe "Perſon of no Reputation: and his Majeſty was inform'd by others from *Antwerp*, "That every Poſt brought many Let- "ters for him, which were taken up there, and tranſmitted "to *Cologne*; and that he had Letters of Credit upon a Mer- "chant of *Antwerp* for good Sums of Money. All this raiſed a ſuſpicion in the King; who gave direction to a Truſty Perſon, who was purpoſely ſent to take up all thoſe Letters at *Antwerp*, which were ſent thither from *England* for him, it being known under what cover they came, and likewiſe thoſe which were ſent from *Cologne* by him, his addreſs being likewiſe diſcover'd. By this means the Party return'd with many great

great Packets both from, and to him; which being open'd, and read, administer'd matter of great amazement. There were Letters from *Thurlow*, *Cromwell*'s Secretary and Principal Minister, containing the satisfaction the Protector receiv'd in the particular Intelligence he receiv'd from him, with short Instructions how he should behave himself. The Person employ'd had been so dextrous, that he brought with him *Manning*'s Letters of three Posts, all full of the most particular things done at *Cologne*; and the particular words said by the King, and Others, that must needs affect those who should receive the Intelligence; but of all which there was nothing true; no such action had been done, no such word spoken.

In one Letter, after such Information as he thought fit, he said, "That by the next he should send such advice as was of "much more moment than he had ever yet sent, and above "what he had given from *Zeeland*, and by which they might "see, that there was nothing so secret at *Cologne*, of which he "could not be inform'd, if he had Money enough; and therefore desir'd the Bill for the thousand Crowns might be dispatched. Together with this, the Letter of the subsequent Post was likewise seised upon; and by his Method, which was afterwards discover'd, it was very probable that they were both sent at one and the same time, and by the same Post, though they were of several dates. That of the latter date was very long, and in it was enclosed an Overture or Design for the surprise and taking of *Plymouth*; in which there was a very exact and true description of the Town and Fort, and Island, and the present Strength and Force that was there. Then a Proposition, that a Vessel with five hundred Men (there were no more desired) should come to such a place (a Creek describ'd) and upon a sign then given, such a place in the Town should be first seised upon, whilst the others should possess both the Fort, and the Island. The Names of the Persons who undertook to do both the one, and the other, were likewise set down, and they were all Men known to be well affected to the King, who, with the assistance of that five hundred Men, might indeed be able to Master the Place. For the better going through the Work when it was thus begun, there was an undertaking that Sr *Hugh Pollard*, and other Persons named, who were all notable Men for their Zeal to the King's Service, should be ready from the *Devon-shire* side, as Colonel *Arundel* and others from *Cornwal*, to second and support what was to be done.

The Letter inform'd, "That when the King deliver'd that "Paper to the Council (which he said, "He had receiv'd "from a very good hand; and then the Marquis of *Ormond* made this, and this objection, and others found this, and that difficulty

difficulty in the Execution of the Enterprise, all which the Chancellor answer'd very clearly, and the King himself said very much of the easiness of the Undertaking) "There was "one difficulty urged, that the King himself appear'd to be "startled at, and looked upon the Chancellor; who arose "from his place, and went to the King's Chair, and whisper'd "somewhat in his Ear. Whereupon his Majesty told the "Lords, that he had indeed forgot somewhat that the Chan- "cellor put him in mind of, and for that particular they should "refer the care of it to Him, who would take it upon him, "and so the matter was resolv'd, and the Earl of *Rochester* un- "dertook for the five hundred Men, and their Transportation. *Manning* concluded, "That if he had Money, they should "know constantly how this design should be advanced, or "any other set on foot. Every Body was exceedingly amazed at this relation, in which there was not one syllable of truth. There had never such a Proposition been made, nor was there any such debate or discourse. There were in his Letter many vain insinuations of his Interest, as if he were never out of the King's Company. Two of the King's Servants were sent to seise upon his Person, and his Papers; who found him in his Chamber writing, and his Cipher and Papers before him; all which they possessed themselves of without any resistance. There were several Letters prepared, and made up with the dates proper for many Posts to come, with information, and intelligence, of the same nature as the former.

THE Secretary of State, and one of the Lords of the Council, were sent to examine him; to whom he confessed, without any reserve, "That the necessity of his Fortune had ex- "posed him to that base Condition of Life; and, to make "himself fit for it, he had dissembled his Religion; for, he "said, he remain'd still a Catholick: That he was sent over by "*Thurlow* to be a Spy wherever the King should be, and had "constantly sent him Intelligence, for which he had receiv'd "good Sums of Money; yet, that he had been so troubled in "Mind for the vileness of the Life he led, that he was resolv'd "by raising great expectations in them, to draw a good Sum "of Money from them; and then to renounce farther cor- "respondence, and to procure the King's Pardon, and faith- "fully to serve him. Being ask'd, why he made such relations, which had no truth in them, he answer'd, "That if he "had come to the knowledge of any thing which in truth had "concern'd the King, he would never have discover'd it; "but he thought it would do no prejudice to the King, if he "got Money from the Rebels by sending them Lies, which "could neither do them good, nor hurt his Majesty; and "therefore all his care was to amuse them with particulars,

"which

"which he knew would pleaſe them; and ſo when he was "alone he always prepared Letters containing ſuch things as "occurr'd to his Invention, to be ſent by the ſucceeding Poſts, "and that he had never written any thing that was true, but "of his Majeſty's being in *Zeeland*; which, he believ'd, could "produce no prejudice to him.

THE King now diſcern'd from whence all the Apprehenſions of his Friends proceeded; and that they had too much ground for their Jealouſies; for though none of his Counſels had been diſcover'd, they who had receiv'd thoſe Letters, might reaſonably think that none of them were concealed; and might well brag to their Confidents of their knowing all that the King did. By this means, ſuch particulars were tranſmitted to the King's Friends, as could not but very much amuſe them, and no doubt, was the cauſe of the commitment of very many Perſons, and of ſome who had no purpoſe to ſuffer for their Loyalty. His Majeſty took care to publiſh the Tranſactions of this Man, with the Method of the Intelligence he gave; by which his Friends diſcern'd with what ſhadows they had been affrighted, and his Enemies likewiſe diſcover'd what current Ware they had receiv'd for their Money: yet they endeavour'd to have it believ'd that he was not a Man ſent over by Them, but a Secretary in great Truſt about ſome Perſon employ'd, whom they had corrupted: in which Men were likewiſe quickly undeceiv'd, and knew that he was a Man without any dependence or relation to, or countenance from the Court: and the Wretch ſoon after, receiv'd the reward due to his Treaſon.

Cromwell's advantage by the Riſings of the King's Party.

AS the King's hopes were much Eclipſed in *England* by the late unſeaſonable Attempt, and the loſs of ſo many gallant Perſons, as periſh'd or were undone in it; ſo *Cromwell* advanced his own Credit, and was very much enriched by it, and more confirm'd with thoſe who were of doubtful Faith towards him. He lay before under the reproach of diviſing Plots himſelf, that the Common-Wealth might be thought in danger, to the end he might have excuſe to continue ſo Vaſt Forces ſtill in pay. Whereas it now appear'd how Active, and confident the King's Party ſtill was, and that they would not have had the preſumption to make ſo bold an Attempt in the middle of the Kingdom, if they had not had good Aſſurance of being ſeconded; and therefore they were to look upon the Fire as only raked up, not extinguiſhed. The Succeſs and Triumph of a few deſperate Perſons at *Salisbury*, that had produced ſuch a Conſternation throughout the Kingdom, and would have endanger'd the ſecurity of the whole Weſt, if there had not happen'd ſome accidental confuſion amongſt the Undertakers, was evidence enough that there was not yet Force ſufficient to provide

provide for the Safety of the Kingdom; and therefore that it was neceſſary to make better proviſion for the quiet of every County, that it might not be endanger'd by every bold Attempt: and the Charge that this neceſſary Defence would cauſe, ſhould in Juſtice be borne by thoſe who were the Occaſion of the Expence.

His Order for Decimating the King's Party.

THEREUPON he made by his own Authority, and that of his Council, an Order, "That all thoſe who had ever borne "Arms for the King, or had declared themſelves to be of "the Royal Party ſhould be decimated, that is, pay a tenth "part of all that Eſtate which they had left, to ſupport the "Charge which the Common-wealth was put to, by the un-"quietneſs of their Temper, and the juſt Cauſe of Jealouſy "which they had adminiſter'd. And that the Publick might loſe nothing of what he had ſo frankly given to it, Commiſſioners were appointed in every County, to value what the tenth part of every ſuch Eſtate did amount to; and that no Man might have too good a bargain of his own, every Man was obliged to pay as much as thoſe Commiſſioners judged fit; and till he paid it, beſides Impriſonment, which was a judgment apart, and inflicted once or twice a year, as the Jealouſies wrought, his whole Eſtate was ſequeſter'd. And in this decimation there was no conſideration taken of former Compoſitions, of any Articles of War, or of any Acts of pardon and indemnity, which had been granted under their great Seal, without enquiry into their Actions, or ſo much as accuſing any of them of any crime or guilt, or of having any Correſpondence with the King, or any body truſted by him; or that they were in any degree privy to the late deſigns or inſurrection.

His Declaration to juſtify it.

THAT this Order might be ſubmitted to, and executed, He publiſh'd a Declaration to make the Juſtice, as well as the Neceſſity of that proceeding appear; in which he did not only ſet down the grounds of his preſent proceeding againſt the Royal Party, but the Rules by which he meant to proceed againſt any other Party that ſhould provoke, or give him trouble. It was a Declaration worded and digeſted with much more aſperity againſt all who had ſerv'd the King, than had ever been before publiſhed. Great Caution had been hitherto uſed, as if nothing more had been deſign'd than to unite the whole Nation in the joynt defence of the Common Intereſt, and as if a reſolution had been taken to have aboliſhed all Marks of diſunion and diſtinction of Parties, and that all Men, of what Condition ſoever (except thoſe who had been always excepted by Name) who would ſubmit to the Government, ſhould be admitted to have ſhares, and to act parts in the Adminiſtration and Defence of it. But now notice was taken

taken of "Such an inherent Malignity, and irreconcileableneſs "in all thoſe who from the beginning had adhered to the King, "and oppoſed the proceedings of the Parliament, towards all "thoſe who had ſerv'd their Country, and vindicated the In-"tereſt of the People and Nation, that they declin'd the com-"mon Rules of Civility, and would have no Converſation "with them; and, that the ſame Malice and Animoſity might "deſcend to their Poſterity, they would not make Marriages, "or any Friendſhip or Alliance with thoſe who had been ſe-"parated, or divided from them in thoſe Publick differences; "and therefore they were not hereafter to wonder, or com-"plain, if they were looked upon as a Common Enemy, "which muſt be kept from being able to do Miſchief; ſince "they would always be willing to do all they could; and that "they were not to expect to be proſecuted, like other Men, "by the ordinary forms of Juſtice, and to have their Crimes "to be prov'd by Witneſſes, before they ſhould be concluded "to be Guilty. If any deſperate Attempts were undertaken "by any of that Party to diſturb the Publick Peace, that it "would be reaſonable to conclude that they all wiſhed well "to it, though they appear'd not to own it: that all Con-"ſpiracies of that nature were acted in ſecret, and were deeds "of darkneſs, and Men might juſtly be ſuſpected and pro-"ceeded againſt as privy to them, by their common diſcourſes, "by the Company they uſually kept, and by their very looks; with many other expreſſions, of ſuch an unuſual nature in the diſquiſition of Juſtice, and legal proceedings, that the King's Party might reaſonably conclude, they had nothing left that they could call their own, but muſt expect a total Extirpation, either by Maſſacre, or Tranſplantation.

BUT then the Declaration took notice likewiſe of "The "factions in the Army, that would not acquieſce in the Go-"vernment eſtabliſh'd; but would have another found out, "and form'd according to their Levelling humours; all which "diſtractions, to what other ends ſoever directed, muſt ſo "weaken the Common-wealth, if not wiſely prevented, as it "muſt in the end be expoſed as a Prey to their inveterate "Enemies; and therefore, that the ſame remedies muſt be "apply'd to Them, as to the others; with intimation clear enough, "That the connivance they had formerly receiv'd, "and even the Pardons that had been granted for their for-"mer Mutinies and Tranſgreſſions, were of no more validity "than the Articles, Promiſes, and Acts of Indemnity, which "had been granted to the Royal Party: all which were de-"clared to be void and null, upon any ſucceeding Delin-"quency: ſo that all diſcontented People who liked not the preſent Government, what part ſoever they had acted in the

pulling

pulling down the old, whether Presbyterian, Independent, or Leveller, were left to consider of the consequence of those Maxims there laid down; and might naturally conclude, that they were in no better condition of security for what they enjoy'd, and had purchased dearly, than those who by their help were brought to the lowest misery; though for the present, none but the King's Party underwent that insupportable burden of Decimation; which brought a vast incredible Sum of Money into *Cromwell's* Coffers, the greater part whereof was raised (which was a kind of pleasure, though not ease to the rest) upon those who never did, nor ever would have given the King the least assistance, and were only reputed to be of his Party because they had not assisted the Rebels with a visible chearfulness, or in any considerable proportion; and had proposed to themselves to sit still as Neuters, and not to be at any charge with reference to either Party; or such who had shelter'd themselves in some of the King's Garrisons for their own conveniency.

The King caused an Answer to be made to it.

THIS Declaration was sent to *Cologne*; where the King caused an Answer to be made to it upon the grounds that were laid down in it; and as if it were made by one who had been always of the Parliament side, and who was well pleased to see the Cavaliers reduced to that extremity; but with such reflections upon the Tyranny that was exercised over the Kingdom, and upon the foulness of the breach of Trust the Protector was guilty of, that it obliged all the Nation to look upon him as a detestable Enemy, who was to be remov'd by any way that offer'd it self; many of which arguments were made use of against him in the next Parliament that he call'd; which was not long after.

THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH BOOK.

THE

THE
History of the Rebellion, &c.
BOOK XV.

Ezra III. 26.

And I will make thy Tongue cleave to the roof of thy Mouth, that thou ſhalt be dumb, and ſhalt not be to them a Reprover; for they are a Rebellious Houſe.

Hoſea X. 3.

For now they ſhall ſay, We have no King, becauſe We feared not the Lord; what then ſhall a King do to Us?

Hab. I. 10.

And they ſhall ſcoff at the Kings, and the Princes ſhall be a ſcorn unto them.

THE King remain'd at *Cologne* above two years, contending with the rigour of his Fortune with great Temper and Magnanimity; whilſt all the Princes of *Europe* ſeem'd to contend amongſt themſelves, who ſhould moſt eminently forget and neglect him; and whilſt *Cromwell* exerciſed all imaginable Tyranny over thoſe Nations, who had not been ſenſible enough of the bleſſings they enjoyed under his Majeſty's Father's peaceable, and mild Government: ſo that, if the King's Nature could have been delighted to behold the Oppreſſions his Rebellious Subjects endured in all the three Nations, he might have had abundant comfort, and pleaſure of this kind in all of them: firſt, in ſeeing *Scotland*, which firſt threw off, wantonly, it's own peace and plenty, and infected the other two

The King ſtayed at Cologne *above two years.*

The Condition of Scotland *under* Cromwell.

two Kingdoms with its Rebellion, now reduced, and govern'd by a rod of Iron; vanquiſh'd and ſubdued by thoſe whom they had taught the Science of Rebellion, and with whom they had joyn'd, by ſpecious pretences, and vows, and horrible perjuries, to deſtroy their own Natural Prince, and diſſolve the Regal Government, to which they had been ſubject ever ſince they were a Nation: in ſeeing the pride and inſolence of that People, which had uſed to practice ſuch ill manners towards their King, ſuppreſſed, contemned, and expoſed to ſlavery under the diſcipline, and caſtigation of Men who were very few of them born Gentlemen, but bred up in the Trades and Profeſſions of Common Men. Theſe Men govern'd in their Houſes, and preſcribed new Laws to them to live by, which they had never been accuſtom'd to, yet were compell'd to obey, upon penalty of their Lives, and Eſtates; whilſt their adored Idol, Presbytery, which had pull'd off the Crown from the head of the King, was trod under foot, and laughed at; and their Preachers, who had threaten'd their Princes with their rude thunder of Excommunication, diſputed with, ſcoffed at, and controlled by Artificers, and corrected by the ſtrokes and blows of a Corporal; and all this Subjection ſupported at their own charge, their fierce Governours being paid by them out of their own Eſtates.

Of Ireland. He then beheld *Ireland*, that begun its Rebellion with inhumane Maſſacres, and Butcheries of their peaceable and innocent Neighbours, after the other of *Scotland* was ſuppreſſed, or ſo compounded, that the bleſſing of Peace had again cover'd the three Nations, if this ſottiſh People had not, without any provocation, but of their own folly and barbarity, with that bloody Prologue engaged again the three Kingdoms in a raging and devouring War; ſo that though *Scotland* blew the firſt Trumpet, it was *Ireland* that drew the firſt blood; and if they had not at that time rebell'd, and in that manner, it is very probable all the miſeries which afterwards befell the King, and his Dominions, had been prevented. Theſe unhappy People, when they ſaw that they could not make War, but were beaten as often as encounter'd, would not yet make Peace; or if they did, they no ſooner made it than broke it, with all the circumſtances of Treachery, and Perjury that can make any foul Action the moſt odious. And after they had, for their laſt preſervation return'd to their obedience to the King, and put themſelves again under his Protection, they quickly repented of their Loyalty, offer'd themſelves to the Soveraignty of a Forreign Prince; and when they had ſeen their natural King Murder'd by his other Rebels, for want of that Aſſiſtance which they might have given him, choſe rather to depend on the clemency of the Uſurper, driving from them

them the Governour, and Government of the King: I ſay, his Majeſty ſaw now this miſerable People groveling at the feet of their proud Conquerors, reduced to the loweſt deſolation, and even to the point of Extirpation; the blood they had wantonly, and ſavagely ſpilt in the beginning of the Rebellion, now plentifully revenged in ſtreams of their own blood, from one end of the Kingdom to the other; whilſt thoſe Perſons who firſt contriv'd the Rebellion, and could never be reached by the King, and they who cauſed every Peace to be broken which had been made with his Majeſty, with all the poſſible affronts to his Royal dignity and authority, after they had endeavour'd, by all the treacherous Offices againſt the Royal Power, to reconcile themſelves to their new Maſters, were every day taken, and infamouſly put to death by Their Authority who uſurped the Government; who ſold, as hath been ſaid before, ſo many thouſands of them to the ſervices of Forreign Princes, under whom they periſh'd for want of Bread, and without regard: ſo that there is not an account in Hiſtory of any Nation, the Jews only excepted, that was ever reduced to a more complete miſery than the *Iriſh* were at this time. And all this was the more extraordinary, in that it was without the pity of any, all the world looking upon them as deſerving the fate they underwent.

Of England.

LASTLY, *England*, that ſeem'd to glory in the Conqueſt of thoſe two Kingdoms, and to Reign peaceably over them, yielded a proſpect too full of variety. Though the King's heart was even broke with the daily informations he receiv'd of the ruin and deſtruction his faithful and Loyal Party underwent; and the butchery frequently acted upon them, and the extreme Tyranny the Uſurper exerciſed over the whole Nation, was grievous to him, yet he could not be equally afflicted to ſee thoſe who had been the firſt Authors of the publick Calamity, now ſo much ſharers in it, that they were no more Maſters of their Eſtates, than They were whom they had firſt ſpoiled; and that themſelves were brought and expoſed upon thoſe Scaffolds, which they had cauſed to be erected for others; that little or no part of the new Government was in their hands which had pull'd down the old; and that after Monarchy had been made ſo odious to the People, the whole Wealth of the Nation was become at the diſpoſal of a ſingle Perſon; and that thoſe Lords, without whoſe monſtrous aſſiſtance the Scepter could never have been wreſted out of the hands of the King, were now number'd and marſhall'd with the dregs of the People: in a word, that *Cromwell* was not ſo jealous of any, as of thoſe who had raiſed him; and contriv'd, and propoſed nothing more to himſelf, than to ſuppreſs thoſe, or to drive them out of the Kingdom, who had been the prin-

cipal means to ſuppreſs the Royal Authority, and to drive the Royal Family, and all that adher'd to it, into baniſhment.

THIS proſpect the King had of the three Kingdoms during his reſidence at *Cologne*; but with thoſe manifeſtations of God's Vengeance upon thoſe ingrateful Nations, of which he had a moſt tender and compaſſionate feeling, he was not without ſome glimmering light to diſcern an approach of that recompence, which the divine Juſtice uſually aſſigns to thoſe who patiently attend his vindication.

Cromwell the beginning of 1655 ſent two great Fleets to Sea; the one under Pen, *with a Land Army under* Venables:

CROMWELL, whoſe great heart was ſollicitous to extend the terror of his Name into Forreign Countries, by which method he thought to render the rough and ſtubborn humours of the People at home more obſequious to him, had in the beginning of the year 1655, after his diſſolution of his refractory Parliament, ſent two very great Fleets to Sea; the one under *Pen*, conſiſting of about thirty Ships of War, with which there was likewiſe Embarked a Land Army, conſiſting of four or five thouſand Foot, and two Troops of Horſe, under the Command of General *Venables*, a Gentleman of a good Family in *Cheſhire*; who had ſerved long in the Army in the condition of a Colonel, and was then call'd out of *Ireland* to command in this Expedition.

BOTH theſe Superior Officers were well affected to the King's Service, and were not fond of the Enterpriſe they were to Conduct, the nature of which they yet knew nothing of. They did, by ſeveral ways, without any communication with each other (which they had not confidence to engage in) ſend to the King, that if he were ready with any Force from abroad, or ſecure of poſſeſſing any Port within, they would, that is, either of them would, engage, with the power that was under their Charge, to declare for his Majeſty. If this had been upon a joynt and mutual confidence in each other, and that both Fleet, and Land Forces, though the Body of Horſe was ſmall, would at the ſame time have ſet up the King's Standard, it might have been the foundation of ſome hopeful expectation. But neither of them daring to truſt the other, the King could not preſume upon any Port; without which neither had promiſed to engage; nor could he make out of the diſtinct Overtures (however he might hope to unite them) ſuch a probable Attempt, after the miſcarriage of ſo many, as to Embark his Friends in. So he wiſhed them to reſerve their Affections for his Majeſty, till a more proper ſeaſon to diſcover them; and to proſecute the Voyage to which they were deſign'd; from which he was not without hope of ſome benefit to himſelf; for it was evident *Cromwell* meant to make ſome Enemy, which probably might give his Majeſty ſome Friend.

THE

THE other Fleet was not inferior in Naval ſtrength, and power, but was without a Land Army; and that was committed to the Command of *Blake*; in whom *Cromwell* had all confidence. Neither Fleet knew what the other, or what it ſelf was to do, till each of them came to ſuch a Point; where they were to open their Commiſſions; and *Cromwell* had communicated his purpoſe for either to ſo very few, that, for many Months after they were both at Sea, no Body knew to what they were deſign'd. Though the intercourſe between *Cromwell* and the Cardinal was maintain'd with many Civilities, and ſome confidence, yet there was nothing of a Treaty ſign'd; he reſolving, as he profeſſed, "To give his Friendſhip "to that Crown that ſhould beſt deſerve it; and, without doubt, both Crowns were amuſed with his preparations, and ſollicitous to know where the ſtorm would fall.

The other Fleet under Blake.

SPAIN, that had hitherto kept *Don Alonzo de Cardinas* in *England*, after he had ſo many years reſided there as Embaſſadour to the late King, believing they were leſs faulty in that, than if they ſhould ſend another originally to *Cromwell*, now thought it neceſſary to omit no occaſion to endear themſelves to him: and therefore they ſent the Marquis of *Leyda* with a ſplendid Train, as extraordinary Embaſſadour, to congratulate all his Succeſſes, and to offer him the entire Friendſhip of the Catholick King. The Marquis, who was a wiſe and a jealous Man, found by his reception, and *Cromwell*'s reſervation in all his Audiences, and the approaches he could make, that there was no room left for his Maſter; and ſo after a Month ſpent there, he return'd to look to his Government in *Flanders*, with an expectation that aſſoon as any News came of the Fleets, they ſhould hear of ſome Acts of Hoſtility upon the Subjects of *Spain*; and did all he could to awaken all the Miniſters, of that King to the ſame apprehenſion and expectation.

The Marquis of Leyda *ſent Embaſſadour by* Spain *to* Cromwell, *who after a Month returns to* Flanders.

THE two Fleets ſet out from the Coaſt of *England*; that under *Blake*, ſome Months before the other; and made it's courſe directly to the *Mediterranean*; being bound in the firſt place to ſuppreſs the Inſolence of thoſe of *Algiers*, and *Tunis*, who had infeſted the *Engliſh* Merchants, and were grown powerful in thoſe Seas. When he ſhould have perform'd that Service, he was to open another Commiſſion, which would inform him what courſe he was to ſteer: the other Fleet under *Pen* was bound directly to the *Barbadoes*; where they were to open their Commiſſions, and to deliver Letters to that Governour. There they found, that they were to take in new Men for the Land Army, and then to proſecute their courſe directly to the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*. The Governour had Orders to ſupply new Men for the Expedition; and there were

The Fleet under Blake *goes into the* Mediterranean.

That under Pen, *to the* Barbadoes.

were Ships ready for their Tranſportation, there being a marvellous alacrity in the Planters of thoſe *Leeward* Iſlands, which were overſtock'd with Inhabitants, to ſeek their Fortune farther from home. So that, after a ſhorter ſtay at the *Barbadoes*, than they had reaſon to expect, having now found there two Frigats (which *Cromwell* had ſent before to prepare all things ready, and to put ſeveral Shallops together, which were brought ready in quarters) and making prize of about forty *Dutch* Ships, belonging to their new Allies of *Holland*, for Trading thither (contrary to the Act of Navigation) about the end of *March* they ſet Sail, with an addition of four or five thouſand Foot for the Land Army, towards St *Chriſtophers*; where, after a ſhort ſtay, they receiv'd about fifteen hundred Men more: ſo that *Venables* had now under his Command a Body of above nine thouſand Men, with one Troop of Horſe more, which the Planters of the *Barbadoes* joyn'd to him; and having a proſperous Wind, they came, about the middle of *April*, within view of *Santo Domingo*; which is the chief City and Port of the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*.

Thence to Hiſpaniola.

Their Orders.

THEIR Orders from *Cromwell* were very particular, and very poſitive, that they ſhould land at ſuch a place, which was plainly enough deſcribed to them. But whether they did not clearly underſtand it, or thought it not ſo convenient, when they were near enough to make a judgment of it, they called a Council of War; and it was there reſolv'd that General *Venables* ſhould land in another place (which they conceiv'd to be much nearer the Town than in truth it was) and from thence march directly to it, there being another Brigade of Foot to be landed, at a leſs diſtance from the Town, in a Bay, that ſhould joyn with them; and joyn they did. But by the march which *Venables* had made, in which he ſpent two days and a half in the Woods and uneaſy Paſſages, and in the terrible heat of that Country's Sun, where they found no Water to drink, they were ſo diſpirited before they joyn'd with their Companions, that it was an ill preſage of the miſadventure that follow'd. The loſs of that time in their Advance had another very ill effect. For the Inhabitants of the Town, that, at the firſt appearance of ſuch a Fleet, the like whereof in any degree they had never ſeen before, had been ſeiſed upon by ſuch a Conſternation, that they deſpair'd of making any reſiſtance; when they ſaw their Enemies proceed ſo ſlowly, and engaged in ſuch a March as muſt tire and infinitely annoy them, they recover'd their Spirits, and prepared for their Defence. So that when *Venables*, upon the conjunction with his other Forces, and after having found ſome freſh Water to refreſh his Men, advanced towards the Town,

Town, his Forlorne Hope found themſelves charged by a Party of Horſe arm'd with long Lances, and other Arms, which they had not been accuſtom'd to; ſo, tired and diſmayed with their march and heat, they bore the Charge very ill, and were eaſily Routed, and Routed thoſe which were behind them; and were, in that diſorder, purſued till they came to their main Body; upon ſight whereof the *Spaniard* retired without any loſs, having left the Captain of the Forlorne Hope, and above fifty of his Company, dead upon the place. The *Engliſh* retired back in great diſcomfort to the Bay, and the freſh Water River they had found there; where they ſtay'd ſo long, that the General thought his Men not only enough refreſh'd, but enough confirm'd in their reſolutions to redeem the ſhame of their laſt diſorder, having got Guides, who undertook to conduct them a nearer way to the City, and that they ſhould not go near a Fort, which the *Spaniards* had in a Wood, from whence they had been infeſted. The Common opinion that the *Negroes*, Natives of thoſe parts, are ſuch Enemies to the *Spaniards*, that they are willing to betray them, and do any miſchief to them, might poſſibly incline the *Engliſh* to give credit to thoſe Guides. But they did conduct them directly to the Fort; near which an Ambuſcade in the Woods diſcharged a Volly again upon the Forlorne Hope, and fell then in upon them with ſuch fury, that diſorder'd the whole Army; which, though it recover'd the Courage once more to make an Attempt upon that Fort, was again ſeiſed upon by a panick fear, which made them directly fly back to the Bay, with the loſs of above ſix hundred Men, whereof their Major General was one.

Venables beaten by a few Spaniards.

THIS Fright they never recover'd; but, within few days after, having undergone many diſtreſſes by the intolerable heat of the Climate, and the *Negroes* killing their Men every day, as they went into the Woods to find meat, they were, within five or ſix days after the beginning of *May*, compell'd to reimbark themſelves on board the Fleet, with a thouſand Men leſs than had been landed, who had by ſeveral ways loſt their Lives there; for which they revenged themſelves upon a Neigbour Iſland, called *Jamaica*; where they made another deſcent, took their City, and drove all the Inhabitants into the Woods. And here they left a good Body of Foot conſiſting of three or four thouſand Men, under the Command of a Colonel, to fortify and plant in this Iſland, a place fruitful in it ſelf, and abounding in many good proviſions, and a perpetual ſharp thorn in the ſides of the *Spaniard*; who receiv'd exceeding damage from thence; they who were ſo eaſily frighted, and beaten, when they were in a great Body upon the other Iſland, making afterwards frequent Incurſions,

He reimbarks, and makes a deſcent upon Jamaica; where he ſucceeds.

with ſmall Numbers, into it from *Jamaica*; Sacking their Towns, and returning with very rich Booty. When *Venables* had put this Iſland into as good order as he could, he return'd with *Pen* into *England*.

The Fleet returns into England.

THE other Fleet under the Command of *Blake* had better Succeſs, without any miſadventures. After he had reduced thoſe of *Algiers*, where he Anchored in their very Mole, to ſubmit to ſuch Conditions for the time paſt, and the time to come, as he thought reaſonable, he Sailed to *Tunis*; which he found better fortify'd and more reſolv'd; for that King return'd a very rude Anſwer, contemning his ſtrength, and undervaluing his Menaces, and refuſing to return either Ship or Priſoner that had been taken. Whereupon *Blake* put his Fleet in order, and thunder'd with his great Guns upon the Town; whilſt he ſent out ſeveral long Boats Mann'd with ſtout Mariners, who, at the ſame time, enter'd with very notable reſolution into their Harbours, and ſet fire to all the Ships there, being nine Men of War; which were burnt to aſhes; and this with the loſs only of five and twenty of the *Engliſh*, and about eight and forty hurt, all the Boats, with the reſt of the Men, returning ſafe to the Ships. This was indeed an Action of the higheſt Conduct and Courage, and made the name of the *Engliſh* very terrible and formidable in thoſe Seas.

The Fleet under Blake *had better ſucceſs: forces* Algiers *to a Peace; enters the Harbour of* Tunis, *and burns their Fleet.*

THE Succeſs of both Fleets came to *Cromwell*'s notice about the ſame time, but did not affect him alike. He was never ſo diſcompoſed (for he had uſually a great command over his Paſſions) as upon the miſcarriage at *Hiſpaniola*. And aſſoon as they came on ſhore, he committed both *Pen* and *Venables* to the Tower, and could never be perſwaded to truſt either of them again; and could not, in a long time, ſpeak temperately of that Affair. However, he loſt no time in cheriſhing his infant Plantation in *Jamaica*; which many thought to be at too great a diſtance, and wiſh'd the Men might be recalled; but he would not hear of it; and ſent preſently a good Squadron of Ships, and a Recruit of fifteen hundred Men to carry on that work; and reſolv'd nothing more, than to make a continual War from that place upon the *Spaniard*.

Cromwell *commits* Pen *and* Venables *to the Tower.*

Sends recruits to Jamaica.

AND now the rupture with *Spain* could be no longer concealed. Therefore he ſent Orders to *Blake*, "That he ſhould "watch the return of the Plate-Fleet, and do what miſchief "he could upon the Coaſt of *Spain*; and gave directions to his Ships in the *Downs* to infeſt thoſe of *Flanders*, which they had not yet done: what had been hitherto treated privately between Him and the Cardinal, was now expoſed to the light. He now ſent *Lockhart* his Embaſſadour into *France*; who was receiv'd with great ſolemnity; and was a Man of great addreſs in Treaty, and had a marvellous credit and power with the

Lockhart *ſent by him Embaſſadour into* France; *who finiſhes an Alliance there, begun before by the Agents of* France *in* England.

the Cardinal. He finish'd there the Alliance with *France*. *Cromwell* undertook "To send over an Army of six thousand "Foot, to be commanded by their own Superior Officer, "who was to receive Orders only from Marshal *Turenne*: and when *Dunkirk*, and *Mardike* should be taken, they were to be put into *Cromwell's* hands. There were other more secret Articles, which will be mention'd.

FLANDERS had notice of this their new Enemy from *England*, before they heard any thing from *Spain*, that might better enable them to contend with him; and *Don Alonzo* remain'd still in *London* without notice of what was done, till the Affair of *Jamaica* was upon the Exchange, and Fraternities enter'd into there for the better carrying on that Plantation. Nor was he willing to believe it then, till *Cromwell* sent to him to leave the Kingdom; which he did very unwillingly, when there was no remedy; and was transported into *Flanders* to encrease the jealousies and discontents, which were already too great and uneasy there. The Prince of *Condè*, whose Troops, and vigour, were the preservation and life of that Country, was very ill satisfied with the formality and flegm of the Arch-Duke, and with the unactivity and wariness of the *Conde* of *Fuensaldagna*; who he thought omitted many Opportunities.

Don Alonzo *sent to by* Cromwell *to leave* England.

THE Arch-Duke was weary of the Title of Governour of the Low Countries and General of the Army, when the Power was in truth in *Fuensaldagna*, and nothing to be done without His approbation; and having by frequent complaints to *Madrid*, endeavour'd in vain to vindicate his Authority, had implored his dismission, and *Fuensaldagna* himself was as ill satisfied as the other two; and knowing well the defects of the Court, as well as the poverty of *Madrid*, thought the defence of *Flanders* consisted most in preserving the Army, by being on the defensive part; and therefore, to gratify the coldness of his own constitution, he did by no means approve the frequent Enterprises and restless Spirit of the Prince of *Condè*; which spent their Men: and he thought the great charge in supporting the state and dignity of the Arch-Duke, was not recompensed by any benefit from his Service, besides the irreconcilableness with the Arch-Duke, by his having compelled him, by the Authority of the King, to dismiss the Count of *Swassenburgh*; whom he lov'd of all the world; so that he was likewise weary of his Post, and desired his deliverance to be sent him from *Madrid*.

THE Council there thought it necessary to gratify them both, and to remove both the Arch-Duke and the *Condè*; honourably to dismiss the former to return to his own residence in *Germany*, and to bring *Don Juan* of *Austria*, the natural

Don Juan of Austria made Governour of Flanders: and Carracena appointed to command the Army under him.

natural Son of the King of *Spain*, who had passed through many employments with reputation, and was at that time General in *Italy*, to undertake the Government of *Flanders*, with such restrictions as the King of *Spain* thought fit; and at the same time, that the *Conde* of *Fuensaldagna* should immediately enter upon the Government of *Milan*; which had been exercised for the last six years by the Marquis of *Carracena*; who was now to govern the Army in *Flanders* under *Don Juan*; and that the Marquis, who had the most disadvantage of this promotion, might be better pleased, they gave him such an addition of Authority, as could not but breed ill blood in *Don Juan*; as it fell out afterwards. This Counsel was taken, and to be executed in this conjuncture, when *France* and *Cromwell* were ready to enter *Flanders* with two powerful Armies, whilst it was, upon the matter, under no Command.

The King had sent to the Arch-Duke to offer his conjunction before the Arch-Duke left Flanders.

The King was yet at *Cologne*; and no sooner heard of the War that *Cromwell* had begun upon *Spain*, but he concluded that the *Spaniard* would not be unwilling to enter into some correspondence with him; at least, that their fears were over of offending *Cromwell*. He therefore sent privately to the Arch-Duke, and to *Fuensaldagna*, to offer them his Conjunction. *Don Alonzo* was likewise there; and the long Experience he had in *England*, and the Quality he still held, made his judgment in those Affairs most esteem'd by them. He, whether upon the Conscience of his former behaviour, by which he had disobliged both the late and the present King, or whether, by having liv'd long in a place where the King's interest was contemn'd, he did in truth believe that his Majesty could bring little advantage to them, had no mind to make a conjunction with him: yet they saw one benefit which they might receive, if his Majesty would draw off the *Irish* from the Service of *France*; which they had reason to believe would be in his power, because he had formerly drawn off some Regiments from *Spain*, whilst he remain'd in *France*. So that they were all of opinion, that they would confer with any Body the King should Authorize to Treat with them; which when the King knew, he resolv'd to go to them Himself; and left *Cologne*, attended only by two or three Servants; and when he came near *Brussels*, sent to advertise the Arch-Duke at what distance he was; and "That he would see him "*incognito* in what place, or manner, he should think fit.

The King came into Flanders, and treats with the Arch-Duke near Brussels.

They either were, or seem'd to be much troubled that the King was come in Person; and desired, that he would by no means come to *Brussels*; but that he would remain in a little vile Dorp about a League from *Brussels*; where he was very meanly accommodated. Thither the *Conde* of *Fuensaldagna*

dagna and *Don Alonzo* came to his Majesty; and the Arch-Duke met him privately at another place. The King quickly discover'd that *Don Alonzo* had a private Intrigue with some Officers of the *English* Army, who were Enemies to *Cromwell*, upon whose Interest he more depended than the King's, and offer'd it as great merit to his Majesty, if he could be able to perswade them to make up a conjunction with the King. This correspondence between *Don Alonzo* and those Levellers, was managed by an *Irish* Jesuit, who, by speaking *Spanish*, had got himself to be mutually trusted by them. The King pressed them "That he might remove his Family to *Brus-*"*sels*, or to some place in *Flanders*, that it might be noto-"rious that he was in Alliance with his Catholick Majesty; "and then they should quickly see he had another kind of In-"terest in *England*, than what those Men pretended to, upon "whom they ought not to depend; and they would quickly "find, if his Majesty resided in that Country, his influence "upon the *Irish* who were in *France*.

THEY would by no means consent that his Majesty should remain in *Brussels*, as little at *Antwerp*, or indeed in any place as taken notice of by the State to be there; "Which, they said, "The King of *Spain*'s honour would not permit, "without shewing those respects to him that he might live in "that Grandeur as became a Great King; which the present "state of their affairs would not permit them to defray the "charge of. But they intimated, "That if his Majesty would "choose to remove his Family to *Bruges*, and remain there "with them, so far *incognito* as not to expect any publick "expensive Reception, they were sure he would find all re-"spect from the Inhabitants of that City. The King desired that some Treaty might be sign'd between them; which was committed to the wisdom of *Don Alonzo*; who prepared it in as perfunctory a manner as was possible; by which the King was permitted to reside in *Bruges*, and nothing on the King of *Spain*'s part undertaken but "That whenever the King "could cause a good Port Town in *England* to declare for "him, his Catholick Majesty would assist him with a Body "of six thousand Foot, and with such a proportion of Am-"munition, and so many Ships to transport that Body thither; which was the Proposition the Levellers had made; and *Don Alonzo*, by making it the contract with the King, thought this way to beget an Intelligence between them and the Royal Party; of the power of which he had no esteem.

THE King discern'd that what they offer'd would be of no moment, nor could he make such confident Propositions of advantage to *Spain*, as might warrant him to insist upon large concessions. Besides, it was evident to him, that the affairs

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in those Provinces which remain'd under *Spain*, were in so evil a posture, that, if they should promise any great matters, they would not be able to perform them. However, all that he desired, was to have the reputation of a Treaty between Him and the King of *Spain*; under which he might draw his Family from *Cologne*, and remain in *Flanders*, which was at a just distance from *England*, to expect other Alterations. So his Majesty readily accepted the Treaty as it was drawn by *Don Alonzo*; and sign'd it; and declared that he would reside in the manner they proposed at *Bruges*. Whereupon, after seven or eight days stay in that inconvenient manner, the Treaty was engrossed and signed by the King, the Arch-Duke, and *Don Alonzo*, in *April*, or the end of *March* 1657; the dispatch of the Treaty being hastened by the necessity of the departure of the Arch-Duke, and the *Conde* of *Fuensaldagna*; who begun their Journey within two or three days after the signing of it; *Don Juan*, and the Marquis of *Carracena* being known to be on their way; and both, though not together, within few days Journey of *Flanders*.

The Treaty sign'd April 1657: *between* Spain *and the King.*

THE Treaty, as it was sign'd, was sent by an Express into *Spain*, for the approbation and signature of his Catholick Majesty. The King with his small Train went to *Bruges*, and Lodged in the House of a Subject of his own the Lord *Tarah*, an *Irish*-man; who had been born in that Country, and inherited an Estate by his Mother. There the King stayed, till a handsome Accommodation was provided for him in that City, having sent to his Brother the Duke of *Gloucester*, who remain'd yet at *Cologne*, to come to him, and that his Family should all come from thence. So that by the time his Majesty had return'd again to *Brussels*, to congratulate *Don Juan*'s arrival, and spent three or four days there, he found himself as well settled at *Bruges* as he had been at *Cologne*; where, when his Family left it, there was not the least debt remain'd unsatisfied; which, in the low condition his Majesty had been in, and still was, gave reputation to his Oeconomy.

The King removes his Family from Cologne, *and comes to reside at* Bruges.

As upon the Dissolution of the unruly Parliament, *Cromwell* had sent out his two great Fleets, to propagate his Fame abroad, presuming that by the Conquest which the one would make in the West *Indies*, he should have Money enough to keep his Army in obedience to him, and by the other's destroying or suppressing the Turks of *Algiers*, and *Tunis*, which were indeed grown formidable to all Merchants, he should raise his reputation in *Christendom*, and become very popular with all the Merchants in *England*; so he did not, in the mean time, neglect to take all the ways he could devise, to provide for his own security at home. Though he had brought the King's Party so low, that he had no apprehension of their

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power to raiſe an Army againſt him; yet he diſcern'd, that by breaking their Fortunes and Eſtates, he had not at all broken their Spirits; and that by taking ſo many of their Lives, their numbers were not much leſſen'd; and that they would be ſtill ready to throw themſelves into any Party that ſhould declare againſt him; to which, he knew, there were enough inclined.

Cromwell diſturbed with the diviſions in his own Army.

BUT that which troubled him moſt, was the diſtemper in his Army; where he knew there were many Troops more at the diſpoſal of that Party that would deſtroy him, than at his own. It was once in his purpoſe to have drawn over a Regiment of *Swiſs*, upon pretence of ſending them into *Ireland*, but in truth with intention to keep them as a Guard to his own Perſon; and to that purpoſe he had ſent a Perſon to treat with Colonel *Balthazar*, a Man, well known to the Proteſtant *Cantons*; but this came to be diſcover'd: ſo he had not confidence to proceed in it. He reſolv'd therefore upon an Expedient, which ſhould provide for all inconveniences, as well amongſt the People, as in the Army. He conſtituted, out of the Perſons who he thought were moſt devoted to himſelf, a Body of Major Generals; that is, he aſſign'd to ſuch a ſingle Perſon ſo many Counties, to be under his Command as their Major General: ſo that all *England* was put under the abſolute power of twelve Men, neither of them having any power in the Juriſdiction of another, but every Man, in thoſe Counties which were committed to his Charge, had all that authority which was before divided among Committee-Men, Juſtices of Peace, and ſeveral other Officers.

Conſtitutes his Major Generals.

THE Major General committed to Priſon what Perſons he thought fit to ſuſpect; took care to Levy all Monies which were appointed by the Protector and his Council to be collected for the Publick; ſequeſter'd all who did not pay their decimation, or ſuch other payments as they were made liable to; and there was no Appeal from any of their Acts but to the Protector himſelf. They had likewiſe a Martial Power, which was to liſt a Body of Horſe and Foot, who were to have ſuch a Salary conſtantly paid, and not to be called upon to ſerve but upon emergent occaſion, and then to attend ſo many days at their own Charge; and if they ſtay'd longer, they were to be under the ſame pay with the Army, but independent upon the Officers thereof, and only to obey their Major General. A Horſe-man had eight pounds a year; for which he was to be ready with his Horſe if he were call'd upon; if he were not, he might intend his own Affairs. By this means he had a ſecond Army in view, powerful enough to controle the firſt, if they at any time deſerv'd to be ſuſpected. But he diſcern'd, by degrees, that theſe new Magiſtrates grew too much

much in love with their own power; and beſides that they carried themſelves like ſo many *Baſſa's* with their Bands of *Janizaries*, towards the People, and were extremely odious to all Parties, they did really affect ſuch an Authority as might undermine his own greatneſs; yet for the preſent, he thought not fit to controle them, and ſeem'd leſs to apprehend them.

Mountague *ſent to joyn with* Blake; *and put in Commiſſion with him.*

WHEN Admiral *Blake* had ſubdued the *Turks* of *Tunis*, and *Algiers*, and betaken himſelf to the Coaſt of *Spain*, and by the attempt of *Hiſpaniola* and the Poſſeſſion of *Jamaica*, the War was ſufficiently declar'd againſt the Catholick King, *Mountague*, a young Gentleman of a good Family, who had been drawn into the Party of *Cromwell*, and ſerv'd under him as a Colonel in his Army with much Courage, was ſent with an addition of Ships to joyn with *Blake*, and joyn'd in Commiſſion of Admiral and General with him; *Blake* having found himſelf much indiſpoſed in his Health, and having deſired that another might be ſent to aſſiſt him, and to take care of the Fleet, if worſe ſhould befall him. Upon his Arrival with the Fleet, they lay long before *Cales* in expectation of the *Spaniſh* Weſt *India* Fleet, and to keep in all Ships from going out to give notice of their being there. After ſome Months Attendance, they were at laſt compell'd to remove their Station, that they might get freſh Water, and ſome other Proviſions which they wanted; and ſo drew off to a convenient Bay in *Portugal*, and left a Squadron of Ships to watch the *Spaniſh* Fleet; which, within a very ſhort time after the remove of the *Engliſh* Fleet, came upon the Coaſt; and before they were diſcover'd by the Commander of the Squadron, who was to the Leeward, made their way ſo faſt, that when he got up with them (though he was inferior to them in number) they rather thought of ſaving their Wealth by flight, than of defending themſelves; and ſo the *Spaniſh* Admiral run on ſhore in the Bay; and the Vice-Admiral, in which was the Vice-King of *Mexico* with his Wife, and Sons, and Daughters, fir'd; in which the poor Gentleman himſelf, his Wife, and his Eldeſt Daughter, periſh'd: His other Daughters, and his two Sons, and near one hundred others, were ſaved by the *Engliſh*; who took the Rere-Admiral, and another Ship, very richly laden; which, together with the Priſoners, were ſent into *England*, the reſt eſcaped into *Gibraltar*.

An Engliſh *Squadron lights upon the* Spaniſh *weſt* India *Fleet; takes the Rere. Admiral and another Ship off of* Cales.

The Bullion taken convey'd from Portſmouth *to* London.

THE Ships which were ſent for *England*, arriv'd at *Portſmouth*; and though they might with leſs charge have continued their Voyage by Sea to *London*, *Cromwell*, thought it would make more noiſe, if all the Bullion, which was of great value, was landed at *Portſmouth*; from whence it was brought by Land in many Carts to *London*, and carried through the City to the Tower to be there Coin'd, as it was, within as

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ſhort a time as it could be diſpatch'd; and though it was in it ſelf very conſiderable, they gave out and reported it to be of much greater value than it was. But the loſs to the *Spaniard* was prodigious; though moſt of what was in the Admiral was ſaved, and that only: And they ſaw the *Engliſh* Fleet ſtill remaining before them, which was not like to miſs the other Fleet they ſhortly after expected, in ſpight of all Advertiſements which they were like to be able to ſend to it.

CROMWELL now thought his reputation, both abroad and at home, ſo good, that he might venture again upon calling of a Parliament; and, by their countenance and concurrence, ſuppreſs, or compoſe thoſe refractory Spirits, which croſſed him in all places; and having firſt made ſuch Sheriffs in all Counties as he thought would be like to contribute to his deſigns, by hindering ſuch Men to ſtand againſt whom he had a prejudice, at leaſt, by not returning them if they ſhould be choſen, and by procuring ſuch Perſons to be returned as would be moſt agreeable to him, of which there were choice in all Counties; and having prepared all things to this purpoſe, as well as he could, he ſent out his Writs to call a Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter*, upon the ſeventeenth of *September*, in the year 1656. When, upon the Returns, he found that though in ſome places he had ſucceeded according to his wiſh, it was in others quite the contrary, and that very many Members were return'd, who were Men of the moſt notorious Malignity againſt him, he therefore reſorted to his old ſecurity, to keep all manner of Perſons from entering into the Houſe, who did not firſt ſubſcribe, "That they would act "nothing prejudicial to the Government as it was eſtabliſh'd "under a Protector; which being tender'd, many Members utterly refuſed, and return'd into their Countries, where they were not, for the moſt part, the worſe welcome for inſiſting upon their Privileges, and Freedom of Parliament.

Cromwell ſummons a Parliament to meet Sept. 17. 1656.

Impoſes a Subſcription upon the Members before they ſate.

THE major part frankly ſubmitted and ſubſcribed; ſome of them, that they might have the better opportunity to do miſchief. So a Speaker was choſen; and at firſt they proceeded ſo unanimouſly, that the Protector begun to hope that he had gain'd his point. With very little, or no contradiction, they paſſed an Act of Renunciation of any Title that *Charles Stuart* (for ſo they had long called the King) or any of that Family might pretend; and this all Men were bound to ſubſcribe. With as little oppoſition, they paſſed another, whereby it was made High Treaſon to attempt any thing againſt the life of the Protector. Then they paſſed ſeveral Acts for raiſing Money by way of contribution in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, in a greater proportion than had ever yet been raiſed. They granted Tonnage and Poundage to the Protector

The Proceedings of the Parliament.

tector for his Life; and passed several other Acts for the raising of Monies; amongst them, one for obliging all Persons to pay a full years Rent for all Buildings which had been erected in, and about *London*, from before the beginning of the Troubles; by all which ways, vast Sums of Money were to be, and afterwards were, raised. All these Acts they presented solemnly to his Highness, to be confirm'd by his Royal Authority; and He as graciously confirm'd them all; and told them, "That as it had been the custom of the Chief Governours to acknowledge the care and kindness of the Commons upon such Occasions, so he did very heartily and thankfully acknowledge Theirs.

Cromwell's jealousy of Lambert.

But after all this, he was far from being satisfied with the method of their proceeding; for there was nothing done to confirm his Personal Authority; and notwithstanding all this was done, they might, for ought appear'd, remove him from being both Protector, and General. There had been for some time jealousies between Him and *Lambert*, who had been the principal adviser of the raising those Major Generals; and being one of them himself, and having the Government of the five Northern Counties committed to him, he desired to improve their Authority, and to have it settled by Authority of Parliament. But *Cromwell*, on the other hand, was well contented that they should be look'd upon as a publick grievance, and so taken away, rather upon the desire of Parliament, than that it should appear to be out of his own inclination. But, hitherto, neither that design in *Lambert*, nor the other in *Cromwell*, nor any difference between them, had broken out.

The Protector himself seem'd to desire nothing more than to have the Authority they had formerly given him, at least, that he had exercised from the time he was Protector, confirm'd, and ratified by Act of Parliament. And if it had been so, it had been much greater than any King ever enjoy'd. But he had used to speak much, "That it was pity the Nobility should be totally suppressed; and that the Government "would be better, if it passed another consultation besides "that of the House of Commons. In matter of Religion, he would often speak, "That there was much of good in the Order of Bishops, if the dross were scour'd off. He courted very much many of the Nobility, and used all devices to dispose them to come to him; and they who did visit him were used with extraordinary respect by him; all which raised an opinion in many, that he did in truth himself affect to be King; which was the more confirm'd, when many of those who had nearest Relation to him, and were most trusted by him, assoon as the Parliament had dispatch'd those Acts, which are mention'd before, and that complaints came from all parts against

againſt the Major Generals, inveigh'd ſharply againſt the temper and compoſition of the Government, as if it was not capable to ſettle the ſeveral diſtractions, and ſatisfy the ſeveral Intereſts of the Nation; and by degrees propoſed, in direct terms, "That they might inveſt *Cromwell* with the Title, "Rights, and Dignity of a King; and then he would know "what he was to do towards the ſatisfaction of all Parties, and "how to govern thoſe who would not be ſatisfied.

A Propoſition in the Parliament for Cromwell *to be King.*

THIS Propoſition found a great concurrence; and very many who uſed not to agree in any thing elſe, were of one mind in This, and would preſently vote him King. And it was obſerv'd that no body was forwarder in that Acclamation, than ſome Men who had always had the reputation of great fidelity to the King, and to wiſh his Reſtauration: and it cannot be denied that very many of the King's Party were ſo deceiv'd in their judgments, as really to believe, that the making *Cromwell* King for the preſent, was the beſt Expedient for the Reſtauration of his Majeſty; and that the Army, and the whole Nation, would then have been united rather to reſtore the true, than to admit of a falſe Soveraign, whoſe Hypocriſy and Tyranny being now detected, and known, would be the more deteſted.

BUT the more ſober Perſons of the King's Party, who made leſs noiſe, trembled at this Overture; and believ'd that it was the only way, utterly to deſtroy the King, and to pull up all future hopes of the Royal Family by the Roots. They ſaw all Men even already tired in their hopes; and that which was left of Spirit in them, was from the horror they had of the confuſion of the preſent Government; that very many who had ſuſtain'd the King's Quarrel in the beginning were dead; that the preſent King, by his long abſence out of the Kingdom, was known to very few; ſo that there was too much reaſon to fear, that much of that Affection that appear'd under the notion of Allegiance to the King, was more directed to the Monarchy than to the Perſon; and that if *Cromwell* were once made King, and ſo the Government run again in the old Channel, though thoſe who were in love with a Republick would poſſibly fall from him, he would receive abundant reparation of ſtrength by the Acceſs of thoſe who preferr'd the Monarchy, and which probably would reconcile moſt Men of Eſtates to an abſolute acquieſence, if not to an entire ſubmiſſion; that the Nobility, which being excluded to a Man and depriv'd of all the Rights and Privileges due to them by their Birth-right, and ſo Enemies irreconcilable to the preſent Government, would, by this alteration, find themſelves in their right places, and be glad to adhere to the Name of a King, how unlawful a one ſoever; and there was an Act of

Parliament ſtill in force, that was made in the eleventh year of King *Harry* the ſeventh, which ſeem'd to provide abſolute Indemnity to ſuch ſubmiſſion. And there was, without doubt, at that time, too much propenſion in too many of the Nobility, to ranſome themſelves at the charge of their lawful Soveraign. And therefore they who made theſe prudent recollections, uſed all the ways they could to prevent this deſign, and to divert any ſuch Vote in the Houſe.

Lambert and his Party oppoſe this Overture:

ON the other ſide, *Lambert*, who was the ſecond Man of Power in the Army, and many other Officers of account and intereſt, beſides the Country Members, oppoſed this Overture with great bitterneſs, and indignation: ſome of them ſaid directly, "That if, contrary to their Oaths and Engagements, "and contrary to the end, for obtaining whereof they had "ſpent ſo much blood and treaſure, they muſt at laſt return "and ſubmit to the old Government, and live again under a "King, they would chooſe much rather to obey the true and "lawful Heir to the Crown, who was deſcended from a long "ſucceſſion of Kings who had managed the Scepter over the "Nation, than to ſubmit to a Perſon who at beſt was but "their equal, and raiſed by themſelves from the ſame degree "of which they all were, and by the truſt they had repoſed "in him, had raiſed himſelf above them. That which put an end to the preſent Debate was (and which was as wonderful as any thing) that ſome of his own Family, who had grown up under him, and had their whole dependence upon him, as *Desborough*, *Fleetwood*, *Whaley*, and others, as paſſionately contradicted the motion, as any of the other Officers; and confidently undertook to know, "That himſelf would never "conſent to it; and therefore that it was very ſtrange that "any Men ſhould importune the putting ſuch a Queſtion, be-"fore they knew that he would accept it, unleſs they took "this way to deſtroy him. Upon this (for which the Undertakers receiv'd no thanks) the firſt Debate was put off, till farther conſideration.

And ſome of Cromwell's *own Relations.*

THE Debate was reſumed again the next day, with the ſame warmth, the ſame Perſons ſtill of the ſame opinion they had been before: moſt of the Officers of the Army, as well as they who were the great Dependents upon, and Creatures, of *Cromwell*, as paſſionately oppoſed the making him King, as *Lambert* and the reſt did, who look'd to be ſucceſſive Protectors after his deceaſe; only it was obſerv'd, that they who the day before had undertaken, that he himſelf would never endure it (which had eſpecially made the pauſe at that time) urged that Argument no more; but inveigh'd ſtill againſt it as a monſtrous thing, and that which would infallibly ruin him. But moſt of thoſe of his Privy Council, and others

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neareſt his truſt, were as violent and as poſitive for the declaring him King, and much the Major part of the Houſe concurr'd in the ſame opinion; and notwithſtanding all was ſaid to the contrary, they appointed a Committee of ſeveral of the moſt eminent Members of the Houſe to wait upon him, and to inform him of "The very earneſt deſire of the Houſe, "that he would take upon him the Title of King; and if they "ſhould find any averſion in him, that they ſhould then en- "large in giving him thoſe reaſons, which had been offer'd in "the Houſe, and which had ſway'd the Houſe to that reſolu- "tion, which they hoped would have the ſame Influence upon "his Highneſs.

A Committee appointed to confer with Cromwell *about it.*

He gave them Audience in the Painted Chamber, when they made the bare Overture to him, as the deſire of his Parliament; at which he ſeem'd ſurpriſed; and told them, "He "wonder'd how any ſuch thing came into their minds; that "it was neither fit for Them to offer, nor Him to receive; "that he was ſure they could diſcover no ſuch Ambition in "him, and that his Conſcience would not give him leave "ever to conſent to own that Title. They who were well prepared to expect ſuch an Anſwer, told him, "That they "hoped, he would not ſo ſuddainly give a poſitive denial to "what the Parliament had deſired upon ſo long, and mature "deliberation; that They, who knew his modeſty well, and "that he more affected to deſerve the higheſt Titles than to "wear them, were appointed to offer many reaſons, which "had induced the Houſe to make this requeſt to him; which "when he had vouchſafed to hear, they hoped the ſame im- "preſſion would be made upon Him, that had been made upon "Them in the Houſe. He was too deſirous to give the Parliament all the Satisfaction he could with a good Conſcience, to refuſe to hear whatever they thought fit to ſay to him; and ſo appointed them another day to attend him in the ſame place; which they accordingly did.

He gives them Audience, and they offer him their reaſons.

When they came to him again, they all ſucceſſively entertain'd him with long Harangues, ſetting out "The nature "of the *Engliſh* People, and the nature of the Government "to which they had been accuſtom'd, and under which they "had flouriſh'd from the time they had been a People: that "though the extreme ſufferings they had undergone by cor- "rupt Miniſters, under negligent, and tyrannical Kings had "tranſported them to throw off the Government it ſelf, as "well as to inflict Juſtice upon the Perſons of the Offenders; "yet they found by experience, that no other Government "would ſo well fit the Nation, as that to which it had been "accuſtom'd: that, notwithſtanding the infinite pains his "Highneſs had taken, and which had been crown'd, even

"with miraculous ſucceſs, by the immediate bleſſing of Di-
"vine Providence upon all his Actions and all his Counſels,
"there remain'd ſtill a reſtleſs and unquiet Spirit in Men,
"that threaten'd the publick Peace; and that it was moſt ap-
"parent, by the daily Combinations and Conſpiracies againſt
"the preſent Government, how juſt and gentle and mild ſo-
"ever, that the heart of the Nation was devoted to the old
"form, with which it was acquainted; and that it was the
"love of that, not the Affection to the Young Man who pre-
"tended a title to it, and was known to no body, which diſ-
"poſed ſo many to wiſh for the return of it: that the Name
"and Title of a Protector was never known to this Kingdom,
"but in the hands of a Subject, during the Reign of an in-
"fant Soveraign; and therefore, that the Laws gave little
"reſpect to him, but were always executed in the Name of
"the King, how young ſoever, and how unfit ſoever to go-
"vern: that whatſoever concern'd the Rights of any Family,
"or any perſonal pretence, was well and ſafely over; the
"Nation was united, and of one mind in the rejection of the
"old Line; there was no danger of it; but no body could
"ſay, that they were of one mind in the rejection of the old
"form of Government; to which they were ſtill moſt ad-
"dicted: therefore, they beſought him, out of his love and
"tenderneſs to the Common-wealth, and for the preſervation
"of the Nation, which had got ſo much renown and glory
"under his Conduct, that he would take that Name and Ti-
"tle which had ever preſided over it, and by which as he
"could eſtabliſh a firm Peace at home, ſo he would find his
"fame and honour more improv'd abroad; and that thoſe
"very Princes and Kings, who, out of admiration of his Vir-
"tue and noble Actions, had contracted a reverence for his
"Perſon, and an impatient deſire of his friendſhip, would
"look upon him with much more veneration, when they ſaw
"him cloath'd with the ſame Majeſty, and as much their
"equal in Title as in merit; and would with much more ala-
"crity renew the old Alliances with *England*, when they were
"renew'd in the old form, and under the old title, which
"would make them durable; ſince no Forraign Prince could
"preſume to take upon him to judge of right of Succeſſion;
"which had been frequently changed in all Kingdoms, not
"only upon the expiration of a Line, but upon deprivation
"and depoſition; in ſuch manner as was moſt for the good
"and benefit of the People; of which there was a freſh In-
"ſtance in their own Eyes, in the Kingdom of *Portugal*;
"where the Duke of *Braganza*, by the Election of the Peo-
"ple, aſſumed the Crown, and Title of King, from the King
"of *Spain*; who had enjoy'd it quietly, and without Inter-
"ruption,

"ruption, during three Deſcents; and he was acknowledged "as Soveraign of that Kingdom by the late King; who re- "ceiv'd his Embaſſadours accordingly.

CROMWELL heard theſe and the like Arguments with great attention (and wanted not inclination to have concurr'd with them; he thanked them "For the pains they had taken) "to which he would not take upon him to give a preſent An- "ſwer; that he would conſider of all they had ſaid to him, "and reſort to God for Counſel; and then he would ſend "for them, and acquaint them with his Reſolution; and ſo they parted, all Men ſtanding at gaze, and in terrible ſuſpenſe, according to their ſeveral hopes and fears, till they knew what he would determine. All the diſpute was now within his own Chamber. There is no queſtion the Man was in great Agony, and in his own mind did heartily deſire to be King, and thought it the only way to be ſafe. And it is confidently believ'd, that upon ſome Addreſſes he had formerly made to ſome principal Noble Men of the Kingdom, and ſome Friendly Expoſtulations he had by himſelf, or ſome Friend, with them, why they reſerv'd themſelves, and would have no communication or acquaintance with Him, the Anſwer from them all ſeverally (for ſuch diſcourſes could be held but with one at a time) was "That if he would make "himſelf King, they ſhould eaſily know what they had to do, "but they knew nothing of the ſubmiſſion and obedience "which they were to pay to a Protector; and that theſe returns firſt diſpoſed him to that Ambition.

HE was not terrified with the oppoſition that *Lambert* gave him; whom he now looked upon as a declared and mortal Enemy, and one whom he muſt deſtroy, that he might not be deſtroy'd by him: Nor did he much conſider thoſe other Officers of the Army, who in the Houſe concurr'd with *Lambert*; whoſe Intereſt he did not believe to be great; and if it were, he thought he ſhould quickly reduce them, as ſoon as *Lambert* ſhould be diſgraced, and his power taken from him. But he trembled at the obſtinacy of thoſe who, he knew, loved him; his Brother *Desborough*, and the reſt, who depended wholely upon him, and his Greatneſs, and who did not wiſh his Power and Authority leſs abſolute than it was. And that theſe Men ſhould, with that virulence, withſtand this promotion, griev'd him to the heart. He conferr'd with them ſeverally, and endeavour'd, by all the ways he could, to convert them. But they were all inexorable; and told him reſolutely, "That they could do him no good, if they ſhould "adhere to him; and therefore they were reſolv'd for their "own Intereſt to leave him, and do the utmoſt they could a- "gainſt him, from the time he aſſumed that Title.

It was reported that an Officer of Name, in the *Eclaircissement* upon the Subject, told him resolutely and vehemently, "That if ever he took the Title of King upon him, he "would kill him. Certain it is that *Cromwell* was inform'd, and gave credit to it, "That there were a number of Men, who "bound themselves by Oath to kill him, within so many "hours after he should accept that Title. They who were very near him, said, that in this perplexity he revolv'd his former Dream, or Apparition, that had first inform'd, and promised him the high Fortune to which he was already arriv'd, and which was generally spoken of even from the beginning of the Troubles, and when he was not in a posture that promised such Exaltation; and that he then observ'd, it had only declared, "That he should be the greatest Man in *England*, "and should be near to be King; which seem'd to imply that he should be only near, and never actually attain the Crown. Upon the whole matter, after a great distraction of Mind, which was manifest in his Countenance to all who then saw him, notwithstanding his Science in dissimulation, his Courage fail'd him; and after he had spent some days very uneasily, he sent for the Committee of Parliament to attend him; and, as his looks were extremely discomposed, and discover'd a Mind full of trouble, and irresolution, so his words were broken and disjoynted, without method, and full of pauses; with frequent mention of God and his gracious dispensation, he concluded, "That he could not, with a good Conscience, ac-"cept the Government under the Title of a King.

He refuses the Title of King.

Many were then of opinion, that his Genius at that time forsook him, and yielded to the King's Spirit, and that his Reign was near its expiration; and that if his own Courage had not failed, he would easily have master'd all opposition; that there were many Officers of the Army, who would not have left him, who were for Kingly Government in their own affections; and that the greatest Factions in Religion rather promised themselves Protection from a single Person, than from a Parliament, or a new numerous Council; that the first Motion for the making him King, was made by one of the most wealthy Aldermen of the City of *London*, and who serv'd then for the City in Parliament; which was an Argument that that potent Body stood well affected to that Government, and would have joyn'd with him in the defence of it. Others were as confident, that he did very wisely to decline it; and that, if he had accepted it, he could not have liv'd many days after. The truth is, the danger was only in some present Assassination, and desperate Attempt upon his Person, not from a Revolt of the Army from him; which no particular Man had Interest enough to corrupt. And he might have

have ſecured himſelf probably, for ſome time, from ſuch an Aſſault; and when ſuch deſigns are deferr'd, they are commonly diſcover'd; as appear'd afterwards, in many Conſpiracies againſt his Life.

His Intereſt and Power over the Army was ſo great, that he had upon the ſuddain remov'd many of thoſe Officers who had the greateſt Names in the Factions of Religion, as *Harriſon Rich*, and others; who, aſſoon as they were remov'd, and their Regiments conferr'd on others, were found to be of no ſignification, or influence. And it could have been no hard matter for him, upon very few days warning, to have ſo Quarter'd, and Modell'd his Troops, as to have ſecured him in any Enterpriſe he would undertake. And, it may be, there were more Men ſcandalized at his Uſurping more than the Royal Authority, than would have been at his Aſſumption of the Royal Title too. And therefore they who at that time exerciſed their thoughts with more ſagacity, look'd upon that refuſal of his as an immediate Act of Almighty God towards the King's Reſtoration; and many of the ſobereſt Men in the Nation confeſſed, after the King's Return, that their dejected Spirits were wonderfully raiſed, and their hopes reviv'd, by that infatuation of his.

But his Modeſty, or his Wiſdom, or his Fear in the refuſing that ſupreme Title, ſeem'd not to be attended with the leaſt diſadvantage to him. They who had moſt ſignally oppoſed it, were ſo ſatisfied that the danger they moſt apprehended was over, that they cared not to croſs any thing elſe that was propoſed towards his Greatneſs; which might be their own another day: and they who had carried on the other deſign, and thereby, as they thought, obliged him, reſolv'd now to give him all the Power which they knew he did deſire, and leave it to his own time, when with leſs heſitation he might aſſume the Title too. And ſo they Voted, that he ſhould enjoy the Title and Authority he had already; which they enlarged in many particulars, beyond what it was by the firſt Inſtrument of Government, by another Inſtrument, which they call'd the Humble *Petition* and *Advice*; in which they granted him not only that Authority for his Life, but power by his laſt Will and Teſtament, and in the preſence of ſuch a number of Witneſſes, to make choice of, and to declare his own Succeſſor; which power ſhould never be granted to any other Protector than himſelf. And when they had digeſted and agreed upon this Writing, at the paſſing whereof *Lambert* choſe rather to be abſent than oppoſe it, his Parliament ſent to him for an Audience; which he aſſign'd them on the 25th day of *May* 1657, in the Banquetting Houſe; where their Speaker *Withrington* preſented, and read the *Petition*

He is confirm'd Protector by the humble Petition and Advice.

and *Advice* of his Parliament, and desired his Assent to it.

The Contents of it. THE Contents and Substance of it were, "That his Highness *Oliver Cromwell* should, under the Title of Protector, "be pleased to execute the Office of chief Magistrate over *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Territories and Dominions thereunto belonging *&c.* and to govern according to "all things in that *Petition* and *Advice*: And also, that he "would in his Life time appoint the Person that should succeed "him in the Government: That he would call a Parliament "consisting of two Houses, once, in a year at farthest: That "those Persons who are legally chosen by a free Election of "the People to serve in Parliament, may not be excluded, "from doing their duties, but by consent of that House where-"of they are Members: That none but those under the Qua-"lifications therein mention'd, should be capable to serve as "Members in Parliament: That the power of the other House "be limited, as therein is prescribed: That the Laws and Sta-"tutes of the Land be observ'd and kept; no Laws alter'd "suspended, abrogated, or repeal'd, but by new Laws made "by Act of Parliament: that the yearly Sum of a Million of "pounds Sterling be settled for the maintenance of the Navy, "and Army; and three hundred thousand pounds for the sup-"port of the Government; besides other temporary Sup-"plies, as the Commons in Parliament shall see the necessities "of the Nation to require: That the number of the Prote-"ctor's Council shall not exceed one and twenty; whereof "seven shall be a *Quorum*: The Chief Officers of State, as "Chancellor's, Keepers of the Great Seal *&c.* to be approved "by Parliament: That his Highness would encourage a God-"ly Ministry in these Nations; and that such as do revile "and disturb them in the Worship of God, may be punish'd "according to Law; and where Laws are defective, new ones "to be made: That the Protestant Christian Religion, as it is "contain'd in the old and New Testament, be asserted, and "held forth for the publick Profession of these Nations, and "no other; and that a Confession of Faith be agreed upon, "and recommended to the People of these Nations; and none "to be permitted, by words or writing, to revile, or reproach "the said Confession of Faith.

His Speech upon passing it. WHEN this *Petition* and *Advice* was distinctly read to him, after a long pause, and casting up his Eyes, and other Gestures of perplexity, he sign'd it; and told them, "That he came "not thither that day as to a day of Triumph, but with the "most serious thoughts that ever he had in all his Life, being "to undertake one of the greatest Burdens that ever was laid "upon the back of any humane Creature; so that, without "the support of the Almighty, he must necessarily sink under "the

"the weight of it, to the damage and prejudice of the Na-
"tion committed to his Charge: therefore he desired the help
"of the Parliament, and the help of all those who fear'd God,
"that by their help he might receive help and assistance from
"the hand of God, since nothing but His presence could en-
"able him to discharge so great a Trust. He told them, that
"this was but an Introduction to the carrying on of the Go-
"vernment of the three Nations; and therefore he recom-
"mended the supply of the rest, that was yet wanting, to the
"Wisdom of the Parliament; and said, "He could not doubt,
"but the same Spirit that had led the Parliament to this,
"would easily suggest the rest to them; and that nothing
"should have induced him to have undertaken this intoler-
"able burthen to flesh and blood, but that he saw, it was the
"Parliament's care to answer those ends for which they were
"engaged; calling God to Witness, "That he would not have
"undergone it, but that the Parliament had determin'd that
"it made clearly for the Liberty and Interest of the Nation,
"and Preservation of such as fear God; and if the Nation were
"not thankful to them for their care, it would fall as a Sin on
"their heads. He concluded with recommending some things
to them, "Which, he said, would tend to Reformation, by
"discountenancing Vice and encouraging Virture; and so dis-
missed them to return to their House.

But now that they had perform'd all he could expect from them, he resolv'd that he would do somewhat for himself; and that all the discourses which had passed of King-ship, should not pass away in the silence of this Address, but that this Exaltation should be attended with such a noise and solemnity, as should make it very little inferior to the other. Therefore, within few days after, he sent a Message to the Parliament, "That they would adjourn until such a time as the solemnity "of his Inauguration should be perform'd; for the formality whereof they had not provided, nor indeed consider'd it; as if enough had been done already. For this he appointed the six and twentieth of *June*; and in the mean time assign'd the care to several Persons, that all things should be made ready for the Magnificence of such a Work.

The Solemnity of his Inauguration.

On the day appointed, *Westminster-Hall* was prepared, and adorn'd as sumptuously as it could be for a day of Coronation. A Throne was erected with a Pavilion, and a Chair of State under it, to which *Cromwell* was conducted in an entry, and attendance of his Officers, Military and Civil, with as much State (and the Sword carried before him) as can be imagin'd. When he was sate in his Chair of State, and after a short Speech, which was but the Prologue of that by the Speaker of the Parliament *Withrington*, that this promotion might

might not seem to be without the Nobility's having any share in it, the Speaker, with the Earl of *Warwick*, and *Whitlock*, vested him with a rich Purple Velvet Robe lin'd with Ermines; the Speaker enlarging upon the Majesty and the Integrity of that Robe. Then the Speaker presented him with a fair Bible of the largest Edition, richly Bound; then he, in the name of all the People, girded a Sword about him; and lastly presented him a Scepter of Gold, which he put into his hand, and made him a large discourse of those Emblems of Government and Authority. Upon the close of which, there being little wanting to a perfect formal Coronation, but a Crown and an Arch-Bishop, he took his Oath; administer'd to him by the Speaker, in these words (which amongst other things had been settled by an explanatory Petition and Advice) "I do, in the Presence, and by the Name "of Almighty God, promise and swear, that, to the utmost of "my power, I will uphold, and maintain the true Reform'd "Protestant Christian Religion in the purity thereof, as it is "Contain'd in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testa-"ment; and to the utmost of my power, and understanding, "encourage the Profession and Professors of the same; and "that, to the utmost of my power, I will endeavour, as Chief "Magistrate of these three Nations, the maintenance and "preserving of the Peace and Safety, and just Rights and Pri-"vileges of the People thereof; and shall in all things, accord-"ing to the best of my knowledge and power, govern the Peo-"ple of these three Nations according to Law.

After this there remain'd nothing but Festivals, and Proclamations of his Power and Authority to be made in the City of *London*, and with all imaginable haste throughout the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; which was done accordingly. And that he might entirely enjoy the Soveraignty they had conferr'd upon him, without any new blasts, and disputes, and might be vacant to the dispatch of his Domestick Affairs, which he had modell'd, and might have time to consider how to fill his other House with Members fit for his purpose, he adjourn'd his Parliament till *January* next, as having done as much as was necessary for one Session. In this vacancy, his greatness seem'd to be so much establish'd both at home and abroad, as if it could never be shaken. He caused all the Officers of his Army, and all Commanders at Sea to subscribe, and approve all that the Parliament had done, and to promise to observe and defend it.

He adjourns his Parliament to January *the* 20. *His Actions in the vacancy of Parliament.*

He sent now for his eldest Son *Richard*; who, till this time, had liv'd privately in the Country upon the Fortune his Wife had brought him, in an ordinary Village in *Hamp-shire*; and brought him now to the Court, and made him a Privy Counsellor,

Counſellor, and cauſed him to be choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxford*. Notwithſtanding all which, few People then believ'd that he intended to name him for his Succeſſor; he by his diſcourſes often implying, "That he would "name ſuch a Succeſſor, as was in all reſpects equal to the "Office: and ſo Men gueſſed this, or that Man, as they thought "moſt like to be eſteem'd by him. His ſecond Son *Harry*, who had the Reputation of more Vigour, he had ſent into *Ireland*, and made him his Lieutenant of that Kingdom, that he might be ſure to have no diſturbance from thence.

His Daughters diſpoſed of in Marriage.

He had only two Daughters unmarried: One of thoſe he gave to the Grand-ſon and Heir of the Earl of *Warwick*, a Man of a great Eſtate, and throughly engaged in the Cauſe from the beginning; the Other was Married to the Lord Viſcount *Falconbridge*, the owner likewiſe of a very fair Eſtate in *York-ſhire*, and deſcended of a Family eminently Loyal. There were many reaſons to believe, that this young Gentleman, being then of about three or four and twenty years of Age, of great Vigour and Ambition, had many good purpoſes, which he thought that Alliance might qualify and enable him to perform. Theſe Marriages were celebrated at *White-Hall* with all imaginable Pomp and Luſtre; and it was obſerv'd, that though the Marriages were perform'd in publick View according to the Rites and Ceremonies then in uſe, they were preſently afterwards in private Married by Miniſters Ordain'd by Biſhops, and according to the form in the Book of Common Prayer; and this with the privity of *Cromwell*; who pretended to yield to it in compliance with the importunity, and folly of his Daughters.

The Succeſs of his Arms abroad.

These Domeſtick Triumphs were confirm'd, and improv'd by the Succeſs of his Arms abroad. Though the *French* had no mind to apply thoſe Forces upon *Dunkirk*, which they were obliged, when taken, to put into *Cromwell*'s hands, and ſo march to other places, which they were to conquer to their own uſe, in which the ſix thouſand *Engliſh* under the Command of *Raynolds* attended them, and behaved themſelves eminently well, and in good diſcipline; yet his Embaſſadour *Lockhart* made ſuch lively Inſtances with the Cardinal, with complaints of their breach of Faith, and ſome Menaces, "That "his Maſter knew where to find a more punctual Friend; that aſſoon as they had taken *Montmedy*, and St *Venant*, the Army march'd into *Flanders*; and though the Seaſon of the year was too far ſpent to engage in a Siege before *Dunkirk*, they ſate down before *Mardike*; which was look'd upon as the moſt difficult part of the Work; which being reduced, would facilitate the other very much: and that Fort they took, and deliver'd it into the hands of *Raynolds*, with an obligation

"That

"That they would beſiege *Dunkirk* the next year, and make it "their firſt Attempt.

The Victory of his Fleet over the Spaniard.

BUT that which made a noiſe indeed, and Crown'd his Succeſſes, was the Victory his Fleet, under the Command of *Blake*, had obtain'd over the *Spaniard*; which, in truth, with all its Circumſtances, was very wonderful, and will never be forgotten in *Spain*, and the *Canaries*. That Fleet had rode out all the Winter Storms before *Cales* and the Coaſt of *Portugal*, after they had ſent home thoſe former Ships which they had taken of the Weſt *Indian* Fleet, and underſtood by the Priſoners, that the other Fleet from *Peru*, which is always much richer than that of *Mexico*, was undoubtedly at Sea, and would be on the Coaſt by the beginning of the Spring, if they receiv'd not Advertiſement of the preſence of the *Engliſh* Fleet; in which caſe they were moſt like to ſtay at the *Canaries*. The Admiral concluded, that, notwithſtanding all they had done, or could do to block up *Cales*, one way or other they would not be without that Advertiſement; and therefore reſolv'd to ſail with the whole Fleet to the length of the *Canaries*, that, if it were poſſible, they might meet with the Galeons before they came thither; and if they ſhould be firſt got in thither, they would then conſider what was to be done.

WITH this Reſolution the Fleet ſtood for the *Canaries*, and about the middle of *April* came thither; and found that the Galeons were got thither before them, and had placed themſelves, as they thought, in ſafety. The ſmaller Ships, being ten in number, lay in a Semicircle, moor'd along the Shore; and the ſix great Galeons (the Fleet conſiſting of ſixteen good Ships) which could not come ſo near the Shore, lay with their broad-ſides towards the Offin. Beſides this good poſture in which all the Ships lay, they were cover'd with a ſtrong Caſtle well furniſh'd with Guns; and there were ſix or ſeven ſmall Forts, raiſed in the moſt advantageous places of the Bay, every one of them furniſh'd with divers good pieces of Cannon; ſo that they were without the leaſt Apprehenſion of their want of ſecurity, or imagination that any Men would be ſo deſperate, as to aſſault them upon ſuch apparent diſadvantage.

WHEN the *Engliſh* Fleet came to the mouth of the Bay of *Santa Cruz*, and the General ſaw in what poſture the *Spaniard* lay, he thought it impoſſible to bring off any of the Galeons; however, he reſolv'd to burn them (which was by many thought to be equally impoſſible) and ſent Captain *Stayner* with a Squadron of the beſt Ships to fall upon the Galeons; which he did very reſolutely; whilſt other Frigats entertain'd the Forts, and leſſer Breaſt-works, with continual Broad-ſides

to

to hinder their firing. Then the General coming up with the whole Fleet, after full four hours fight, they drove the *Spaniards* from their Ships, and poſſeſſed them; yet found that their work was not done; and that it was not only impoſſible to carry away the Ships, which they had taken, but that the Wind that had brought them into the Bay, and enabled them to Conquer the Enemy, would not ſerve to carry them out again; ſo that they lay expoſed to all the Cannon from the Shore; which thunder'd upon them. However, they reſolv'd to do what was in their power; and ſo, diſcharging their broad-ſides upon the Forts and Land, where they did great execution, they ſet fire to every Ship, Galeons, and others, and burn'd every one of them; which they had no ſooner done, but it happen'd the Wind turn'd, and carried the whole Fleet without loſs of one Ship out of the Bay, and put them ſafe to Sea again.

THE whole Action was ſo miraculous, that all Men who knew the place, wonder'd that any ſober Men, with what Courage ſoever endued, would ever have undertaken it; and they could hardly perſwade themſelves to believe what they had done; whilſt the *Spaniards* comforted themſelves with the belief, that they were Devils and not Men who had deſtroyed them in ſuch a manner. So much a ſtrong reſolution of bold and couragious Men can bring to paſs, that no reſiſtance and advantage of ground can diſappoint them. And it can hardly be imagin'd, how ſmall loſs the *Engliſh* ſuſtain'd in this unparallel'd Action; no one Ship being left behind, and the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred Men, when the Slaughter on board the *Spaniſh* Ships, and on the Shore was incredible.

THE Fleet after this, having been long abroad, found it neceſſary to return home. And this was the laſt ſervice perform'd by *Blake*; who Sicken'd in his Return, and in the very entrance of the Fleet into the Sound of *Plymouth*, expired. He wanted no Pomp of Funeral when he was dead, *Cromwell* cauſing him to be brought up by Land to *London* in all the State that could be; and to encourage his Officers to venture their Lives, that they might be Pompouſly Buried, he was, with all the Solemnity poſſible, and at the Charge of the Publick, Interr'd in *Harry* the Seventh's Chappel, among the Monuments of the King's. He was a Man of a private Extraction; yet had enough left him by his Father to give him a good Education; which his own Inclination diſpoſed him to receive in the Univerſity of *Oxford*; where he took the degree of a Maſter of Arts; and was enough verſed in Books for a Man who intended not to be of any Profeſſion, having ſufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and

Blake returns with the Fleet; dies in the way.

His Burial, and Character.

and having then no appearance of Ambition to be a greater Man than he was. He was of a melancholick and a ſullen Nature, and ſpent his time moſt with Good-fellows, who liked his moroſeneſs, and a freedom he uſed in inveighing againſt the Licence of the time, and the power of the Court. They who knew him inwardly, diſcover'd that he had an Anti-Monarchical Spirit, when few Men thought the Government in any danger. When the Troubles begun, he quickly declared himſelf againſt the King; and having ſome Command in *Briſtol*, when it was firſt taken by Prince *Rupert* and the Marquis of *Hertford*, being truſted with the Command of a little Fort upon the Line, he refuſed to give it up, after the Governour had ſign'd the Articles of Surrender, and kept it ſome hours after the Prince was in the Town, and kill'd ſome of the Soldiers; for which the Prince reſolv'd to hang him, if ſome Friends had not interpoſed for him, upon his want of experience in War; and prevailed with him to quit the place by very great importunity, and with much difficulty. After this, having done eminent Service to the Parliament, eſpecially at *Taunton*, at Land, He then betook himſelf wholely to the Sea; and quickly made himſelf ſignal there. He was the firſt Man that declined the old track, and made it manifeſt that the Science might be attained in leſs time than was imagin'd; and deſpiſed thoſe Rules which had been long in practice, to keep his Ship and his Men out of danger; which had been held in former times a point of great Ability and Circumſpection; as if the principal Art requiſite in the Captain of a Ship had been to be ſure to come home ſafe again. He was the firſt Man who brought the Ships to contemn Caſtles on ſhore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were diſcover'd by him to make a noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the firſt that infuſed that proportion of Courage into the Sea-men, by making them ſee by experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were reſolv'd; and taught them to fight in Fire as well as upon Water: and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the firſt that gave the Example of that kind of Naval Courage, and bold and reſolute Atchievements.

The Parliament comes together Jan. 20.

AFTER all this Luſtre and Glory, in which the Protector ſeem'd to flouriſh, the ſeaſon of the year threaten'd ſome tempeſt and foul weather. *January* brought the Parliament again together. They did not reaſſemble with the ſame temper, and reſignation, in which they parted; and it quickly appear'd how unſecure new Inſtitutions of Government are; and when the Contrivers of them have provided, as they think, againſt all miſchievous Contingencies, they find, that they

they have unwarrily left a gap open to let their Deſtruction in upon them.

CROMWELL thought he had ſufficiently provided for his own ſecurity, and to reſtrain the inſolence of the Commons, by having call'd the other Houſe; which by the *Petition* and *Advice* was to be done; and having fill'd it, for the moſt part, with the Officers of the Army, and ſuch others as he had good reaſon to be confident of. So on the twentieth of *January*, the day appointed to meet (whereas, before, the Parliament uſed to attend him in the Painted Chamber, when he had any thing to ſay to them; now) he came to the Houſe of Lords; where his new Creations were; then he ſent the Gentleman Uſher of the black Rod to call the Commons to him. And they being conducted to the Bar of that Houſe, He being placed in his Chair under a Cloth of State, begun his Speech in the old Style, "My Lords, and You, the "Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, of the Houſe of Commons: and then diſcourſed ſome particulars, which he recommended to them; thanked them "For their fair Correſpondence the "laſt Seſſion; and aſſured them, "If they would continue to "proſecute his Deſigns, they ſhould be call'd the bleſſed of "the Lord, and Generations to come ſhould bleſs them. *Cromwell ſpeaks to them.*

BUT aſſoon as the Commons came to their Houſe, they cauſed the third Article of the *Petition* and *Advice* to be read; by which it was provided, that no Members legally choſen ſhould be excluded from the performance of their Duty, but by conſent of that Houſe of which they were Members. Upon which they proceeded to the calling over their Houſe, and readmitted preſently all thoſe who had been excluded for refuſing to ſign that Recognition of the Protector; and by this means, above a hundred of the moſt inveterate Enemies the Protector had, came and ſate in the Houſe; among whom were Sr *Harry Vane*, *Haſlerig*, and many other ſignal Men who had much the more Credit and Intereſt in the Houſe, for having been excluded for their fidelity to the Commonwealth; many of thoſe who had ſubſcribed it, valuing themſelves for having thereby become Inſtruments to introduce them again, who could never otherwiſe have come to be readmitted. *The Houſe of Commons readmit all their Members that had been excluded, by Virtue of a Clauſe in the* Petition *and* Advice.

ASSOON as theſe Men came into the Houſe, they begun to queſtion the Authority and Juriſdiction of the other Houſe; "that it was true, the *Petition* and *Advice* had admitted, there "ſhould be ſuch an Houſe; but that it ſhould be a Houſe of "Peers, that they ſhould be called *My Lords*, there was no "proviſion; nor did it appear what Juriſdiction it ſhould "have: that it would be a very ridiculous thing, if they ſhould "ſuffer thoſe who were created by themſelves, and ſate only "by *Their tranſactions afterwards.*

"by Their Vote, to be better Men than They, and to have "a Negative Voice to controle their Masters. When they had enough vilified them, they question'd the Protector's Authority to send Writs to call them thither: "Who gave him "that Authority to make Peers? that it had been the proper "business of that House to have provided for all this; which "it is probable they would have done at this meeting, if he "had not presumptuously taken that Soveraign power upon "him.

CROMWELL was exceedingly surprised, and perplexed with this new Spirit; and found that he had been short-sighted in not having provided, at the same time, for the filling his House of Commons, when he erected his other of Peers: for he had taken away those out of that House who were the boldest Speakers, and best able to oppose this torrent, to institute this other House, without supplying those other places by Men who could as well undergo the Work of the other. However, he made one effort more; and Conven'd both Houses before him; and very Magisterially, and in a Dialect he had never used before, reprehended them for presuming to question his Authority. "The other House, he said, were Lords, "and should be Lords; and commanded Them "To enter "upon such business, as might be for the benefit, not the di-"straction of the Common-wealth; which he would with "God's Help prevent. And when he found this Animadversion did not reform them, but that they continued in their presumption, and every day improv'd their reproaches and contempt of him, he went to his House of Lords upon the fourth of *February*; and sending for the Commons, after he had used "many sharp expressions of indignation, he told them, "That "it concern'd his Interest, as much as the Peace and Tran-"quillity of the Nation, to dissolve that Parliament; and therefore he did put an end to their sitting. So that Cloud was, for the present, dissipated, that threaten'd so great a Storm.

Cromwell Convenes both Houses, and speaks to them.

He Dissolves that Parliament Feb. 4.

THE Parliament being dissolv'd, *Cromwell* found himself at ease to prosecute his other designs. After the taking of *Mardike*, *Raynolds*, who was Commander in chief of that Body of the *English* in the Service of *France*, endeavouring to give his Friends in *England* a visit, was, together with some other Officers, who accompanied him, cast away, and drown'd at Sea; upon which, before the dissolution of the Parliament, *Lockhart*, who was the Protector's Embassadour in *France*, was design'd to take that Charge upon him; and all things, which were to be Transported from *England*, for the prosecution of the business in *Flanders* the next Spring, were dispatch'd with the more care, and punctuality, that there might be

Raynolds *cast away coming out of* Flanders.

be no room left for the Cardinal to imagine, that the Protector was in any degree perplexed with the contradiction, and ill humour of the Parliament.

ASSOON as he was rid of That, he thought it as neceſſary to give ſome Inſtances at home, how little he feared thoſe Men who were thought to be ſo much his Rivals in power, and in the opinion of the Army, that he durſt not diſoblige them. And therefore, after ſome ſharp expoſtulations with *Lambert*, who was as poſitive in his own humour, he ſent to him for his Commiſſion; which he ſullenly gave up, when there was a general imagination that he would have refuſed to have deliver'd it. So he was deprived of his Regiment, his authority in the Army, and of being Major General in the North, in an inſtant, without the leaſt appearance of contradiction or murmur; and the Officers *Cromwell* ſubſtituted in the ſeveral places, found all the obedience that had been paid to the other; and *Lambert* retired to his Garden as unviſited and untaken notice of, as if he had never been in Authority; which gave great reputation to the Protector, that he was entire Maſter of his Army.

Cromwell turns Lambert out of the Army.

HE had obſerved, throughout the Parliament, that the Major Generals were extremely odious to the People, as they had been formidable to him. For, whilſt his Party were proſecuting to have his Authority confirm'd to him, and that he might have the Title of King conferr'd upon him, *Lambert* was as ſollicitous to have the Major Generals confirm'd by Parliament, and to have their dependence only upon it; which, with the authority they had of liſting Men in a readineſs, would have made their power, and their ſtrength, in a ſhort time to be equal to the other's. Now that was over, *Cromwell* was content to continue their Names, that they might ſtill be formidable in the Countries, but Abridged them of all that power which might be inconvenient to Himſelf.

He abridges the power of his Major Generals.

HE took likewiſe an occaſion from an accident that happen'd, to amuſe the People with the apprehenſion of Plots at home to facilitate an Invaſion from abroad; and ſending for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to attend him, he made them a large diſcourſe of the danger they were in of being ſurpriſed; "That there was a deſign to ſeiſe upon the Tower; and "at the ſame time that there ſhould be a general Inſurrection "in the City of the Cavaliers, and diſcontented Party, whilſt "the City remain'd ſo ſecure, that they had put their Militia "into no poſture to be ready to preſerve themſelves in ſuch an "Attempt; but on the contrary, that they were ſo negligent "in their Diſcipline, that the Marquis of *Ormond* had lain ſe-"curely in the City full three Weeks without being diſcover'd; "who was ſent over by the King to countenance a general

He acquaints the L. Mayor &c. of the City with a Plot of the Cavaliers, and the Marquis of Ormond's being in England.

"Inſurrection, whilſt the King himſelf, he ſaid, had ten thou-
"ſand Men ready at *Bruges*, with two and twenty Ships,
"with which he meant to invade ſome other more Northern
"part of the Kingdom. He wiſh'd them "To loſe no time in
"putting their Militia into a good poſture, and to make very
"ſtrict ſearches to diſcover what Strangers were harbour'd
"within the Walls of the City, and to keep good Watches
"every Night. He order'd double Guards to be ſet about the Tower; and that they might ſee that there was more than ordinary Occaſion for all this, he cauſed very many Perſons of all conditions, moſt of them ſuch as were reaſonably to be ſuſpected to be of the King's Party, to be ſurpriſed in the Night in their Beds (for thoſe circumſtances made all that was done to be the more notorious) and after ſome ſhort Examination, to be ſent to the Tower; and to other Priſons; for there was, at the ſame time, the ſame ſeverity uſed in the ſeveral Counties; for the better explanation, and underſtanding whereof, it will be neceſſary now that We return to *Flanders*.

Many Perſons ſeiſed on upon that Account.

The King's Affairs in Flanders.

WITHIN little more than two Months after the King's coming to *Bruges*, the little Treaty which had been ſign'd by the Arch-Duke with the King, was ſent ratified from *Madrid* by the King of *Spain*, with many great compliments; which the King was willing ſhould be believ'd to be of extraordinary importance. After wonderful excuſes for the Lowneſs of their affairs in all places, which diſabled them to perform thoſe Services which are due from, and to a great King, they let his Majeſty know, "That the Catholick King had aſſigned
"ſo many Crowns as amounted to ſix thouſand Guilders, to
"be paid every Month towards a Royal Aid; and half ſo much
"more, for the ſupport of the Duke of *Gloceſter*; that though
"the Sum was very ſmall, it was as much as their neceſſi-
"ties would bear; and the ſmallneſs ſhould be recompenſed
"by the punctuality of the payment; the firſt payment being to be made about the middle of the next Month; without taking notice that the King had been already in that Country near three Months, during which time he had not received the leaſt Preſent, or aſſiſtance towards his ſupport.

THEY were willing that the King ſhould raiſe four Regiments of Foot, which ſhould march with their Army, until the King ſhould find the ſeaſon ripe to make an Invaſion with that other ſupply which they were bound by the Treaty to give. But for the raiſing thoſe four Regiments, there was not one penny allow'd; or any other encouragement, than little Quarters to bring their Men to; and, after their Muſter, the common allowance of Bread. However, the King was glad of the opportunity to employ, and diſpoſe of many Officers

cers and Soldiers, who flock'd to him from the time of his first coming into *Flanders*. He resolv'd to raise one Regiment of Guards, the Command whereof he gave to the Lord *Wentworth*, which was to do duty in the Army as Common Men, till his Majesty should be in such a posture, that they might be brought about his Person. The Marquis of *Ormond* had a Regiment in order to be commanded by his Lieutenant Colonel, that the *Irish* might be tempted to come over. The Earl of *Rochester* would have a Regiment, that such Officers and Soldiers might resort to, who were desirous to serve under his Command: and because the *Scots* had many Officers about the Court, who pretended that they could draw many of their Country Men to them, the King gave the fourth Regiment to the Lord *Newburgh*, a Nobleman of that Kingdom, of great courage; who had serv'd his Father and himself with very signal fidelity. Those four Regiments were raised with more expedition than can be imagined, upon so little encouragement.

The King raises four Regiments of his Subjects in Flanders.

As soon as the Treaty was confirm'd, in truth, from the time that his Majesty came into *Flanders*, and that he resolv'd to make as entire a Conjunction with the *Spaniards* as they would permit, he gave notice to the King of *France*, that he would no longer receive that Pension, which, during the time he had remain'd at *Cologne*, had been reasonably well paid; but, after his coming into *Flanders*, he never would receive any part of it.

The King no longer receives any Pension from France.

The *Spanish* Army was at this time before *Conde*; a place Garrison'd by the *French* between *Valenciennes*, and *Cambray*; which was invested now by *Don Juan*; who finding that the greatest part of the Garrison consisted of *Irish*, and that there was in it a Regiment commanded by *Muskerry*, a Nephew of the Marquis of *Ormond*, he thought this a good season to manifest the dependence the *Irish* had upon the King; and therefore writ to his Majesty at *Bruges*, and desired that he would send the Marquis to the Camp; which his Majesty could not refuse; and the Marquis was very willing to go thither; and at the same time the Chancellor of the Exchequer was sent to *Brussels* (under pretence of soliciting the payment of the three first Months, which were assign'd to the King) to confer with *Don Alonzo de Cardinas* upon all such particulars as might be necessary, to adjust some design for the Winter upon *England*; *Don Juan* and the Marquis of *Carracena*, referring all things which related to *England* to *Don Alonzo*, and being very glad that the Chancellor went to *Brussels*, at the same time that the Marquis went to the Camp, that so a correspondence between them two might ascertain any thing that should be desired on either side.

The Marquis of Ormond *sent to treat with the Lord* Muskery *at* Condè *about his Regiment. The Chancellor of the Exchequer sent to* Brussels *to confer with* Don Alonzo de Cardinas.

CONDE was reduced to ſtreights by the time the Marquis came thither; who was receiv'd with much more civility by *Don Juan*, at leaſt by the Marquis of *Carracena*, than any Man who related to the King, or indeed than the King himſelf. The thing they deſired of him was, that when the Garriſon ſhould be reduced, which was then Capitulating, he would prevail with thoſe of the *Iriſh* Nation, when they march'd out, to enter into the *Spaniſh* Service, that is, as they call'd it, to ſerve their own King: for they talked of nothing but going over in the Winter into *England*; eſpecially they deſired that his Nephew *Muskery*, who had the reputation of a ſtout and an excellent Officer, as in truth he was, would come over with his Regiment, which was much the beſt, whatever the other would do. After the Capitulation was ſigned, the Marquis eaſily found opportunity to confer with his Nephew, and the other Officers of the ſeveral Regiments. When he had inform'd them of the King's pleaſure, and that the entring into the ſervice of the *Spaniard* was, for the preſent, neceſſary in order to the King's ſervice, the other Regiments made no ſcruple of it; and engaged, aſſoon as they march'd out, to go whither they ſhould be directed.

The Succeſs of the Marquis's conference with Muskery.

ONLY *Muskery* expreſly refuſed that either himſelf, or any of his Men ſhould leave their Colours, till, according to his Articles, they ſhould march into *France*. He ſaid, "It was "not conſiſtent with his honour to do otherwiſe. But he declared, "That aſſoon as he ſhould come into *France*, he would "leave his Regiment in their Quarters; and would himſelf "Ride to the Court, and demand his Paſs; which, by his "contract with the Cardinal was to be given to him, whenever his own King ſhould demand his Service; and his Regiment ſhould likewiſe be permitted to march with him. It was urged to him, "That it was now in his own power to "diſpoſe of himſelf; which he might lawfully do; but that, "when he was found in *France*, he would no more have it in "his power. He ſaid, "He was bound to ask his diſmiſſion, "and the Cardinal was bound to give it: and when he had "done His part, he was very confident the Cardinal would "not break his word with him; but if he ſhould, he would "get nothing by it; for he knew his Men would follow him "whitherſoever he went; and therefore deſired his Uncle to "ſatisfy himſelf; and to aſſure the King and *Don Juan*, that "he would, within ſix weeks, return; and if he might have "Quarters aſſign'd him, his Regiment ſhould be there within "few days after him. It was in vain to preſs him farther, and the Marquis telling *Don Juan*, that he believ'd he would keep his word, he was contented to part kindly with him; and had a much better eſteem of him than of the other Officers,

ficers, who came to him, and brought over their Men without any Ceremony.

MUSKERY march'd away with the reſt of the Garriſon; and aſſoon as he was in *France*, rode to *Paris*; where the Cardinal then was; who receiv'd him with extraordinary Grace; but when he ask'd his diſmiſſion, and urged his Capitulation, the Cardinal, by all imaginable Careſſes, and promiſes of a penſion, endeavour'd to divert him from the inclination; told him, "That this was only to ſerve the *Spaniard*, "and not his own King; who had no employment for him; "that if he would ſtay in their Service till the King had need "of him, he would take care to ſend him, and his Regi- "ment, in a better Condition to his Majeſty, than they were "now in. When he could neither by promiſes, nor reproaches, divert him from quitting their Service, he gave him a Paſs only for Himſelf; and expreſly refuſed to diſmiſs the Regiment; averring, "That he was not bound to it, be- "cauſe there could be no pretence that they could ſerve the "King; who had no uſe of them, nor wherewithal to pay "them.

MUSKERY took what he could get, his own Paſs; and made haſte to the place where his Regiment was; and after he had given them ſuch directions as he thought neceſſary, he came away only with two or three Servants to *Bruſſels*; and deſired *Don Juan* to aſſign him convenient Quarters for his Regiment; which he very willingly did; and he no ſooner gave notice to them whither they ſhould come, but they behaved themſelves ſo, that, by ſixes and ſevens, his whole Regiment, Officers and Soldiers, to the number of very near eight hundred, came to the place aſſign'd them; and brought their Arms with them; which the *Spaniard* was amazed at; and ever after very much valued him, and took as much care for the preſervation of that Regiment, as of any that was in their Service.

Muskery brings his Regiment over to the Spaniards.

WHEN the Marquis propoſed any thing that concern'd the King, during the time he was in the Army, *Don Juan* ſtill writ to *Don Alonzo* to confer with the Chancellor of the Exchequer about it; who found *Don Alonzo* in all reſpects ſo untractable, and ſo abſolutely govern'd by the *Iriſh* Jeſuit, who filled his head with the hopes of the Levellers, that, after he had receiv'd the Money that was aſſign'd to the King, he return'd to *Bruges*, as the Marquis did from the Army, when the buſineſs of *Conde* was over.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Conferences with Don Alonzo.

IT was well enough known, at leaſt generally believ'd, from the time that the ſecret confidence begun between *Cromwell* and the Cardinal, and long before *Lockhart* appear'd there as Embaſſadour, that the Cardinal had not only pro-

miſed, "That the King ſhould receive no aſſiſtance from "thence; but that no body who related to his Service, or "againſt whom any exception ſhould be taken, ſhould be per- "mitted to reſide in *France*; and that, as the King had al- ready been driven thence; ſo when the time ſhould be ripe, the Duke of *York* would be likewiſe neceſſitated to leave that Kingdom. And now, upon the King's coming into *Flanders*, and upon the coming over of the ſix thouſand *Engliſh* for the Service of *France*, and the publication of the Treaty with *Cromwell*, the *French* did not much deſire to keep that Article ſecret which provided againſt the King's reſiding in that King- dom, and for the excluſion of the Duke of *York*, and many other Perſons, by Name, who attended upon the King, and ſome who had Charges in the Army. And the Cardinal, and the Queen, with ſome ſeeming regret, communicated it to the Duke, as a thing they could not refuſe, and infinitely la- mented, with many profeſſions of kindneſs and everlaſting reſpects; and all this in confidence, and that he might know it ſome time before it was to be executed by his departure.

The Cardinal gives notice to the Duke of York *that he muſt leave the* French *Service.*

AMONGST thoſe who by that ſecret Article were to leave the *French* Service, the Earl of *Briſtol* was one; whoſe Name was, as was generally believ'd, put into the Article by the Cardinal, rather than by *Cromwell*. For the Earl, having re- ceiv'd very great Obligations from the Cardinal, thought his Intereſt greater in the Queen than in truth it was (according to his Natural Cuſtom of deceiving himſelf) and ſo, in the Cardinals diſgrace and retirement, had ſhew'd himſelf leſs inclined to his return than he ought to have been; which the Cardinal never forgave; yet treated him with the ſame fami- liarity as before (which the Earl took for pure Friendſhip) until the time came for the publiſhing this Treaty, when the Earl was Lieutenant General of the Army in *Italy*. Then he ſent for him; and bewailed the Condition that *France* was in, "Which obliged them to receive Commands from *Crom-* "*well*, which were very uneaſy to them; then told him, "that he could ſtay no longer in their Service, and that they "muſt be compell'd to diſmiſs the Duke of *York* himſelf; but made infinite profeſſions of kindneſs, and "That they would "part with him, as with a Man that had done them great "Service. The Earl, who could always much better bear ill Accidents than prevent them, believ'd that all proceeded from the Malice of *Cromwell*; and quickly had the Image of a bet- ter Fortune in his fancy than that he was to quit; and ſo ſet- ting his heart upon the getting as good a ſupply of Money from them as he could, and the Cardinal deſiring to part fairly with him, he receiv'd ſuch a preſent, as enabled him to remove with a handſome Equipage in Servants and Horſes.

The Earl of Briſtol *order'd alſo to leave* France.

So

So he came directly for *Bruges* to the King; to whom he had made himself in some degree gracious before his Majesty left *Paris*. But his business there was only to present his Duty to his Majesty; where after he had stay'd two or three days, he made his Journey to the Army to offer his Service to *Don Juan*, without so much as desiring any recommendation from the King. *Comes to Bruges to the King.*

THERE was nothing more known, than that the *Spaniard* had all imaginable prejudice and hatred against the Earl, both for the little kindness he had shew'd towards them in *England*, whilst he was Secretary of State, of which *Don Alonzo* was a faithful Remembrancer, and for the more than ordinary Animosity he had expressed against them from the time that he had been in the *French* Service; which anger'd them the more, because he had been born in *Spain*. He had then likewise render'd himself particularly odious to *Flanders*; where he was proclaim'd, and detested, in all the Rhymes and Songs of the Country, for the savage Outrages his Forces had committed by Fire and Plunder, two years before, when he made a Winter Incursion with his Troops into that Country, and committed greater Waste than ever the *French* themselves had done, when the Forces were Commanded by them. Upon all which, his Friends dissuaded him at *Bruges* from going to the *Spanish* Army, where he would receive very cold treatment. But he smiled at the advertisement; and told them, "That all the time he was in "*France*, he was out of his Sphere; and that his own Genius "always disposed him to *Spain*; where he now resolv'd to "make his Fortune. And with this confidence he left *Bruges*, and went to the Army, when it had newly taken *Condè*; where he found his reception such, both from *Don Juan* and the Marquis of *Carracena*, as he had reason to expect; which did not at all deject him.

HE was present when *Don Juan* Eat, and when he used to discourse of all things at large; and most willingly of Scholastick points, if his Confessor, or any other Learned Person, was present. The Earl always interposed in those discourses with an admirable acuteness, which, besides his exactness in the *Spanish* Language, made his Parts wonder'd at by every Body; and *Don Juan* begun to be very much pleased with his Company; and the more, because he was much given to speculations in Astrology; in which he found the Earl so much more conversant than any Man he had met with, that, within a Week after he had first seen him, he desired the Earl to calculate his Nativity. In a word, his presence grew to be very acceptable to *Don Juan*; which when the Marquis of *Caracena* discern'd, he likewise treated him with more respect; *Ingratiates himself with* Don Juan, *notwithstanding the great prejudice the* Spaniards *had against him.*

in which he found likewiſe his account: for the Earl having been Lieutenant General of the *French* Army under Prince *Thomas*, in conjunction with the Duke of *Modena*, againſt *Millain*, the very year before, when the Marquis of *Carracena* was Governour there, he could both diſcourſe the ſeveral Tranſactions there with the Marquis, and knew how to take fit occaſions, both in his preſence and abſence, to magnify his Conduct in ſignal Actions; which the Marquis was very glad to ſee, and hear, that he did very frequently. And *Don Alonzo* being ſent for to the Army to conſult ſome Affair, though he had all imaginable deteſtation of the Earl, and had prepared as much prejudice towards him in *Don Juan* and the Marquis, when he found him in ſo much favour with both, he treated him likewiſe with more regard; and was well content to hear himſelf commended by him for underſtanding the Affairs of *England*; which he deſired *Don Juan* and the Marquis ſhould believe him to do. So that before he had been a Month in *Flanders*, he had perfectly reconciled himſelf to the Court, and to the Army; and ſuppreſſed, and diverted all the prejudice that had been againſt him; and *Don Juan* invited him to ſpend the Winter with him at *Bruſſels*.

He is inſtrumental in recovering St Ghiſlain *to the* Spaniards.

THERE was another Accident likewiſe fell out at this time, as if it had been produced by his own Stars. The *French* had yet a Garriſon at a place call'd St *Ghiſlain*; which being within few Leagues of *Bruſſels*, infeſted the whole Country very much, and even put them into Mutiny againſt the Court, that they would think of any other Expedition before they had reduced that Garriſon; which was ſo ſtrong that they had once attempted it, and were obliged to deſiſt. Half the Garriſon were *Iriſh*, under the Command of *Schomberg*, an Officer of the firſt Rank. Some of the Officers were nearly ally'd to Sr *George Lane*, who was Secretary to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and had written to him to know, "Whether the "giving up that place would be a Service to the King? And "if it would, they would undertake it. The Marquis ſent his Secretary to inform the Earl of *Briſtol* of it; who looked upon it as an opportunity ſent from Heaven to raiſe his Fortune with the *Spaniard*. He communicated it to *Don Juan*, as a matter in his own diſpoſal, and to be conducted by Perſons who had a dependence upon him, but yet who intended it only as a Service to the King. So now he became entruſted between the King and *Don Juan*; which he had from the beginning contrived to be; *Don Juan* being very glad to find he had ſo much Intereſt in the King, and the King well pleaſed that he had ſuch Credit with *Don Juan*, of whoſe Aſſiſtance in the next Winter he thought he ſhould have much uſe;

uſe; for all attempts upon *England* muſt be in the Winter. In a word, this Affair of St *Ghiſlain* was very acceptable to the *Spaniards*; their Campagne being ended without any other conſiderable Action than the taking of *Conde*. They foreſaw a very ſad year would ſucceed, if they ſhould enter into the Field, where they were ſure the *French* would be early, and leave St *Ghiſlain* behind them; and they ſhould run more hazard if they begun with the Siege of that place; and therefore they authoriſed the Earl to promiſe great rewards in Money, and Penſions, to thoſe Officers, and Soldiers, who would contribute to the reduction of it. The matter was ſo well carried, that *Don Juan* aſſembled his Army together a little before *Chriſtmas*, in a very great froſt, and coming before the place, though *Scomberg* diſcover'd the Conſpiracy, and apprehended two or three of the Officers; yet the Soldiers, which were upon the Guards in ſome out-Forts, declaring themſelves at the ſame time, and receiving the *Spaniards*, he was compell'd to make Conditions, and to give up the place, that he might have liberty to march away with the reſt.

THIS Service was of very great importance to the *Spaniards*, and no leſs detriment to the *French*, and conſequently gave great Reputation to the Earl; who then came to the King at *Bruges*, and ſaid all that he thought fit of *Don Juan* to the King, and amongſt the reſt, "That *Don Juan* adviſed "his Majeſty to ſend ſome diſcreet Perſons to *Madrid*, to ſol- "licite his Affairs there; but that he did not think the Per- "ſon he had deſign'd to ſend thither (who was Sr *Harry de Vic*, that had been long Reſident in *Bruſſels*) "Would be ac- "ceptable there. This was only to introduce another Perſon, who was dear to him, Sr *Henry Bennet*, who had been formerly in his Office when he was Secretary of State, and bred by him; and was now Secretary to the Duke of *York*; but upon the Factions that were in that Family was ſo uneaſy in his place, that he deſired to be in any other Poſt; and was about this time come to the King, as a forerunner to inform him of the Duke of *York*'s purpoſe to be ſpeedily with him, being within few days to take his leave of the Court of *France*, *Bennet* had been long a Perſon very acceptable to the King; and therefore his Majeſty readily conſented, that he ſhould go to *Madrid* inſtead of *de Vic*: So he return'd with the Earl to *Bruſſels*, that he might be preſented, and made known to *Don Juan*: from whom the Earl doubted not to procure particular recommendation.

He obtains of the King that Sir H. Bennet *ſhould be ſent Envoy to* Madrid.

THE time was now come that the Duke of *York* found it neceſſary to leave *Paris*, and ſo came to the King to *Bruges*; where there were then all the viſible hopes of the Crown of *England* together; and all the Royal Iſſue of the late King, the Princeſs

The Duke of York *leaves* Paris, *and comes to the King at* Bruges.

Princeſs *Henrietta* only excepted; for, beſides the King and his two Brothers, the Dukes of *York* and *Gloceſter*, the Princeſs Royal of *Orange* made that her way from *Paris* into the Low Countries, and ſtay'd there ſome days with her Brothers.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer made Lord Chancellor.

It was at this time that the King made the Chancellor of the Exchequer Lord Chancellor of *England*, Sr *Edward Herbert*, who was the laſt Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, being lately dead at *Paris*. Now the King put the Seal, which he had till then kept Himſelf, into the hands of the Chancellor; which he receiv'd very unwillingly: but the King firſt employ'd the Marquis of *Ormond*, with whom his Majeſty knew he had an entire Friendſhip, to diſpoſe him to receive it; which when he could not do (he giving him many reaſons, beſides his own unfitneſs, why there was no need of ſuch an Officer, or indeed any uſe of the Great Seal till the King ſhould come into *England*; and "That his Majeſty found ſome "eaſe in being without ſuch an Officer, that he was not trou- "bled with thoſe Suites, which he would be, if the Seal were "in the hands of a proper Officer to be uſed, ſince every Body "would be then importuning the King for the Grant of Of- "fices, Honours, and Lands, which would give him great vexa- "tion to refuſe, and do him as great miſchief by granting. The which when the Marquis told the King) his Majeſty himſelf went to the Chancellor's Lodging, and took notice of what the Marquis had told him; and ſaid, "He would deal truly and "freely with him; that the principal reaſon which he had al- "ledged againſt receiving the Seal, was the greateſt reaſon that "diſpoſed him to confer it upon him. Thereupon he pulled Letters out of his Pocket, which he receiv'd lately from *Paris*, for the Grant of ſeveral Reverſions in *England* of Offices, and of Lands; one whereof was of the Queen's Houſe and Lands of *Oatlands*, to the ſame Man who had purchaſed it from the State; who would willingly have paid a good Sum of Money to that Perſon who was to procure ſuch a confirmation of his Title; the draught whereof was prepared at *London*, upon confidence that it would have the Seal preſently put to it; which being in the King's own hand, none need, as they thought, to be privy to the ſecret. His Majeſty told him alſo of many other Importunities, with which he was every day diſquieted; and "That he ſaw no other remedy to give him- "ſelf eaſe, than to put the Seal out of his own keeping, into "ſuch hands as would not be importuned, and would help "him to deny. And thereupon he conjured the Chancellor to receive that Truſt, with many gracious promiſes of his Favour and Protection. Whereupon the Earl of *Briſtol*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, uſing likewiſe Their perſwaſions, he ſubmitted

mitted to the King's pleaſure; who deliver'd the Seal to him in the Council, in the *Chriſtmas* time in the year 1657; which particular is only fit to be mention'd, becauſe many great Affairs, and ſome Alterations accompanied, though not attended upon it.

AFTER ſo long and ſo dark a retirement in *Cologne*, the King's very coming into *Flanders* raiſed the Spirits of his Friends in *England*. And when they were aſſured that there was a Treaty ſign'd between his Majeſty and the King of *Spain*, they made no doubt of an Army ſufficient to begin the buſineſs, and then that the general affections of the Kingdom would finiſh it. The King, who had hitherto reſtrain'd his Friends from expoſing themſelves to unneceſſary dangers, thought it now fit to encourage them to put themſelves into ſuch a poſture, that they might be ready to joyn with him when he appear'd; which he hoped the *Spaniard* would enable him to do in the depth of Winter. Several Meſſengers were ſent from *England* to aſſure him, "That there was ſo "univerſal a readineſs there, that they could hardly be per- "ſwaded to ſtay to expect the King, but they would begin "the Work Themſelves: yet they complain'd much of the backwardneſs of thoſe who were moſt truſted by the King, and They again as much inveighed againſt the raſhneſs and precipitation of the other, "That they would ruin themſelves, "and all People who ſhould joyn with them. *Tranſactions of the King's Friends in* England:

THE King was much perplexed to diſcover this diſtemper amongſt thoſe, who, if they were united, would find the Work very hard; and though he preferr'd in his own opinion the judgment of thoſe that were moſt wary, yet it concern'd him to prevent the other from appearing in an unſeaſonable Engagement; and therefore He ſent to them, and conjured them "To attempt nothing, till he ſent a Perſon to them, who, "if they were ready, ſhould have Authority enough to per- "ſwade the reſt to a conjunction with them, and ſhould him- "ſelf be fit to conduct them in any reaſonable Enterpriſe.

THE Marquis of *Ormond* had frankly offer'd to the King, "that he would privately go into *England*, and confer with "thoſe who were moſt forward; and if he found, that their "counſels were diſcreetly laid, he would encourage them, "and unite all the reſt to them; and if matters were not ripe, "he would compoſe them to be quiet; and there was no Man in *England* affected to the King's Service, who would not be readily adviſed by him. The Chancellor would by no means conſent to his Journey, as an unreaſonable Adventure upon an improbable deſign, ſeeing no ground to imagine they could do any thing. But the Marquis exceedingly undervalued any imagination of danger; and it cannot be conceiv'd, with *Which was the occaſion of the* Marquis *of* Ormond's *going into* England.

with what ſecurity all Men ventur'd every day, in the height of *Cromwell*'s jealouſy and vigilance, to go into *England*, and to ſtay a Month in *London*, and return again. The King conſenting to the Journey, the chief care was, that the Marquis's abſence from *Bruges* might not create jealouſy, and diſcourſe, "Whither he ſhould be gone. Therefore it was for ſome time diſcourſed, "That the Marquis of *Ormond* was to "go into *Germony* to the Duke of *Newburgh* (who was known to have affection for the King) and "That he ſhould from "thence bring with him two Regiments for the Service of "his Majeſty.

THESE diſcourſes being generally made and believ'd the Marquis took his Leave publickly of the King, with his Servants fit for ſuch a Journey, who continued the Journey towards *Germany*; ſo that the Letters from *Cologne* to all places gave an Accounf of the Marquis of *Ormond*'s being there; whilſt he himſelf, with one only Servant, and *O Neile* (who had encouraged him very much to that undertaking) took the way of *Holland*; and hired a Bark at *Schevelin*; in which they Embarked, and were ſafely landed in *Eſſex*; from whence, without any trouble, they got to *Loudon*, whilſt the Parliament was ſtill ſitting. When he was there, he found means to ſpeak with moſt of thoſe of any condition upon whoſe Advice, and Intereſt, the King moſt depended, and againſt whoſe poſitive Advice his Majeſty would not ſuffer any thing to be attempted. That which troubled him moſt was to diſcover a jealouſy, or rather an Animoſity between many of thoſe who equally wiſh'd the King's Reſtoration, to that degree, that they would neither confer nor correſpond with each other. They who had the moſt experience, and were of the greateſt reputation with thoſe who would appear when any thing was to be done, but would not expoſe themſelves in Meetings or Correſpondencies before, complain'd very much of "The raſh-"neſs of the other, who believ'd any Officer of the Army "that pretended diſcontent, and would preſently deſire them "to communicate with ſuch Perſons; which becauſe they re-"fuſed (as they had reaſon) the others loaded them with re-"proaches, as having loſt all affection and zeal for his Majeſty's "Service. They proteſted, "That they could not diſcover "or believe that there was any ſuch preparations in readineſs, "that it could be counſellable to appear in Arms againſt a "Government ſo fortified, and eſtabliſhed, as the Protector's "ſeem'd to be: that it was probable the Parliament might "not comply with *Cromwell*'s deſires; and then there was "ſuch a diſcovery of Malice between ſeveral Perſons of po-"tent Condition, that many advantages might be offer'd to "the King's Party: if they would have the patience to attend "the

The temper he found the King's friends in.

"the event, and till those Factions should be engaged in "blood, they might be sure to advance the King's Interest in "disposing of themselves; but if they should engage, before "such a time, in any Insurrection, or by seising some insigni- "ficant Town, all dissenting Parties would be reconciled, till "the King's Friends should all be ruin'd, though they might "afterwards return to their old Animosities. In a word, though they appear'd very wary, they declared such a resigna- "tion to the King's pleasure, "That, if the Marquis were sa- "tisfied, upon his conference with other Men, that the time "was ripe for their appearance in Arms, they would presently "receive his Orders; and do what he should require, how un- "successfully soever.

On the other side, there were many younger Men, who, having had no part in the former War, were impatient to shew their courage and affection to the King. And those Men, being acquainted with many of the old Officers of the late King's Army, who saw many of their old Soldiers now in *Cromwell*'s Army, and found them to talk after their old manner, concluded that they would all appear for the King, assoon as they should see his colours flying. These Men talking together, would often discourse, how easy a thing it would be, with two Troops of Horse, to beat up such a Quarter, or seise such a Guard; and then those Men consulted how to get those Troops, and found Men who had listed so many, which would be ready upon call. There were always in these Meetings some Citizens, who undertook for the affection of the City; and some of these made little doubt of seising upon the Tower. And truly the putting many Gentlemen's Sons as Apprentices into the City, since the beginning of the Troubles, had made a great alteration, at least in the general talk of that People. It was upon this kind of Materials, that many honest Men did build their hopes, and upon some assurances they had from Officers of the Army, who were as little to be depended upon.

There was another particular, which had principally contributed to this distemper, which passing from hand to hand had made Men impatient to be in Arms; which was an opinion, that the King was even ready to land with such an Army as would be able to do his business. This had been dispersed by some who had been sent Expresses into *Flanders*; who, though they always lay conceal'd during the time they waited for their dispatches from the King, yet found some Friends and acquaintance about the Court, or in their way, who thought they did the King good service in making his Majesty be thought to be in a good condition; and so fill'd those People with such discourses, as would make them most welcome when they return'd.

When

WHEN the Marquis had taken the full ſurvey of all that was to be depended upon, he conjured the warmer People to be quiet, and not to think of any Action till they ſhould be infallibly ſure of the King's being landed, and confirm'd the other in their warineſs; and being informed that *Cromwell* knew of his being there, and made many ſearches for him, he thought it time to return. And ſo about the time that the Parliament was diſſolv'd, he was conducted by Dr *Quartermaine*, the King's Phyſician, through *Suſſex*; and there Embarked, and ſafely Tranſported into *France*; from whence he came into *Flanders*.

The Marquis returns out of England.

THIS gave the Occaſion to *Cromwell* to make that diſcourſe before mentioned to the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, of the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*'s having been three Weeks in the City; of which he had receiv'd perfect Intelligence from a hand that was not then in the leaſt degree ſuſpected, nor was then wicked enough to put him into *Cromwell*'s hand; which he could eaſily have done; of which more ſhall be ſaid hereafter. But when the Protector was well aſſured that the Marquis was out of his reach, which vexed and grieved him exceedingly, he cauſed all Perſons, whom he knew had, or he thought might, have ſpoken with him, to be apprehended. All Priſons, as well in the Country as the City, were fill'd with thoſe who had been of the King's Party, or he believ'd would be; and he thought this a neceſſary ſeaſon to terrify his Enemies, of all conditions, within the Kingdom, with Spectacles which might mortify them.

Cromwell *apprehends ſeveral Perſons.*

IN the preparations which had been made towards an Inſurrection, many Perſons in the Country, as well as in the City, had receiv'd Commiſſions for Regiments of Horſe and Foot; and, amongſt the reſt, one Mr *Stapley*, a Gentleman of a good extraction, and a good fortune in the County of *Suſſex*; whoſe Mother had been Siſter to the Earl of *Norwich*, but his Father had been in the Number of the blackeſt Offenders, and one of the King's Judges. This Son of his, who now poſſeſſed his Eſtate, had taken great pains to mingle in the Company of thoſe who were known to have affection for the King; and, upon all occaſions, made profeſſions of a deſire, for the expiation of his Father's Crime, to venture his own life, and his Fortune, for his Majeſty's Reſtoration; and not only his Fortune, but his Intereſt was conſiderable in that Maritime County: ſo that Many thought fit to cheriſh thoſe Inclinations in him, and to encourage him to hope, that his fidelity might deſerve to enjoy that Eſtate, which the Treaſon of his Father had forfeited.

Mr Stapley's *Engagement for the King.*

THERE was a young Gentleman, *John Mordaunt*, the younger Son, and Brother, of the Earls of *Peterborough*; who, having

Mr Mordaunt *is active for the King.*

having been to young too be engaged in the late War, during which time he had his Education in *France* and *Italy*, was now of Age, of Parts, and great vigour of mind, and newly married to a young beautiful Lady of a very Loyal Spirit, and notable vivacity of Wit and Humour, who concurr'd with him in all honourable dedications of himself. He resolv'd to embrace all opportunities to serve the King, and to dispose those upon whom he had influence, to take the same resolution; and being allied to the Marquis of *Ormond*, he did by him inform his Majesty of his resolution, and his readiness to receive any commands from him. This was many Months before the Marquis's Journey into *England*.

Mr STAPLEY was well known to Mr *Mordaunt*, who had represented his affections to the King, and how useful he might be towards the possessing some place in *Sussex*, and his undertaking that he would do so, by a Letter to the King under Mr *Stapley*'s own hand: and thereupon Mr *Mordaunt* desired, that his Majesty would send a Commission for the Command of a Regiment of Horse to him; which he would provide, and cause to be ready against the season he should be required to appear: which Commission, with many others, was sent to Mr *Mordaunt*; and he deliver'd it to Mr *Stapley*; who was exceedingly pleased with it, renew'd all his Vows and Protestations; and it is still believ'd that he really meant all he pretended. But he had trusted some Servant, who betray'd him; and being thereupon sent for by *Cromwell*, his Father's fast old Friend, was by him so cajoled by promises and by threats, that he was not able to withstand him; but believing that he knew already all that he ask'd him, he conceal'd nothing that he knew himself; inform'd him of those of the same Country who were to joyn with him; of whom some had likewise receiv'd Commissions, as well as himself; and in the end he confessed, "That he had receiv'd his Commission "from Mr *Mordaunt*'s own hand. Before this discovery Mr *Mordaunt* had been sent for by *Cromwell*, and very strictly examin'd, whether he had seen the Marquis of *Ormond* during his late being in *London*; which, though he had done often, he very confidently and positively denied, being well assured that it could not be proved, and that the Marquis himself was in safety: upon which confident denial, he was dismissed to return to his own Lodging. But upon this discovery by *Stapley*, he was within two days after sent for again, and committed close Prisoner to the Tower; and new Men were every day sent for, and committed in all Quarters of the Kingdom; and within some time after, a high Court of Justice was erected for the Trial of the Prisoners, the Crimes of none being yet discover'd; which put all those who knew how

Mr Stapley *discovers what he knew of the Plot.*

Mr Mordaunt *seised on, and committed to the Tower.*

how lyable they themſelves were, under a terrible Conſternation.

Mr Mordaunt; Sr H. Slingsby; and Dr Hewet, tryed before a high Court of Juſtice.

BEFORE this high Court of Juſtice, of which *John Liſle*, who gave his Vote in the King's blood, and continued an entire Confident and Inſtrument of *Cromwells* was Preſident; there were firſt brought to be tried, *John Mordaunt*; Sr *Harry Slingsby*, a Gentleman of a very ancient Family, and of a very ample Fortune in *York-ſhire*; and Dr *Hewet*, an eminent Preacher in *London*, and very Orthodox, to whoſe Church thoſe of the King's Party frequently reſorted, and few but thoſe. Theſe three were totally unacquainted with each other; and though every one of them knew enough againſt himſelf, they could not accuſe one another, if they had been inclined to it. The firſt and the laſt could not doubt but that there would be evidence enough againſt them; and they had found means to correſpond ſo much together, as to reſolve that neither of them would plead to the Impeachment, but demur to the Juriſdiction of the Court, and deſire to have Council aſſign'd to argue againſt it in point of Law; they being both ſufficiently inſtructed, how to urge Law enough to make it evident that neither of them could be legally tried by that Court, and that it was erected contrary to Law. The firſt that was brought to tryal, was Mr *Mordaunt*. After his Arraignment, by which he found that the delivery of the Commiſſion to *Stapley* would be principally inſiſted on, and which he knew might too eaſily be proved, he, according to former reſolution, refuſed to plead Not-guilty; but inſiſted, "That by the "Law of the Land he ought not to be tried by that Court; for which he gave more reaſons than they could anſwer; and then deſired, "That his Council might have liberty to argue "the point in Law; which of courſe uſed to be granted in all Legal Courts. But he was told, "That he was better to bethink "himſelf; that they were well ſatisfied in the Legality of their "Court, and would not ſuffer the Juriſdiction of it to be diſ-"puted; that the Law of *England* had provided a Sentence for "ſuch obſtinate Perſons as refuſed to be tried by it; which "was, that they ſhould be condemn'd as Mutes; which would "be His Caſe, if he continued refractory: ſo he was carried back to the Tower, to conſider better what he would do the next day. Sr *Harry Slingsby* was call'd next. He knowing nothing of, or for the other reſolution, pleaded Not-guilty; and ſo was ſent to the Priſon to be tried in his turn. Dr *Hewet*, whoſe greateſt Crime was collecting and ſending Money to the King, beſides having given Money to ſome Officers, refuſed to plead, as Mr *Mordaunt* had done, and demanded that his Council might be heard; and receiv'd the ſame anſwer, and admonition, that the other had done; and was remitted again to Priſon.

THOSE

THOSE Courts seldom consisted of fewer than twenty Judges; amongst whom, there were usually some, who, out of pity, or for Money, were inclin'd to do good Offices to the Prisoners who came before them; at least to communicate such Secrets to them, as might inform them what would be most pressed against them. Mr *Mordaunt*'s Lady had, by giving Money, procured some in the number to be very propitious to her Husband: and in the Evening of that day the Tryal had been begun, she receiv'd two very important advices from them. The one, "That she should prevail with "her Husband to plead; then his Friends might do him some "Service: whereas, if he insisted upon the point of Law, he "would infallibly suffer, and no Man durst speak for him. The other, "That they had no sufficient proof to condemn him "upon any particular with which he stood charg'd, but only "for the delivery of the Commission to *Stapley*; and that there "was to that point, besides *Stapley*, one Colonel *Mallory*, "whose testimony was more vallued than the other's. This *Mallory* had the reputation of an honest Man, and lov'd Mr *Mordaunt* very well, and was one of those who were principally trusted in the business of *Sussex*, and had been apprehended about the same time that *Stapley* was; and finding, upon his first Examination, by the Questions administer'd to him by *Thurlow*, that all was discover'd, he unwarily confessed all that he knew concerning Mr *Mordaunt*; having been himself the Person principally employ'd between him and *Stapley*. He was brought in Custody from the Tower, to give in Evidence against Mr *Mordaunt*, with an intention in the Court, after he had done that good Service, to proceed as strictly against himself, though they promised him indemnity.

The means by which Mr Mordaunt escaped Sentence.

THE Lady, having clear information of this whole matter, could not find any way that Night to advertise her Husband, that he should no more insist upon the want of Jurisdiction in the Court. For there was no possibility of speaking with, or sending to him, during the time of his Tryal. Therefore she laid aside the thought of that business till the Morning, and passed the Night in contriving how *Mallory* might be prevailed with to make an Escape; and was so dextrous, and so fortunate, that a Friend of Hers dispos'd the Money she gave him so effectually, that the next Morning, when *Mallory* was brought to the Hall to be ready to give in his Evidence, he found some means to withdraw from his Guard, and when he was in the Croud he easily got away.

SHE had as good fortune likewise to have a little Note she writ concerning the other Advice, put into her Husbands hand, as he passed to the Bar; which having perused, he de-

parted from his former resolution; and after he had modestly urged the same again which he had done the day before, to spend time, and the President, in much choler, answering as he had done, he submitted to his Tryal; and behaved himself with Courage; and easily evaded the greatest part of the Evidence they had against him; nor could they find proof, what presumption soever there might be, that he had spoken with the Marquis of *Ormond*; and he evaded many other particulars of his correspondence with the King, with notable Address. That of the Commission of *Stapley* was reserv'd to the last; and the Commission being produced, and both the hand and the Signet generally known, by reason of so many of the like, which had fallen into their hands at *Worcester*, and by many other Accidents, Mr *Stapley* was called to declare where he had it; and seeing himself confronted by Mr *Mordaunt*, though he did, after many questions and reproaches from the Council that prosecuted, at last confess that he did receive it from Mr *Mordaunt*; yet he did it in so disorderly and confused a manner, that it appear'd he had much rather not have said it; and answer'd the Questions Mr *Mordaunt* asked him with that confusion, that his Evidence could not be satisfactory to any impartial Judges. Then *Mallory* was call'd for; but by no search could be found; and they could not, by their own Rules, defer their Sentence. And it so fell out by one of the Judge's withdrawing upon a suddain fit of the Stone, that the Court was divided, one half for the Condemning him, and the other half that he was not Guilty; whereupon the determination depended upon the single Vote of the President; who made some excuses for the Justice he was about to do, and acknowledged many obligations to the Mother of the Prisoner, and, in contemplation thereof, pronounced him Innocent for ought appear'd to the Court. There was not in *Cromwell*'s time the like Instance; and scarce any other Man escaped the Judgment, that was tried before any High Court of Justice. And he was so offended at it, that, contrary to all the forms used by themselves, he caused him to be kept for some Months after in the Tower, and would willingly have brought him to be tried again. For, within a day or two after, *Mallory* was retaken, and they had likewise corrupted a *French* man, who had long serv'd him, and was the only Servant whom he had made choice of (since he was to be allow'd but one) to attend him in the Prison: and he had discover'd enough to have taken away his Life several ways. But the scandal was so great, and the Case so unheard of, that any Man, discharg'd upon a publick Tryal, should be again proceeded against upon new Evidence for the same Offence, that *Cromwell* himself thought not fit to undergo the

Reporach

Reproach of it, but was in the end prevail'd with to ſet him at liberty. And he was very few days at liberty, before he embarked himſelf as frankly in the King's Service as before, and with better Succeſs.

SIR *Harry Slingsby*, and poor Dr *Hewet* had worſe fortune; and their Blood was the more thirſted after for the other's Indemnity; and the Court was too ſeverely reprehended, to commit the ſame fault again. The former had lain two years in Priſon in *Hull*, and was brought now up to the Tower, for fear they might not diſcover enough of any new Plot, to make ſo many formidable Examples, as the preſent conjuncture required. They had againſt him Evidence enough (beſides his incorrigible Fidelity to the Crown from the firſt aſſaulting it) that he had contriv'd and contracted with ſome Officers of *Hull*, about the time that the Earl of *Rocheſter* had been in *York-ſhire* two years before, for the delivery of one of the Block-Houſes to him for the King's Service: nor did he care to defend himſelf againſt the Accuſation; but rather acknowledged, and juſtified his Affection, and own'd his Loyalty to the King, with very little compliment, or ceremony to the Preſent Power. The other, Dr *Hewet*, receiving no information of Mr *Mordaunt*'s declining the way formerly reſolv'd upon (which it was not poſſible to convey to him in that inſtant, no body being ſuffer'd to ſpeak with him) and being brought to the Bar aſſoon as the other was remov'd from it, perſiſted in the ſame reſolution, and ſpoke only againſt the illegality of the Court; which, upon better Information, and before the Judgment was pronounced againſt him, he deſired to retract, and would have put himſelf upon his Tryal: but they then refuſed to admit him; and ſo Sentence of death was pronounced againſt them both; which they both underwent with great Chriſtian Courage.

Sir Harry Slingsby *condemn'd,*

and Doctor Hewet *refuſing ſtill to plead.*

They are both executed.

SIR *Harry Slingsby*, as is ſaid before, was in the firſt Rank of the Gentlemen of *York-ſhire*; and was return'd to ſerve as a Member in the Parliament that continued ſo many years; where he ſate till the Troubles begun; and having no relation to, or dependence upon the Court, he was ſway'd only by his Conſcience to deteſt the violent and undutiful behaviour of that Parliament. He was a Gentleman of a good underſtanding, but of a very melancholick Nature, and of very few words: and when he could ſtay no longer with a good Conſcience in their Councils, in which he never concurr'd, he went into his Country, and joyn'd with the firſt who took up Arms for the King. And when the War was ended, he remain'd ſtill in his own Houſe, prepar'd and diſpoſed to run the Fortune of the Crown in any other Attempt. And having a good Fortune and a general Reputation, had a greater

An account of Sr Harry Slingsby.

Influence upon the People, than They who talked more and louder; and was known to be irreconcilable to the new Government; and therefore was cut off, notwithstanding very great Intercession to preserve him. For he was Uncle to the Lord *Falconbridge*; who engaged his Wife and all his new Allies to intercede for him' without effect. When he was brought to die, he spent very little time in discourse; but told them, "He was to die for being an honest Man, of which he "was very glad.

And of Dr Hewet.

Dr HEWET was born a Gentleman, and bread a Scholar, and was a Divine before the beginning of the Troubles. He liv'd in *Oxford*, and in the Army, till the end of the War, and continued afterwards to preach with great applause in a little Church in *London*: where by the affection of the *Parish*, he was admitted, since he was enough known to be notoriously under the brand of Malignity. When the Lord *Falconbridge* married *Cromwell's* Daughter (who had used secretly to frequent his Church) after the ceremony of the time, He was made choice of to marry them according to the order of the Church; which engaged both that Lord and Lady, to use their utmost credit with the Protector to preserve his Life; but he was inexorable, and desirous that the Churchmen, upon whom he looked as his mortal enemies, should see what they were to trust to, if they stood in need of his Mercy.

IT was then believed that, if he had pleaded, he might have been quitted, since in truth he never had been with the King at *Cologne* or *Bruges*; with which he was charged in his Indictment; and they had blood enough in their power to pour out; for, besides the two before-mention'd, to whom they granted the favour to be beheaded, there were three others, Colonel *Ashton*, *Stacy*, and *Bettely*, condemn'd by the same Court; who were treated with more severity; and were hanged, drawn, and quarter'd, with the most rigour, in several great Streets in the City, to make the deeper impression upon the People, the two last being Citizens. But all Men appeared so nauseated with blood, and so tired with those abominable Spectacles, that *Cromwell* thought it best to pardon the rest who were condemn'd, or rather to reprieve them; amongst whom *Mallory* was one; who was not at liberty till the King's Return; and was more troubled for the weakness he had been guilty of, than They were against whom he had trespassed.

Colonel Ashton, and Stacy and Bettely, Citizens, condemn'd and executed.

THOUGH the King, and all who were faithful to him, were exceedingly afflicted with this bloody proceeding, yet *Cromwell* did not seem to be the more confirm'd in his Tyranny. It is true, the King's Party was the more dispirited; but

but *Cromwell* found another kind of Enemy much more dangerous than they, and that knew better how to deal with him in his own way. They who were raiſed by him, and who had raiſed him, even almoſt the whole Body of Sectaries, Anabaptiſts, Independents, Quakers, declar'd an implacable hatred againſt him; and whilſt they contrived how to raiſe a power to contend with him, they likewiſe enter'd into ſeveral Conſpiracies to Aſſaſſinate him; which he exceedingly apprehended. They ſent an Addreſs to the King by one of the Party, a young Gentleman of an honourable Extraction, and great Parts, by whom they made many extravagant Propoſitions, and ſeem'd to depend very much upon the death of *Cromwell*, and thereupon to compute their own power to ſerve the King; who gave ſuch an Anſwer only to them, as might diſpoſe them to hope for his favour, if he received ſervice from them; and to believe that he did not intend to perſecute, or trouble any Men for their Opinions, if their Actions were peaceable; which they pretended to affect.

Cromwell found new Enemies among the Sectaries.

An Addreſs ſent by the Anabaptiſts to the King.

SINCE the Spirit, Humour, and Language of that People, and, in truth, of that time, cannot be better deſcribed and repreſented, than by that Petition and Addreſs, which was never publiſhed, and of which there remains no Copy in any hand, that I know of, but only the Original, which was preſented to the King (it being too dangerous a thing for any Man who remained in *England*, to have any ſuch tranſcript in his Cuſtody) it will not be amiſs in this place to inſert the Petition and Addreſs in the very words in which it was preſented to his Majeſty, with the Letter, that accompanied it from the Gentleman mention'd before, who was an Anabaptiſt of ſpecial Truſt among them, and who came not with the Petition, but expected the King's pleaſure upon the receipt of it; it being ſent by an Officer who had ſerv'd the King in an eminent Command, and was now gracious amongſt thoſe Sectaries without ſwerving in the leaſt degree from his former Principles and Integrity: for that People always pretended a juſt eſteem and value of all Men who had faithfully adhered to the King, and liv'd ſoberly and virtuouſly. The Addreſs was in theſe words.

The Addreſs it ſelf.

To his moſt Excellent Majeſty, Charles *the Second*, *King of great* Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging.*

"The humble Addreſs of the Subſcribers, in the behalf of "themſelves, and many thouſands more, your Majeſty's "moſt humble and faithful Subjects.

"May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

"WHEN We ſit down, and recount the wonderful and un-

"heard of Diſpenſations of God amongſt Us, when We call "to our remembrances the Tragical Actions, and Tranſacti- "ons of theſe late times, when We ſeriouſly conſider the dark "and myſterious effects of Providence, the unexpected diſ- "appointment of Counſels, the ſtrange and ſtrong Convul- "ſions of State, the various and violent Motions and Commo- "tions of the People, the many Changings, Turnings, and "Overturnings of Governours, and Governments, which, in "the Revolutions of a few years, have been produced in this "Land of Miracles, We cannot but be even ſwallowed up in "Aſtoniſhment, and are conſtrain'd to command an unwil- "ling Silence upon our ſometimes mutinous, and over-inquir- "ing Hearts, reſolving all into the good Will and Pleaſure of "that All-diſpoſing One, whoſe Wiſdom is unſearchable, and "whoſe Ways are paſt finding out.

BUT although it is, and We hope ever will be, far from "Us, either peeviſhly or preſumptuouſly to kick againſt the "irreſiſtable Decrees of Heaven, or vainly to attempt, by any "faint and infirm deſigns of Ours, to give an interruption to "that Over-ruling Divine hand, which ſteers, and guides, go- "verns, and determines the Affairs of the whole World; yet "We cannot but judge it a Duty highly incumbent upon Us, "to endeavour, as much as in Us lies, to repair the breaches "of Our dear Country. And, ſince it is Our lot (We may "ſay our unhappineſs) to be embark'd in a Shipwrack'd Com- "mon-wealth (which, like a poor weather-beaten Pinnace, "has, for ſo long a time, been toſſed upon the waves and bil- "lows of Faction, ſplit upon the Rocks of violence, and is "now almoſt quite devour'd in the Quick-ſands of Ambi- "tion) what can We do more worthy of *Engliſh*-Men, as We "are by Nation, or of *Chriſtians*, as We are by Profeſſion, than "every one of Us to put our hand to an Oar, and to try if it be "the Will of Our God, that ſuch weak Inſtruments as We, "may be, in any meaſure, helpful to bring it at laſt into the "ſafe and quiet Harbour of Juſtice, and Righteouſneſs?

"To this Undertaking, though too great for Us, We are "apt to think Our ſelves ſo much the more ſtrongly engaged, "by how much the more We are ſenſible, that as our Sins have "been the greateſt Cauſes, ſo our many follies and impru- "dences have not been the leaſt means of giving both birth and "growth to thoſe many Miſeries and Calamities, which We, "together with Three once moſt Flouriſhing Kingdoms, do at "this day ſadly grown under.

"IT is not, the Lord knows, it is not pleaſing unto Us, "nor can We believe it will be grateful to your Majeſty, that "We ſhould recur to the beginnings, riſe, and root of the late "unhappy differences betwixt your Royal Father and the "Par-

"Parliament. In such a discourse as this, We may seem, per-
"haps, rather to go about to make the Wounds bleed afresh,
"than to endeavour the curing of them: yet forasmuch as
"We do profess, that We come not with Corrosives but with
"Balsoms, and that our desire is not to hurt but heal, not to
"pour Vinegar but Oyl into the Wounds; We hope your Ma-
"jesty will give Us leave to open them gently, that We may
"apply remedies the more aptly, and discover our own past
"errors the more clearly.

"In what posture the Affairs of these Nations stood, be-
"fore the noise of Drums and Trumpets disturbed the sweet
"harmony that was amongst Us, is not unknown to your Ma-
"jesty: that We were blest with a long Peace, and together with
"it, with riches, wealth, plenty, and abundance of all things,
"the lovely companions and beautiful products of Peace,
"must ever be acknowledged with thankfulness to God, the
"Author of it, and with a grateful veneration of the Memory
"of those Princes, your Father, and Grandfather, by the pro-
"pitious Influence of whose care, and Wisdom, We thus flou-
"rish'd. But, as it is observ'd in Natural Bodies, idleness and
"fulness of Diet, do for the most part lay the foundation of
"those Maladies, and secretly nourish those diseases, which
"can hardly be expell'd by the assistance of the most skilful
"Physician, and seldom without the use of the most loathsome
"Medicines, nay sometimes not without the hazardous tryal
"of the most dangerous Experiments; so did We find it, by
"sad experience, to be in this great Body Politick. It cannot be
"denied, but the whole Common-wealth was faint, the whole
"Nation sick, the whole Body out of order, every Member
"thereof feeble, and every Part thereof languishing. And in
"this so general, and universal a distemper, that there should
"be no weakness nor infirmity, no unsoundness in the Head,
"cannot well be imagin'd. We are unwilling to enumerate
"particulars, the mention whereof would but renew old griefs,
"but, in general, We may say, and We think it will gain the
"easy assent of all Men, that there were many errours, many
"defects, many excesses, many irregularities, many illegal and
"excentrical Proceedings (some of which were in matters of
"the highest and greatest Concernments) manifestly appearing
"as blots, and stains, upon the otherwise good Government
"of the late King. That these proceeded from the pravity of
"his own disposition, or from Principles of Tyranny radicated
"and implanted in his own Nature, We do not see how it
"can be asserted, without apparent injury to the truth; it be-
"ing confessed, even by his most peevish Enemies, that He
"was a Gentleman, as of the most strong and perfect Intel-
"lectuals, so of the best and purest Morals, of any Prince that

"ever sway'd the *English* Scepter. This the then Parliament "being sensible of, and desirous, out of a Zeal they had to the "Honour of their Soveraign, to disperse and dispel those black "Clouds that were contracted about him, that he might "shine the more glorious in the beauty of his own Lustre, "thought themselves engag'd in Duty to endeavour to redeem, "and rescue him, from violent and strong impulses of his "evil Counsellors; who did Captivate him at their pleasures "to their own corrupt Lusts, and did every day thrust him "into Actions prejudicial to himself, and destructive to the "common Good and Safety of the People.

"UPON this Account, and to this, and no other end, were "We at first invited to take up Arms; and though We have "too great cause to conclude from what We have since seen "acted, that, under those plausible, and gilded pretences of "Liberty and Reformation, there were secretly managed the "hellish designs of wicked, vile, and ambitious Persons (whom "though then, and for a long time after, concealed, Provi-"dence, and the Series of things, have since discover'd to "Us) yet We bless God, that We went out in the simplicity "of our Souls, aiming at nothing more but what was pub-"lickly own'd in the face of the Sun; and that We were so "far from entertaining any thoughts of casting off our Alle-"giance to his Majesty, or extirpating his Family, that We "had not the least intentions of so much as abridging him of "any of his just Prerogatives, but only of restraining those "excesses of Government for the future, which were nothing "but the Excrescence of a wanton Power, and were more "truly to be accounted the burdens, than ornaments, of his "Royal Diadem.

"THESE things, Sir, We are bold to make recital of to "your Majesty; not that we suppose your Majesty to be igno-"rant of them, or that We take delight to derive the Pedi-"gree of our own, and the Nations Misfortunes; but, like "poor wilder'd Travellers, perceiving that We have lost our "way, We are necessitated, though with tired and irksome "steps, thus to walk the same ground over again, that We may "discover where it was that We first turn'd aside, and may in-"stitute a more prosperous course in the progress of our Jour-"ney. Thus far We can say We have gone right, keeping the "rode of Honesty and Sincerity, and having as yet done no-"thing but what We think We are able to justify, not by those "weak and beggarly Arguments, drawn either from success, "which is the same to the just and to the unjust, or from the "silence and satisfaction of a becalm'd Conscience, which is "more often the effect of blindness than Virtue, but from the "sure, safe, sound, and unerring Maxims of Law, Justice, Rea-"son, and Righteousness.

"IN

"In all the reſt of our Motions ever ſince to this very day, "We muſt confeſs, We have been wandering, deviating, and "roving up and down, this way and that way, through all "the dangerous, uncouth, and untroden Paths of Phanatick and Enthuſiaſtick Notions, till now at laſt, but too "late, We find our ſelves intricated and involv'd in ſo many "Windings, Labyrinths, and Mæanders of Knavery, that nothing but a divine clew of thread handed to Us from Heaven, can be ſufficient to extricate Us, and reſtore Us. We "know not, We know not, whether We have juſter matter "of ſhame or ſorrow adminiſter'd to Us, when We take a reflex view of our paſt Actions, and conſider into the commiſſion of what crimes, impieties, wickedneſſes, and unheard "of Villanies, We have been led, cheated, couſen'd, and betray'd, by that Grand Impoſtor, that loathſome Hypocrite, "that deteſtable Traytor, that Prodigy of Nature, that *opprobrium* of Mankind, that Landskip of Iniquity, that Sink of "Sin, and that Compendium of baſeneſs, who now calls himſelf our Protector. What have We done, nay, what have "We not done, which either helliſh Policy was able to contrive, or brutiſh power to execute? We have trampled under foot all Authorities; We have laid violent hands upon "our own Soveraign; We have raviſh'd our Parliaments; "We have deflour'd the Virgin Liberty of our Nation; We "have put a yoke, an heavy Yoke of Iron, upon the Necks "of our own Country-men; We have thrown down the "Walls and Bullwarks of the People's ſafety; We have broken often-repeated Oaths, Vows, Engagements, Covenants, "Proteſtations; We have betray'd our Truſts; We have violated our Faiths; We have lifed up our hands to Heaven "deceitfully; and that theſe our Sins might want no aggravation to make them exceeding ſinful, We have added Hypocriſy to them all; and have not only, like the audacious "Strumpet, wiped our Mouths, and boaſted *that We have done no evil*; but in the midſt of all our abominations (ſuch "as are too bad to be named amongſt the worſt of Heathens) "We have not wanted impudence enough to ſay, Let the Lord "be glorified: Let Jeſus Chriſt be exalted: Let his Kingdom "be advanced: Let the Goſpel be propagated: Let the Saints "be dignified: Let Righteouſneſs be eſtabliſh'd: *Pudet hæc "opprobria Nobis aut dici potuiſſe, aut non potuiſſe refelli.*

"Will not the Holy One of *Iſrael* viſit? will not the "Righteous One puniſh? will not He who is the true and "faithful One, be avenged for ſuch things as theſe? will He "not, nay has he not already, come forth as a ſwift witneſs "againſt Us? has he not whet his Sword? has he not bent "his Bow? has he not prepared his Quiver? has he not al-

"ready

"ready begun to ſhoot his Arrows at Us? who is ſo blind as "not to ſee that the hand of the Almighty is upon Us, and "that his Anger waxes hotter and hotter againſt Us? how "have our Hopes been blaſted? how have our Expectations "been diſappointed? how have our Ends been fruſtrated? All "thoſe pleaſant Gourds, under which We were ſometimes "ſolacing and careſſing our ſelves, how are they periſh'd in a "moment? how are they wither'd in a Night? how are they "vaniſh'd, and come to nothing? Righteous is the Lord, and "righteous are all his Judgments. We have ſown the Wind, "and We have reap'd a Whirlwind, We have ſown Faction, "and We have reap'd Confuſion; We have ſown Folly, and "We have reap'd Deceit: when we look'd for Liberty, behold "Slavery; when We expected Righteouſneſs, behold Oppreſ-"ſion; when We ſought for Juſtice, behold a Cry, a great, and "a lamentable Cry throughout the whole Nation.

"EVERY Man's hand is upon his Loins, every one com-"plaining, ſighing, mourning, lamenting, and ſaying, I am "pain'd, I am pain'd, pain and anguiſh, and ſorrow, and per-"plexity of Spirit has taken hold upon me, like the pains of "a Woman in Travail. Surely We may take up the lamenta-"tion of the Prophet concerning this the Land of our Nati-"vity. How does *England* ſit Solitary? how is ſhe become "as a Widow? ſhe, that was great amongſt the Nations, and "Princeſs among the Provinces, how is ſhe now become tri-"butary? ſhe weepeth ſore in the Night; her Tears are on "her Cheeks; amongſt all her Lovers ſhe hath none to com-"fort her; all her Friends have dealt treacherouſly with her, "they are become her Enemies; ſhe lifteth up her voice in "the Streets, ſhe cryeth aloud in the Gates of the City, in the "places of chief Concourſe, ſhe ſitteth, and thus We hear her "wailing and bemoaning her Condition; Is it nothing to you, "all ye that paſs by? behold, and ſee if there be any ſorrow "like unto my ſorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith "the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce Anger. "The Yoke of my Tranſgreſſions is bound by his hands, they "are wreath'd, and come up upon my Neck; he hath made "my ſtrength to fall, the Lord hath deliver'd me into their "hands from whom I am not able to riſe up. The Lord hath "troden under foot all my Mighty Men in the midſt of me; "he hath call'd an Aſſembly to cruſh my young Men; he hath "troden me as in a Wine-preſs; all that paſs by clap their "hands at me, they hiſs and wag their Heads at me, ſaying, Is "this the Nation that Men call the perfection of Beauty? the "joy of the whole Earth? all mine Enemies have open'd their "Mouths againſt me, they hiſs and gnaſh their teeth; they "ſay, We have ſwallow'd her up; certainly this is the

"day

"day that We looked for, We have found, We have ſeen "it.

"How are our Bowels troubled? how are our Hearts "ſadned? how are our Souls afflicted, whilſt We hear the "groans, whilſt We ſee the deſolation of our dear Country? "it pitieth Us, it pitieth Us, that Sion ſhould lye any longer "in the duſt. But, alaſs! what ſhall We do for her in this "day of her great Calamity? We were ſometime wiſe to pull "down, but We now want art to build; We were inge- "nious to pluck up, but We have no skill to plant; We were "ſtrong to deſtroy, but We are weak to reſtore: whither "ſhall We go for help? or to whom ſhall We addreſs our "ſelves for Relief? if We ſay, We will have recourſe to Par- "liaments, and They ſhall ſave Us; behold, they are broken "Reeds, Reeds ſhaken with the wind, They cannot ſave "Themſelves. If We turn to the Army, and ſay, They are "Bone of our Bone and Fleſh of our Fleſh, it may be They will "at laſt, have pity upon Us, and deliver Us; behold, They "are become as a Rod of Iron to bruiſe Us, rather than a ſtaff "of Strength to ſupport Us. If We go to him who hath trea- "cherouſly Uſurped, and does Tyrannically exerciſe an unjuſt "Power over Us, and ſay to him, free Us from this Yoke, "for it oppreſſeth Us, and from theſe Burthens, for they are "heavier than either We are, or our Fathers ever were able "to bear; behold, in the Pride and Haughtineſs of his Spirit, "he anſwers Us, You are Factious, you are Factious; if your "Burdens are heavy, I will make them yet heavier; If I have "hitherto chaſtiſed you with Whips, I will henceforward cha- "ſtiſe you with Scorpions.

"Thus do We fly, like Patridges hunted, from Hill to "Hill, and from Mountain to Mountain, but can find no reſt; "We look this way, and that way, but there is none to ſave, "none to deliver. At laſt We begun to whiſper, and but to "whiſper only, among our ſelves, ſaying one to another, why "ſhould We not return to our firſt Husband? ſurely it will be "better with Us then, than it is now. At the firſt ſtarting of "this Queſtion amongſt Us, many doubts, many fears, many "jealouſies, many ſuſpicions did ariſe within Us. We were "Conſcious to our ſelves, that We had dealt unkindly with "him, that We had treacherouſly forſaken him, that We had "defiled our ſelves with other Lovers, and that our filthineſs "was ſtill upon our skirts: Therefore were We apt to con- "clude, if We do not return unto him, how can he receive Us? "or if he does receive Us, how can he love Us? how can he "pardon the injuries We have done unto him? how can he "forget the unkindneſs We have ſhewn unto him in the day "of his diſtreſs?

"We

"We must confess (for We come not to deceive your "Majesty, but to speak the truth in simplicity) that these cow- "ardly Apprehensions did, for a while, make some strong im- "pressions upon Us; and had almost frighted Us out of our "newly conceiv'd thoughts of Duty and Loyalty. But it was "not long before they vanish'd, and gave place to the more "Noble and Heroick considerations of Common Good, Pub- "lick Safety, the Honour, Peace, Welfare, and Prosperity, of "these Nations; all which We are perswaded, and do find, "though by too late Experience, are as inseparably, and as "naturally bound up in your Majesty, as heat in fire, or light "in the Sun. Contemning therefore, and disdaining, the "mean and low thoughts of our own private Safety (which "We have no cause to dispair of, having to deal with so "good and so gracious a Prince) We durst not allow of any "longer debate about matters of Personal concernment; but "did think our selves engaged in Duty, Honour, and Con- "science, to make this our humble Address unto your Ma- "jesty, and to leave our selves at the feet of your Mercy: "yet, lest We should seem to be altogether negligent of that "first Good, though since dishonour'd, Cause, which God has "so eminently own'd Us in, and to be unmindful of the Secu- "rity of those, who, together with our selves, being carried "away with the delusive, and hypocritical pretences of wicked "and ungodly Men, have ignorantly, not maliciously, been "drawn into a concurrence with those Actions which may "render them justly obnoxious to your Majesty's indignation, "We have presum'd in all humility to offer unto your Ma- "jesty these few Propositions hereunto annexed; to which if "your Majesty shall be pleased graciously to condescend, We "do solemnly protest in the presence of Almighty God, be- "fore whose Tribunal We know We must one day appear, "that We will hazard our lives, and all that is dear unto Us, for "the restoring, and reestablishing your Majesty in the Throne "of your Father; and that We will never be wanting in a "ready and willing compliance to your Majesty's Commands "to approve our selves,

"Your Majesty's

"Most humble, most faithful,

"and most devoted Subjects and Servants,

W. Howard.	*John Wildman.*
Ralph Jennings.	*John Aumigeu.*
Edw. Penkaruan.	*Randolph Hedworth.*
John Hedworth.	*Thomas*
John Sturgion.	*Rich. Reynolds.*

"The

"The earneſt deſires of the Subſcribers, in all humility pre- *Their Propo-*
"ſented to your Majeſty in theſe following Propoſals, in *ſitions an-*
"order to an happy, ſpeedy, and well grounded Peace in *nexed to it.*
"theſe your Majeſty's Dominions.

1. "FORASMUCH as the Parliament, call'd and conven'd "by the Authority of his late Majeſty your Royal Father, in "the year 1640, was, never legally Diſſolv'd, but did conti- "nue their Sitting until the year 1648. at which time the "Army, violently and treaſonably breaking in upon them, "did, and has ever ſince given a continued Interruption to "their Seſſion, by taking away the whole Houſe of Lords, and "ſecluding the greateſt part of the Houſe of Commons, it is "therefore humbly deſired that (to the end We may be eſta- "bliſh'd upon the ancient baſis and foundation of Law) your "Majeſty would be pleaſed, by publick Proclamations, aſſoon "as it ſhall be judged ſeaſonable, to invite all thoſe Perſons, as "well Lords as Commons, who were then Sitting, to return "to their places; and that your Majeſty would own them "(ſo conven'd and met together) to be the true and lawful "Parliament of *England*.

2. "THAT your Majeſty would concur with the Parlia- "ment in the Ratification and Confirmation of all thoſe things "granted, and agreed unto by the late King your Father, at "the laſt and fatal Treaty in the Iſle of *Wight*; as alſo in the "making and repealing of all ſuch Laws, Acts, and Statutes, "as by the Parliament ſhall be judged expedient and neceſſary "to be made, and repealed, for the better ſecuring of the juſt "and natural Rights and Liberties of the People, and for the "obviating and preventing all dangerous and deſtructive ex- "ceſſes of Government for the future.

3. "FORASMUCH as it cannot be denied, but that our "Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, by his Death and Reſurre- "ction, has purchaſed the Liberties of his own People, and is "thereby become their ſole Lord and King, to whom, and to "whom only, they owe Obedience in things Spiritual; We do "therefore humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that you would en- "gage your Royal Word never to erect, nor ſuffer to be "erected, any ſuch Tyrannical, Popiſh, and Antichriſtian "Hieracy (Epiſcopal, Presbyterian, or by what name ſo- "ever it be call'd) as ſhall aſſume a power over, or impoſe a "yoke upon, the Conſciences of others; but that every one "of your Majeſty's Subjects may hereafter be left at liberty "to worſhip God in ſuch a way, form, and manner, as ſhall "appear to them to be agreeable to the mind and will of "Chriſt, revealed in his word, according to that propor- "tion, or meaſure of faith and knowledge which they have "receiv'd.

4. "FORAS-

4. "FORASMUCH as the Exaction of Tithes is a burden "under which the whole Nation groans in general, and the "People of God in particular, We would therefore crave "leave humbly to offer it to your Majesty's consideration, "that, if it be possible, some other way may be found out for "the maintenance of that which is call'd the National Mi- "nistry; and that those of the separated and congregated "Churches may not (as hitherto they have been, and still are) "be compell'd to contribute thereunto.

5. "FORASMUCH as in these times of Licence, Confu- "sion, and Disorder, many honest, godly, and religious Per- "sons, by the crafty devices and cunning pretences of wicked "Men, have been ignorantly, and blindly led, either into "the commission of, or compliance with many vile, illegal, and "abominable Actions, whereof they are now ashamed, We "do therefore most humbly implore your Majesty, that an "Act of Amnesty and Oblivion may be granted for the par- "doning, acquitting, and discharging, all your Majesty's long "deceiv'd, and deluded Subjects, from the guilt and imputa- "tion of all Crimes, Treasons, and Offences whatsoever, com- "mitted or done by them, or any of them, either against "your Majesty's Father, or your self, since the beginning of "these unhappy Wars, excepting only such who do adhere to "that ugly Tyrant, who calls himself Protector, or who, in ju- "stification of His, or any other Interest, shall after the pub- "lication of this Act of Grace, continue and persevere in their "disloyalty to your Majesty.

THE Gentleman who brought this Address, and these wild Propositions, brought likewise with him a particular Letter to the King from the Gentleman that is before descri- bed; upon whose temper, ingenuity, and interest, the Mes- senger principally depended, having had much acquaintance and conversation with him; who, though he was an Ana- baptist, made himself merry with the extravagancy and mad- ness of his Companions; and told this Gentleman, "That "though the first Address could not be prepared but with "those Demands, which might satisfy the whole Party, and "comprehend all that was desired by any of them, yet if the "King gave them such an encouragement, as might dispose "them to send some of the wisest of them to attend his Ma- "jesty, he would be able, upon conference with them, to "make them his Instruments to reduce the rest to more mo- "derate desires, when they should discern, that they might "have more protection and security from the King, than "from any other Power that would assume the Government. The Letter was as followeth.

"May

"May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

"TIME, the great diſcoverer of all things, has at laſt unmask'd the diſguiſed deſigns of this Myſterious Age, and made that obvious to the dull ſenſe of Fools, which was before viſible enough to the quick-ſighted prudence of Wiſe Men, *viz.* that Liberty, Religion, and Reformation, the wonted Engines of Politicians, are but deceitful baits, by which the eaſily deluded Multitude are tempted to a greedy purſuit of their own ruin. In the unhappy number of theſe Fools, I muſt confeſs my ſelf to have been one; who have nothing more now to boaſt of, but only that, as I was not the firſt was cheated, ſo I was not the laſt was undeceiv'd; having long ſince, by peeping a little (now and then, as I had opportunity) under the Vizard of the Impoſter, got ſuch glimpſes, though but imperfect ones, of his ugly face, conceal'd under the painted pretences of Sanctity, as made me conclude, that the Series of Affairs, and the revolution of a few years, would convince this blinded Generation of their Errors; and make them affrightedly to ſtart from Him, as a prodigious piece of Deformity, whom they adored and reverenced as the beautiful Image of a Deity. *The Letter to the King ſent with the Addreſs.*

"NOR did this my expectation fail me: God, who glories in no Attribute more than to be acknowledged the Searcher of the inward parts, could no longer endure the bold Affronts of this audacious Hypocrite; but, to the aſtoniſhment and confuſion of all his Idolatrous worſhippers, has by the unſearchable wiſdom of his deep-laid Counſels, lighted ſuch a Candle into the dark Dungeon of his Soul, that there is none ſo blind who does not plainly read Treachery, Tyranny, Perfidiouſneſs, Diſſimulation, Atheiſm, Hypocriſy, and all manner of Villany, written in large Characters on his heart; nor is there any one remaining, who dares open his mouth in juſtification of him, for fear of incurring the deſerv'd Character of being a profeſſed Advocate for all Wickedneſs, and a ſworn Enemy to all Virtue.

"THIS was no ſooner brought forth, but preſently I conceiv'd hopes of being able, in a ſhort time, to put in practice thoſe thoughts of Loyalty to your Majeſty, which had long had entertainment in my breaſt, but till now were forced to ſeek concealment under a ſeeming conformity to the iniquity of the Times. A fit opportunity of giving birth to theſe deſigns, was happily adminiſter'd by the following occaſion.

"GREAT was the rage, and juſt the indignation of the People, when they firſt found the Authority of their Parliament ſwallow'd up in the new Name of a Protector;

"greater

" greater was their fury, and upon better grounds, when they " obſerv'd that, under the ſilent, modeſt, and flattering Title " of this Protector, was ſecretly aſſumed a Power more ab- " ſolute, more arbitrary, more unlimited, then ever was pre- " tended to by any King. The Pulpits ſtraightways ſound " with Declarations, the Streets are fill'd with Paſquils and " Libels, every one expreſſes a deteſtation of this Innovation " by publick Invectives, and all the Nation, with one accord, " ſeems at once to be inſpired with one and the ſame reſolu- " tion of endeavouring valiantly to redeem that Liberty, by " Arms and Force, which was Treacherouſly ſtoln from them " by Deceit and Fraud.

" WHEN they had for a while exerciſed themſelves in tu- " multuary diſcourſes (the firſt effects of Popular diſcontents) " at length they begin to contrive by what means to free " themſelves from the yoke that is upon them. In order " hereunto, ſeveral of the chiefeſt of the Malecontents enter " into conſultations amongſt themſelves; to which they were " pleaſed to invite and admit Me. Being taken into their " Councils, and made privy to their Debates, I thought it " my work to acquaint my ſelf fully with the tempers, " inclinations, diſpoſitions, and principles of them; which " (though all meeting and concentring in an irreconcil- " able Hatred and Animoſity againſt the Uſurper) I find ſo " various in their ends, and ſo contrary in the means condu- " cing to thoſe ends, that they do naturally fall under the di- " ſtinction of different Parties. Some, drunk with Enthu- " ſiaſms, and beſotted with Phanatick notions, do allow of " none to have a ſhare in Government beſides the Saints; and " theſe are called *Chriſtian Royaliſts*, or *Fifth Monarchy-Men*; " others violently oppoſing This, as deſtructive to the Liber- " ty of the Free-born People, ſtrongly contend to have the " Nation govern'd by a continual Succeſſion of Parliaments, " conſiſting of equal Repreſentatives; and theſe ſtyle them- " ſelves *Common-Wealths-Men*. A third Party there is, who " finding, by the obſervation of theſe times, that Parliaments " are better Phyſick than food, ſeem to incline moſt to Mo- " narchy, if laid under ſuch reſtrictions as might free the Peo- " ple from the fear of Tyranny; and theſe are contented to " ſuffer under the opprobrious Name of *Levellers*; to theſe " did I particularly apply my ſelf; and after ſome few days " conference with them in private by themſelves apart, I was " ſo happy in my endeavours, as to prevail with ſome of them " to lay aſide thoſe vain and idle prejudices, grounded rather " upon paſſion than judgment, and return, as their duty en- " gaged them, to their obedience to your Majeſty. Having " proceeded thus far, and gain'd as many of the chief of them

" whom

"whom I knew to be Leaders of the reſt, as could ſafely "be intruſted with a buſineſs of this nature (the ſucceſs where- "of does principally depend upon the ſecret management of "it) I thought I had nothing more now to do, but only to "confirm and eſtabliſh them, as well as I could, in their in- "fant Allegiance, by engaging them ſo far in an humble Ad- "dreſs unto your Majeſty, that they might not know how to "make either a ſafe or honourable Retreat.

"I muſt leave it to the Ingenuity of this worthy Gentle- "man, by whoſe hands it is conveyed, to make anſwer to "any ſuch objections as may perhaps be made by your Ma- "jeſty, either as to the matter or manner of it. This only I "would put your Majeſty in mind of, that they are but young "Proſelytes, and are to be driven *lento pede*, leſt, being urged "at firſt too violently, they ſhould reſiſt the more refracto- "rily.

"As to the Quality of the Perſons, I cannot ſay they are "either of great Families, or great Eſtates. But this I am con- "fident of, that, whether it be by their own virtue, or by the "misfortune of the times, I will not determine, they are ſuch "who may be more ſerviceable to your Majeſty in this con- "juncture, than thoſe whoſe Names ſwell much bigger "than Theirs with the Addition of great Titles. I durſt not "undertake to perſwade your Majeſty to any thing, being "ignorant by what Maxims your Counſels are govern'd; but "this I ſhall crave leave to ſay, that I have often obſerv'd, "that a deſperate game at Cheſs, has been recover'd after the "loſs of the Nobility, only by playing the Pawns well; and "that the Subſcribers may not be of the ſame uſe to your Ma- "jeſty, if well managed, I cannot deſpair, eſpecially at ſuch "a time as this, when there is ſcarce any thing but Pawns "left upon the board, and thoſe few others that are left, may "juſtly be complain'd of in the words of *Tacitus*, *preſentia & "tuta, quàm vetera, & periculoſa malunt omnes.*

"I have many things more to offer unto your Majeſty, but "fearing I have already given too bold a trouble, I ſhall de- "fer the mention of them at preſent; intending, aſſoon as I "hear how your Majeſty reſents this Overture, to wait upon "your Majeſty in Perſon, and then to communicate that *viva "voce*, which I cannot bring within the narrow compaſs of "an Addreſs of this nature. In the mean time, if our Ser- "vices ſhall be judged uſeful to your Majeſty, I ſhall humbly "deſire ſome ſpeedy courſe may be taken for the Advance of "1000 Pound, as well for the anſwering the expectation of "thoſe whom I have already engaged, as for the defraying of "ſeveral other neceſſary expences, which do, and will every "day inevitably come upon us in the proſecution of our deſign.

"WHAT more is expedient to be done by your Majesty, "in order to the encouragement and satisfaction of those Gen- "tlemen who already are, or hereafter may be brought over "to the assistance of your Majesty's Cause and Interest, I "shall commit to the care of this honourable Person, who be- "ing no stranger to the complection, and constitution of those "with whom I have to deal, is able sufficiently to inform "your Majesty by what ways and means they may be laid un- "der the strongest obligations to your Majesty's Service.

"FOR my own part, as I do now aim at nothing more, "than only to give your Majesty a small Essay of my Zeal for, "and absolute devotion to your Majesty, so I have nothing "more to beg of your Majesty, but that you would be pleased "to account me,

"May it please your Majesty, *&c.*

THE King believ'd that these distempers might, in some conjuncture, be of use to him; and therefore return'd the general Answer that is mention'd before; and "That he would "be willing to confer with some Persons of that Party, trusted "by the rest, if they would come over to him; his Majesty being then at *Bruges*: upon which that young Gentleman came over thither to him, and remain'd some days there conceal'd. He was a Person of very extraordinary parts, sharpness of Wit, readiness and volubility of Tongue, but an Anabaptist. He had been bred in the University of *Cambridge*, and afterwards in the Inns of Court; but being too young to have known the Religion, or the Government of the precedent time, and his Father having been engaged from the beginning against the King, he had sucked in the opinions that were most prevalent, and had been a Soldier in *Cromwell*'s Life Guard of Horse, when he was thought to be most resolved to establish a Republick. But when that Mask was pulled off, he detested him with that rage, that he was of the combination with those who resolved to destroy him by what way soever; and was very intimate with *Syndercombe*. He had a great confidence of the strength and power of that Party; and confessed that their demands were extravagant, and such as the King could not grant; which, after they were once engaged in blood, he doubted not they would recede from, by the credit the Wiser Men had amongst them. He return'd into *England* very well satisfied with the King; and did afterwards correspond very faithfully with his professions; but left the King without any hope of other benefit from that Party, than by their encreasing the faction and animosity against *Cromwell*: for it was manifest they expected a good Sum of present Money from the King; which could not be in his power to supply.

WHILST

WHILST these things were transacting, the King found every day, that the *Spaniards* so much despaired of his Cause, that they had no mind to give him any Assistance with which he might make an attempt upon *England*; and that if they had been never so well disposed, they were not able to do it: and therefore he resolv'd that he would not, in a Country that was so great a Scene of War, live unactive and unconcern'd: so his Majesty sent to *Don Juan* "That he would "accompany him in the Field the next Campagne, without "expecting any Ceremony, or putting him to any trouble. But the *Spaniards* sent him a formal Message, and employed the Earl of *Bristol* to excuse them from consenting, or admitting his Proposition, and to dissuade his Majesty from affecting so unreasonably exposing his Person. They said, "That "they could not answer it to his Catholick Majesty, if they "should permit his Majesty, when his two Brothers were al-"ready in the Army, and known to affect danger so much as "they did, likewise to engage his own Royal Person; which "they positively protested against. And when they afterwards saw, that it was not in their power to restrain him from such adventures, whilst he remain'd at *Bruges*, which was now become a Frontier by the Neighbourhood of *Mardike*, and particularly that, under pretence of visiting the Duke of *York*, who lay then at *Dunkirk* to make some attempt in the Winter upon that Fort, his Majesty having notice, what night they intended to assault it, went some days before to *Dunkirk*, and was present in that Action, and so near, that many were kill'd about him, and the Marquis of *Ormond*, who was next to him, had his Horse kill'd under him: they were willing his Majesty should remove to *Brussels*; which they would never before consent to; and which was in many respects most grateful to him. And so, towards the Spring, and before the Armies were in motion, he left *Bruges*, where he had receiv'd, both from the Bishop and the Magistrates, all possible respect, there being at that time a *Spaniard*, *Mark Oguiate*, Burgo-Master, who, being born of an *English* Mother, had all imaginable duty for the King, and being a Man of excellent parts, and very dextrous in business, was very serviceable to his Majesty; which he ever afterwards acknowledged; and about the end of *February*, in the year by that Account 1658, he went to *Brussels*, and never after return'd to *Bruges* to reside there.

The King sent to Don Juan "That "he would "accompa-"ny him "into the "field; which "is refused.

The King present in the attempt upon Mardike.

The King leaves Bruges; and removes to Brussels in the end of Feb. 1658.

HIS Majesty was no sooner come thither, but *Don Alonzo* renew'd his advices, and importunity, that he would make a conjunction with the Levellers. He had formerly prevailed with him to admit their Agent, one *Sexby*, to confer with him; which his Majesty willingly consented to, presuming that

Sexby might be privy to the Addreſs that had been made to him by the ſame Party; which he was not, though they that ſent the Addreſs well knew of his employment to the *Spaniard*, and had no mind to truſt him to the King, at leaſt not ſo ſoon. The Man, for an illiterate Perſon, ſpoke very well, and properly; and uſed thoſe words very well, the true meaning and ſignification whereof he could not underſtand. He had been, in the beginning, a Common Soldier of *Cromwell*'s Troops, and was afterwards one of thoſe Agitators who were made uſe of to controle the Parliament; and had ſo great an Intereſt in *Cromwell*, that he was frequently his Bed-fellow; a familiarity, he often admitted thoſe to whom he employed in any great Truſt, and with whom he could not ſo freely converſe, as in thoſe hours. He was very perfect in the Hiſtory of *Cromwell*'s diſſimulations, and would deſcribe his Artifices to the life, and did very well underſtand the temper of the Army, and very much undervalue the credit, and intereſt of the King's Party; and made ſuch demands to the King, as if it were in his power, and his alone, to reſtore him; in which *Don Alonzo* concurr'd ſo totally, that, when he ſaw that the King would not be adviſed by him, he ſent his Friend *Sexby* into *Spain* to conclude there; and, upon the matter, wholely withdrew himſelf from ſo much as viſiting the King. And there need not be any other Character or deſcription of the Stupidity of that *Spaniard*, than that ſuch a Fellow, with the help of an *Iriſh* Prieſt, ſhould be able to cozen him, and make him to cozen his Maſter of ten thouſand Piſtoles; for he receiv'd not leſs than that in *Flanders*, whatever elſe he got by his Journey to *Madrid*; which did not uſe to be of ſmall expence to that Court.

An account of Sexby *and his Negotiation.*

NOTHING that was yet to come, could be more manifeſt, than it was to all diſcerning Men, that the firſt deſign the *French* Army would undertake, when they ſhould begin their Campagne, muſt be the Siege of *Dunkirk*; without taking which, *Mardike* would do them little good: beſides, their Contract with *Cromwell* was no Secret; yet the *Spaniards* totally neglected making proviſions to defend it; being perſwaded by ſome Intelligence they always purchaſed at a great rate, to deceive themſelves, that the *French* would begin the Campagne with beſieging *Cambray*. In the beginning of the year, the Marquis *de Leyde*, Governour of *Dunkirk*, and the beſt Officer they had, in all reſpects, came to *Bruſſels*, having ſent ſeveral Expreſſes thither to no purpoſe to ſollicite for ſupplies. He told them, "That his Intelligence was infallible, that Mar- "ſhal *Turenne* was ready to march, and that the *French* King "himſelf would be in the Field to countenance the Siege of "*Dunkirk*, which he could not defend, if he were not ſup-

The Marquis de Leyde *came to* Bruſſels *to ſollicite for ſupplies for* Dunkirk, *but in vain.*

"plied

"plied with Men, Ammunition, and Victual; of all which he ſtood in great need, and of neither of which he could get ſupply; They telling him, "That he would not be beſieged; "that they were ſure the *French* meant to attempt *Cambray*; which they provided the beſt they could; and bid him be confident, "That, if he were attacked, they would relieve "him with their Army, and Fight a Battle before he ſhould be "in danger. Being able to procure no other Anſwer, he return'd, and came to take his leave of the King as he went out of the Town, and complain'd very much to his Majeſty of their Counſels, and deluding themſelves with falſe Intelligence. He ſaid, "He was going to defend a Town without Men, without "Ammunition, and without Victual, againſt a very ſtrong "and Triumphant Army; that, if he could have obtain'd Sup-"plies in any reaſonable degree, he ſhould have been able to "have entertain'd them ſome time; but in the condition he "was in, he could only loſe his Life there; which he was re-"ſolv'd to do: And ſpoke as if he were very willing to do it; and was as good as his word.

Dunkirk beſieged by the French *Army.*

WITHIN three or four days after his return, the *French* Army appear'd before *Dunkirk*; and then the *Spaniard* believ'd it; and made what haſte they could to draw their Army together, which was very much diſperſed, ſo that, before they were upon their march, the *French* had perfected their Circumvalation, and render'd it impoſſible to put any Succours into the Town. Now they found it neceſſary indeed to hazard a Battle, which they had promiſed to do, when they intended nothing leſs. When the *Spaniards* had taken a full view of the poſture the Enemy was in, and were thereupon to chooſe their own ground, upon which they would be found, *Don Juan*, and the Marquis of *Carracena*, who agreed in nothing elſe, reſolv'd how the Army ſhould be ranged; which the Prince of *Condè* diſſwaded them from; and told them very exactly what the Marſhal *Turenne* would do in that caſe; "And that he would ſtill maintain the Siege, "and give them likewiſe Battle upon the advantage of the "ground; whereas, if they would place their Army near ano-"other part of the Line, they ſhould eaſily have communica-"tion with the Town, and compel the *French* to Fight with "more equal hazards.

The Prince of Condès *Advice to the* Spaniards *not hearken'd to.*

IT might very reaſonably be ſaid of the Prince of *Condè* and Marſhal *Turenne*, what a good Roman Hiſtorian ſaid heretofore of *Jugurtha* and *Marius*, that "*in iiſdem caſtris didicere*, "*quæ poſtea in contrariis fecere*; They had in the ſame Ar-"mies learned that Diſcipline, and thoſe Stratagems, which "they afterwards practiſed againſt each other in Enemy Ar-"mies; and it was a wonderful, and a pleaſant thing to ſee

and obſerve in Attacks or in Marches, with what foreſight either of them would declare what the other would do: as the Prince of *Condè* when the Armies march'd near, and the *Spaniards* would not alter their former lazy pace, nor their reſt at noon, would in cholar tell them, "If we do not make "great haſte to poſſeſs ſuch a Paſs (which they never thought of) Marſhal *Turenne* will take it, though it be much further "from him; and would then, when they conſider'd not what he ſaid, advance with his own Troops to poſſeſs the place, even when the *French* were come in view; and by ſuch ſeaſonable foreſights ſaved the *Spaniſh* Army from many diſtreſſes. And Marſhal *Turenne* had the ſame caution, and govern'd himſelf according as the Prince of *Condè* was in the Rere or Van of the Army; and, upon the matter, only conſider'd where He was, and order'd his Marches accordingly; of which there was a very memorable Inſtance two years before, when the *Spaniſh* Army had Beſieged *Arras*, and when the Duke of *York* was preſent with Marſhal *Turenne*. The *Spaniards* had made themſelves ſo very ſtrong, that when the *French* Army came thither, they found that they could not compel them to Fight, and that the Town muſt be loſt if they did not force the Line. Marſhal *Turenne*, accompanied with the Duke of *York*, who would never be abſent upon thoſe occaſions, and ſome of the principal Officers, ſpent two or three days in viewing the Line round, and obſerving and informing himſelf of all that was to be known, and riding ſo near the Line very frequently, that ſome of his Company were kill'd within much leſs than muſquet ſhot. In the end, he call'd ſome of the principal Officers, and ſaid, "He would, that day at noon, "aſſault the Line, at a place which he ſhew'd to them; which the Officers wonder'd at; and ſaid, "It was the ſtrongeſt "part of the Line; and that they had obſerv'd to him, that "the whole Line on the other ſide was very much weaker; to which the Marſhal replied, "You do not know who keeps "that Line, We ſhall do no good there; *Mounſieur le Prince* "never ſleeps, and that is his Poſt; but *I will* tell you, what "will fall out on the other ſide; for he had himſelf march'd in the *Spaniſh* Army, and very well underſtood the Cuſtoms of it. He told them then, "That it would be very long, before "the Soldiers upon the Line, or the adjacent Guard, would "believe that the *French* were in earneſt, and that they would "in truth at that time of the day aſſault them; but would think "that they meant only to give them an Alarm: which they "were never warm in receiving: That when the *Spaniards* "were convinced that the *French* were in earneſt, in which "time he ſhould be got near their Line, they would ſend to "the Count of *Fuenſaldagna*, who at that time of the day was "uſually

"uſually aſleep, and his Servants would not be perſwaded to "waken him in a moment: He would then ſend for his "Horſe, and ride up to the Line; which when he ſaw he "would with ſome haſte repair to the Arch-Duke's Tent; "who was likewiſe at his *Sieſto*, and when He was awake, "they would conſult what was to be done, by which time, the Marſhal ſaid, "They ſhould have done: And they did enter the Line accordingly, and found by the Priſoners, that every thing had fallen out as he had foretold. So the Siege was raiſed, the *Spaniards* fled without making any reſiſtance, left their Cannon, Bag and Baggage behind them: only the Prince of *Condè* was in ſo good order upon the firſt Alarm, that when he heard of the Confuſion they were in, he drew off with his Cannon, and loſt nothing that belonged to him, and marched with all his Men to a place of ſafety.

The Battle of Dunkirk.

NOTWITHSTANDING the advice which the Prince of *Condè* had given, *Don Juan* was poſitive in his firſt Reſolution. The Prince, not without great indignation, conſented; and drew up his Troops in the place they deſired; and quickly ſaw all come to paſs that he had foretold. The Country was moſt incloſed, ſo that the Horſe could not Fight but in ſmall Bodies. The *Engliſh* Foot under *Lockhart* Charg'd the *Spaniſh* Foot, and, after a good reſiſtance, broke and routed them; after which there was not much more reſiſtance on that ſide, the *Spaniſh* Horſe doing no better than their Foot. Our King's Foot were placed by themſelves upon a little riſing ground, and were Charg'd by the *French* Horſe after the *Spaniſh* Foot were beaten. Some of them, and the greater part, marched off by the favour of the Incloſures, there not being above two hundred taken Priſoners. The Dukes of *York* and *Gloceſter* Charg'd ſeveral times on Horſe-back; and in the end, having gotten ſome Troops to go with them, Charg'd the *Engliſh* (whom, though Enemies, they were glad to ſee behave themſelves ſo well) and with great difficulty, and ſome blows of Muſquets, got ſafe off. But there was a rumour ſpread in the *French* Army, that the Duke of *York* was taken Priſoner by the *Engliſh*, ſome Men undertaking to ſay that they ſaw him in their hands: whereupon many of the *French* Officers, and Gentlemen, reſolv'd to ſet him at Liberty, and rode up to the Body of *Engliſh*, and looked upon all their Priſoners, and found they were misinform'd; which if they had not been, they would undoubtedly, at any hazard, or danger, have enlarged him; ſo great an affection that Nation own'd to have for his Highneſs.

THE day being thus loſt with a greater Rout and Confuſion than loſs of Men, *Don Juan*, and the Marquis of *Carracena*, who behaved themſelves in their own Perſons with

Don Juan *after the loss of the Battle retires to* Ipres

Courage enough, were contented to think better of the Prince of *Conde*'s advice, by which they preserv'd the best part of the Army, and retired to *Ipres* and *Furnes*, and the Duke of *York* to *Newport*, that they might defend the rest when *Dunkirk* should be taken; which was the present business of Marshal *Turenne*; who found the Marquis *de Leyde* resolv'd to defend it, notwithstanding the defeat of the Army; and therefore he betook himself again to that work, assoon as the *Spanish* Army was retired into fastness. The Marquis *de Leyde*, when he saw there was no more hope of relief from *Don Juan*, which whilst he expected, he was wary in the hazard of his Men, was now resolv'd to try what he could do for himself: so with as strong a Party as he could make, he made a desperate Sally upon the Enemy; who, though he disorder'd them, were quickly so seconded, that they drove him back into the Town with great loss, after himself had receiv'd a wound, of which he died within three days after. And then the Officers sent to treat, which he would not consent to whilst he liv'd. The Marquis was a much greater loss than the Town; which the Master of the Field may be always Master of in two Months time at most. But in truth the death of the Marquis was an irreparable damage, he being a very wise Man, of great Experience, great Wisdom, and great Piety, after his way; insomuch as he had an intention to have taken Orders in the Church; to which he was most devoted.

Tht Marquis de Leyde *Sallies upon the Enemy; is repulsed, and slain.*

The Town of Dunkirk *surrender'd; and the* French *King delivers it to the* English.

THOSE in the Town had fair conditions to march to St *Omers*, that they might not joyn with the Reliques of their Army. The *French* King being by this time come to the Camp with the Cardinal, enter'd the Town, and took possession of it himself; which assoon as he had done, he deliver'd it into the hands of *Lockhart*, whom *Cromwell* had made Governour of it. Thus the Treaty was perform'd between them; and that King went presently to *Calais*, and from thence sent the Duke of *Crequy* together with *Mancini*, Nephew to the Cardinal, to *London*, to visit *Cromwell*; who likewise sent his Son in Law, the Lord *Falconbridge*, to *Calais*, to congratulate with that King for their joynt prosperity. And mutual professions were then renewed between them, with new obligations "Never to make Peace without each other's consent.

WHEN *Don Juan* had first remov'd from *Brussels*, and the Army marched into the Field, the King had renew'd his desire that he might likewise go with them, but was refused with the same positiveness he had been before. His Majesty thereupon resolv'd that he would not stay alone in *Brussels*, whilst all the World was in Action; but thought of some more private place, where he might take the Summer Air, and refresh himself during that Season. He was the more confirm'd in this

this upon the News of the defeat of the Army near *Dunkirk*, and the loſs of that place. So he remov'd to a Village call'd *Hochſtraten*; where there were very good Houſes, capable to have receiv'd a greater Train than belong'd to His Court. Thither the King went about the Month of *Auguſt*; the Village lying upon the skirts of the States Dominions in *Brabant*, and within five or ſix Miles of *Breda*, ſometimes he made Journies, *incognito*, to ſee places where he had not been before.

The King returns to Hochſtraten *in* Aug.

THERE a Man might have obſerv'd the great difference of the condition, which the Subjects in the States Dominions, even in the ſight and view of the other, enjoy above what their Neighbours of the *Spaniſh* Territories are acquainted with. *Hochſtraten* is an open Village belonging to the Count of that name, and hath enjoy'd very ample Privileges, the owner thereof being one of the greateſt Nobles in the Duchy of *Brabant*. It is pleaſantly Seated, many very good Houſes, and the Mannor large of Extent, and of great Revenue. But by reaſon that it is always a Horſe-quarter in the Winter Seaſon, who uſe great licence, it is ſo poor, that thoſe good Houſes have only Walls; ſo that the People had not Furniture to ſupply thoſe Rooms which were for the accommodation of thoſe who attended the King, though they were ſure to be very well paid, and therefore uſed all the means they could to procure it. But there appear'd poverty in the faces and looks of the People, good Grounds without any Stock, and, in a word, nothing that looked well but the Houſes, and thoſe empty within: on the other ſide of a Line that is drawn (for a Man may ſet one Foot in the Dominion that is reſerv'd to the King of *Spain*, and the other in that which is aſſign'd to the *Hollander*) the Houſes, though not ſtanding ſo thick, nor ſo beautiful without, clean, neat; and well furniſh'd within; very good Linen, and ſome Plate in every Houſe; the People jolly, well cloathed, and with looks very well pleaſed; all the Grounds and Land fully ſtocked with all kind of Cattle, and, as if it were the Land of *Goſhen*, the appearance of nothing but wealth, and fertility, encompaſſed with extreme barrenneſs, and unconceiveable poverty. And they on the *Holland* ſide, that lies equally open, and undefended, can ſee the *Spaniſh* Troops exerciſe all Licence upon their poor Neighbours of *Hochſtraten*; and yet the moſt diſſolute among them dare not ſtep into their Quarters to take a Hen, or commit the leaſt Treſpaſs: ſo ſtrictly the Articles of the Peace are obſerv'd.

WHILST the King ſpent his time in this manner, about the middle of *September*, the Duke of *York*, who remain'd ſtill with the Troops at *Newport* to defend that place, as *Don Juan*, and the reſt, remain'd about *Furnes* and *Bruges*, ſent an Expreſs to the King to let him know, "That the Letters from "*England*,

The King has notice that Cromwell *was dead.*

The King returns to Brussels *upon it.*

"*England*, and some Passengers, reported confidently that "*Cromwell* was dead; which, there having been no News of his sickness, was not at first easily believ'd. But every day brought confirmation of it; so that his Majesty thought fit to give over his Country Life, and return'd again to *Brussels*, that he might be ready to make use of any advantage, which, in that conjuncture, upon so great an alteration, he might reasonably expect.

Cromwell's Affairs some time before his death.

It had been observ'd in *England*, that, though from the dissolution of the last Parliament, all things seem'd to succeed, at home and abroad, to the Protector's wish, and his Power and Greatness to be better establish'd than ever it had been, yet he never had the same serenity of Mind he had been used to, after he had refused the Crown; but was out of countenance, and chagrin, as if he were Conscious of not having been true to himself; and much more apprehensive of danger to his Person than he had used to be. Insomuch as he was not easy of access, nor so much seen abroad; and seem'd to be in some disorder, when his Eyes found any stranger in the Room; upon whom they were still fixed. When he intended to go to *Hampton Court*, which was his principal delight and diversion, it was never known, till he was in the Coach, which way he would go; and he was still hem'd in by his Guards both before and behind; and the Coach in which he went, was always thronged as full as it could be, with his Servants who were armed; and he seldom return'd the same way he went; and rarely lodged two Nights together in one Chamber, but had many furnished and prepared, to which his own Key convey'd him, and those he would have with him when he had a mind to go to Bed: which made his fears the more taken notice of, and publick, because he had never been accustom'd to those precautions.

Syndercome's design against him a good while before this.

It is very true, he knew of many Combinations to assassinate him, by those who, he believ'd, wish'd the King no good. And a good while before this, when he had discover'd the design of *Syndercome*, who was a very stout Man, and one who had been much in his favour, and who had twice or thrice, by wonderful and unexpected Accidents, been disappointed in the minute he made sure to kill him, and had caused him to be apprehended, his behaviour was so resolute in his Examination and Trial, as if he thought he should still be able to do it; and it was manifest that he had many more Associates, who were undiscover'd and as resolute as himself; and though he had got him condemn'd to die, the Fellow's carriage and words were such, as if he knew well how to avoid the Judgment; which made *Cromwell* believe, that a Party in the Army would attempt his rescue; whereupon he gave strict

ſtrict charge, "That he ſhould be carefully look'd to in the "Tower, and three or four of the Guard always with him "day and night.

AT the day appointed for his Execution, thoſe Troops *Cromwell* was moſt confident of, were placed upon the Tower-Hill, were the Gallows were erected. But when the Guard call'd *Syndercome* to ariſe in the morning, they found him dead in his Bed; which gave trouble exceedingly to *Cromwell*; for beſides that he hoped, that at his death, to avoid the utmoſt rigour of it, he would have confeſſed many of his Confederates, he now found himſelf under the reproach of having cauſed him to be poyſon'd, as not daring to bring him to publick Juſtice: nor could he ſuppreſs that Scandal. It appear'd upon Examination, that the night before, when he was going to Bed in the preſence of his Guard, his Siſter came to take her leave of him; and upon her going away, he put off his Cloaths, and leaped into his Bed, and ſaid, "This was the "laſt Bed he ſhould ever go into. His Body was drawn by a Horſe to the Gallows where he ſhould have been hanged, and buried under it, with a Stake driven through him, as is uſual in the Caſe of ſelf Murderers: yet this Accident perplexed *Cromwell* very much; and though he was without the particular diſcovery which he expected, he made a general diſcovery by it, that he himſelf was more odious in his Army than he believ'd he had been.

The death of the Earl of Warwick, *and of the Earl's Grandſon.*

HE ſeem'd to be much afflicted at the death of his Friend the Earl of *Warwick*; with whom he had a faſt Friendſhip; though neither their humours, nor their natures, were like. And the Heir of that Houſe, who had Married his youngeſt Daughter, died about the ſame time; ſo that all his relation to, or confidence in that Family was at an end; the other Branches of it abhorring his Alliance. His Domeſtick delights were leſſen'd every day: He plainly diſcover'd that his Son *Falconbridge's* Heart was ſet upon an Intereſt deſtructive to his, and grew to hate him perfectly. But that which chiefly broke his Peace, was the death of his Daughter *Claypole*; who had been always his greateſt joy, and who, in her ſickneſs, which was of a nature the Phyſicians knew not how to deal with, had ſeveral Conferences with him, which exceedingly perplexed him. Though no body was near enough to hear the particulars, yet her often mentioning, in the pains ſhe endur'd, the blood her Father had ſpilt, made People conclude, that ſhe had preſented his worſt Actions to his conſideration. And though he never made the leaſt ſhew of remorſe for any of thoſe Actions, it is very certain, that either what ſhe ſaid, or her death, affected him wonderfully.

The death of Cromwell's *Daughter* Claypole.

WHAT

Cromwell *seised on by an Ague in* August:

WHATEVER it was, about the middle of *August*, he was seised on by a common tertian Ague, from which, he believ'd, a little ease and divertisement at *Hampton Court* would have freed him. But the fits grew stronger, and his Spirits much abated: so that he return'd again to *White-Hall*, when his Physicians begun to think him in danger, though the Preachers, who pray'd always about him, and told God Almighty what great things he had done for him, and how much more need he had still of his Service, declared as from God, that he should recover: and he himself was of the same mind, and did not think he should die, till even the time that his Spirits fail'd him. Then he declared to them, "That he did "appoint his Son to succeed him, his eldest Son *Richard*; and so expired upon the third day of *September* 1658, a day he thought always very propitious to him, and on which he had twice triumphed for two of his greatest Victories. And this now was a day very memorable for the greatest Storm of Wind that had been ever known, for some hours before and after his death, which overthrew Trees, Houses, and made great Wrecks at Sea; and the Tempest was so universal, that the effects of it were terrible both in *France* and *Flanders*, where all People trembled at it; for besides the Wrecks all along the Sea-Coast, many Boats were cast away in the very Rivers; and within few days after, the circumstance of his death, that accompanied that Storm, was universally known.

He appoints his Son Richard *his Successor; and expires* Septemb. 3.

The terribe Storm on the same day.

His Character.

HE was one of those Men, *quos vituperare ne inimici quidem possunt, nisi ut simul laudent*; whom his very Enemies could not condemn without commending him at the same time: for he could never have done half that mischief without great parts of Courage, Industry, and Judgment. He must have had a wonderful understanding in the Natures and Humours of Men, and as great a dexterity in applying them; who, from a private and obscure birth (though of a good Family) without Interest or Estate, Alliance or Friendship, could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory Tempers, Humours, and Interests into a consistence, that contributed to His designs, and to their own destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed, in the instant that they projected to demolish their own building. What was said of *Cinna* may very justly be said of Him, *ausum eum, quæ nemo auderet bonus; perfeciſſe, quæ à nullo, nisi fortissimo, perfici possent*. He attempted those things which no good Man durst have ventur'd on; and atchieved those in which none but a valiant and great Man could have succeeded. Without doubt, no Man with more wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly,

wickedly, more in the face and contempt of Religion, and moral Honesty; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplish'd those designs, without the assistance of a great Spirit, an admirable circumspection, and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution.

When he appeared first in the Parliament, he seem'd to have a Person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those Talents which use to conciliate the Affections of the Stander by: yet as he grew into Place and Authority, his parts seem'd to be raised, as if he had Had conceal'd Faculties, till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great Man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of Custom.

After he was confirm'd, and invested Protector by the humble *Petition and Advice*, he consulted with very few upon any Action of importance, nor communicated any enterprise he resolv'd upon, with more than those who were to have principal parts in the execution of it; nor with them sooner than was absolutely necessary. What he once resolved, in which he was not rash, he would not be disswaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority; but extorted obedience from them who were not willing to yield it.

One time, when he had laid some very extraordinary Tax upon the City, one *Cony*, an eminent Fanatick, and one who had heretofore served him very notably, positively refused to pay his part; and loudly disswaded others from submitting to it, "As an imposition notoriously against the Law, "and the Property of the Subject, which all honest Men were "bound to defend. *Cromwell* sent for him, and cajoled him with the memory of, "The old kindness, and Friendship, that "had been between them; and that of all Men he did not "expect this opposition from Him, in a matter that was so ne-"cessary for the good of the Common-wealth. It had been always his fortune to meet with the most rude, and obstinate behaviour from those who had formerly been absolutely govern'd by him; and they commonly put him in mind of some expressions and sayings of his own, in cases of the like nature: so this Man remember'd him, how great an Enemy he had expressed himself to such grievances, and had declared, "That "all who submitted to them, and paid illegal Taxes, were "more to blame, and greater Enemies to their Country than "they who had imposed them; and that the Tyranny of "Princes could never be grievous, but by the tameness and "stupidity of the People. When *Cromwell* saw that he could not convert him, he told him, "That he had a Will as stub-"born as His, and he would try which of them two should be "Master. Thereupon, with some expressions of reproach and

and contempt, he committed the Man to Priſon; whoſe courage was nothing abated by it; but aſſoon as the Term came, he brought his *Habeas Corpus* in the King's Bench, which they then call'd the *Upper* Bench. *Maynard*, who was of Council with the Priſoner, demanded his Liberty with great confidence, both upon the illegality of the Commitment, and the illegality of the impoſition, as being laid without any lawful Authority. The Judges could not maintain or defend either, and enough declared what their Sentence would be; and therefore the Protector's Atturney required a farther day, to anſwer what had been urged. Before that day, *Maynard* was committed to the Tower, for preſuming to queſtion or make doubt of his Authority; and the Judges were ſent for, and ſeverely reprehended for ſuffering that Licence; when they, with all humility, mention'd the Law and *Magna Charta*, *Cromwell* told them, with terms of contempt, and deriſion, "Their *Magna F*---- ſhould not controle his Actions; which "he knew were for the ſafety of the Common-wealth. He asked them, "Who made them Judges? whether they had any "Authority to ſit there, but what He gave them? And if his "Authority were at an end, they knew well enough, what "would become of themſelves; and therefore adviſed them "to be more tender of that which could only preſerve them; and ſo diſmiſſed them with caution, "That they ſhould not "ſuffer the Lawyers to prate what it would not become Them "to hear.

THUS he ſubdued a Spirit that had been often troubleſome to the moſt Soveraign Power, and made *Weſtminſter-Hall* as obedient, and ſubſervient to his Commands, as any of the reſt of his Quarters. In all other matters, which did not concern the Life of his Juriſdiction, he ſeem'd to have great reverence for the Law, rarely interpoſing between Party and Party. As he proceeded with this kind of indignation, and haughtineſs, with thoſe who were refractory, and durſt contend with his greatneſs, ſo towards all who complied with his good Pleaſure, and courted his Protection, he uſed great Civility, Generoſity, and Bounty.

TO reduce three Nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his Dictates; to awe, and govern thoſe Nations by an Army that was indevoted to him, and wiſh'd his ruin, was an Inſtance of a very prodigious addreſs. But his greatneſs at home, was but a ſhadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to diſcover, which feard him moſt, *France*, *Spain*, or the Low Countries, where his Friendſhip was current at the value he put upon it. As they did all ſacrifice their Honour, and their Intereſt, to his Pleaſure, ſo there is nothing he could have demanded, that either of them would

would have denied him. To manifeſt which, there needs only two Inſtances. The firſt is, when thoſe of the Valley of *Lucern* had unwarily riſen in Arms againſt the Duke of *Savoy*, which gave occaſion to the Pope, and the Neighbour Princes of *Italy*, to call and ſollicite for their extirpation, and their Prince poſitively reſolv'd upon it, *Cromwell* ſent his Agent to the Duke of *Savoy*; a Prince with whom he had no correſpondence, or commerce, and ſo engaged the Cardinal, and even terrified the Pope himſelf, without ſo much as doing any Grace to the *Engliſh* Roman Catholicks (nothing being more uſual than his ſaying, "That his Ships in the *Mediterranean* "ſhould viſit *Civita Vecchia*; and that the ſound of his Cannon "ſhould be heard in *Rome*) that the Duke of *Savoy* thought it neceſſary to reſtore all that he had taken from them, and did renew all thoſe Privileges they had formerly enjoy'd, and newly forfeited.

Two Inſtances of his Intereſt among forreign Princes.

THE other Inſtance of his Authority was yet greater, and more incredible. In the City of *Niſmes*, which is one of the faireſt in the Province of *Languedoc*, and where thoſe of the Religion do moſt abound, there was a great Faction at that Seaſon when the Conſuls (who are the Chief Magiſtrates) were to be choſen. Thoſe of the Reform'd Religion had the confidence to ſet up one of themſelves for that Magiſtracy; which they of the Roman Religion reſolv'd to oppoſe with all their Power. The diſſenſion between them made ſo much noiſe, that the Intendant of the Province, who is the ſupreme Miniſter in all Civil Affairs throughout the whole Province, went thither to prevent any diſorder that might happen. When the day of Election came, thoſe of the Religion poſſeſſed themſelves with many Arm'd Men of the Town-Houſe, where the Election was to be made. The Magiſtrates ſent to know what their meaning was; to which they anſwer'd, "they were there to give their Voices for the choice of the "new Conſuls, and to be ſure that the Election ſhould be "fairly made. The Biſhop of the City, the Intendant of the Province, with all the Officers of the Church, and the preſent Magiſtrates of the Town, went together in their Robes to be preſent at the Election, without any ſuſpicion that there would be any Force uſed. When they came near the Gate of the Town-Houſe, which was ſhut, and they ſuppoſed would be open'd when they came, they within pour'd out a Volly of Musket-ſhot upon them, by which the Dean of the Church, and two or three of the Magiſtrates of the Town, were kill'd upon the place, and very many others wounded; whereof ſome died ſhortly after. In this Confuſion, the Magiſtrates put themſelves into as good a poſture to defend themſelves as they could, without any purpoſe of offending the other,

others, till they ſhould be better provided; in order to which they ſent an Expreſs to the Court with a plain relation of the whole matter of fact, "And that there appear'd to be no man-"ner of Combination with thoſe of the Religion in other "places of the Province; but that it was an inſolence in thoſe "of the place, upon the preſumption of their great Numbers, "which were little inferior to thoſe of the Catholicks. The Court was glad of the Occaſion, and reſolv'd that this provocation, in which other places were not involv'd, and which no body could excuſe, ſhould warrant all kind of ſeverity in that City, even to the pulling down their Temples, and expelling many of them for ever out of the City; which, with the execution and forfeiture of many of the principal Perſons, would be a general Mortification to all of the Religion in *France*; with whom they were heartily offended; and a part of the Army was forthwith order'd to march towards *Niſmes*, to ſee this executed with the utmoſt rigour.

THOSE of the Religion in the Town, were quickly ſenſible into what condition they had brought themſelves; and ſent with all poſſible Submiſſion, to the Magiſtrates to excuſe themſelves, and to impute what had been done to the raſhneſs of particular Men, who had no order for what they did. The Magiſtrates anſwer'd, "That they were glad they "were ſenſible of their Miſcarriage; but they could ſay no-"thing upon the Subject, till the King's pleaſure ſhould be "known; to whom they had ſent a full relation of all that "had paſſed. The others very well knew what the King's pleaſure would be, and forthwith ſent an Expreſs, one *Moulins*, who had liv'd many years in that place, and in *Montpelier*, to *Cromwell*, to deſire his protection and interpoſition. The Expreſs made ſo much haſte, and found ſo good a reception the firſt hour he came, that *Cromwell*, after he had receiv'd the whole Account, bad him "Refreſh himſelf after ſo "long a Journey, and he would take ſuch care of his buſi-"neſs, that by the time he came to *Paris* he ſhould find it "diſpatch'd; and, that Night ſent away another Meſſenger to his Embaſſadour *Lockhart*; who, by the time *Moulins* came thither, had ſo far prevailed with the Cardinal, that Orders were ſent to ſtop the Troops, which were upon their March towards *Niſmes*; and, within few days after, *Moulins* return'd with a full Pardon, and Amneſty from the King, under the Great Seal of *France*, ſo fully confirm'd with all circumſtances, that there was never farther mention made of it, but all things paſſed as if there had never been any ſuch thing. So that no body can wonder, that his Memory remains ſtill in thoſe parts, and with thoſe People, in great veneration.

HE would never ſuffer himſelf to be denied any thing he

ever

ever asked of the Cardinal, alledging, "That the People would "not be otherwiſe ſatisfied; which the Cardinal bore very heavily, and complain'd of to thoſe with whom he would be free. One day, he viſited Madam *Turenne*, and when he took his leave of her, She, according to her Cuſtom, beſought him to continue gracious to the Churches. Whereupon the Cardinal told her, "That he knew not how to behave himſelf; "if he adviſed the King to puniſh and ſuppreſs their Inſo- "lence, *Cromwell* threaten'd him to joyn with the *Spaniard*; "and if he ſhew'd any favour to them, at *Rome* they accounted "him an Heretick.

The Concluſion of his Character.

To Conclude his Character, *Cromwell* was not ſo far a Man of blood, as to follow *Machiavel*'s method; which preſcribes, upon a total alteration of Government, as a thing abſolutely neceſſary, to cut off all the heads of thoſe, and extirpate their Families, who are Friends to the old one. It was confidently reported, that, in the Council of Officers, it was more than once propoſed, "That there might be a general "Maſſacre of all the Royal Party, as the only expedient to "ſecure the Government, but that *Cromwell* would never con- "ſent to it; it may be, out of too great a contempt of his Enemies. In a word, as he was guilty of many Crimes againſt which Damnation is denounced, and for which Hell-fire is prepared, ſo he had ſome good Qualities which have cauſed the Memory of ſome Men in all Ages to be celebrated; and he will be look'd upon by Poſterity as a brave wicked Man.

THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH BOOK.

THE
History of the Rebellion, &c.
BOOK XVI.

Zechar. II. 4, 5, 6.

Thus ſaith the Lord my God, Feed the flock of the ſlaughter.
Whoſe poſſeſſors ſlay them, and hold themſelves not guilty: and they that ſell them, ſay, Bleſſed be the Lord, for I am rich: and their own ſhepherds pity them not.
But lo, I will deliver the men every one into his Neighbours hand, and into the hand of his King.

CONTRARY to all expectation both athome and abroad, this Earthquake was attended with no ſignal Alteration. It was believ'd that *Lambert* would be in the head of the Army, and that *Monk* in *Scotland* would never ſubmit to be under him. Beſides the expectation the King had from the general Affection of the Kingdom, he had fair promiſes from Men of Intereſt in it, and of Command in the Army, who profeſſed to prepare for ſuch a Conjuncture as this; and that the diſorder ariſing from *Cromwell's* death might diſpoſe *Lockhart* to depend upon the beſt Title, ſeem'd a reaſonable expectation: but nothing of this fell out. Never Monarch, after he had inherited a Crown by many deſcents, died in more ſilence, nor with leſs alteration; and there was the ſame, or a greater calm in the Kingdom than had been before. *The beginning of Richard's Government.*

THE next Morning after the death of *Oliver*, *Richard* his Son is Proclaim'd his Lawful Succeſſor; the Army congratulate their new General, and renew their Vows of fidelity to

him; the Navy doth the like; the City appears more unanimous for His Service, than they were for his Fathers; and moſt Countries in *England*, by Addreſſes under their hands, teſtified their obedience to their new Soveraign without any heſitation. The dead is interr'd in the Sepulcher of the Kings, and with the obſequies due to ſuch. His Son inherits all his Greatneſs, and all his Glory, without the publick hate, that viſibly attended the other. Forreign Princes addreſſed their Condolences to him, and deſired to renew their Alliances; and nothing was heard in *England* but the voice of Joy, and large Encomiums of their new Protector: ſo that the King's condition never appear'd ſo hopeleſs, ſo deſperate; for a more favourable Conjuncture his Friends could never expect than this, which now ſeem'd to blaſt all their hopes, and confirm their utmoſt deſpair.

IT is probable that this Melancholick proſpect might have continued long, if this Child of Fortune could have ſat ſtill, and been contented to have enjoy'd his own felicity. But his Council thought it neceſſary that he ſhould call a Parliament, to confirm what they had already given him, and to diſpel all Clouds which might ariſe. And there ſeem'd to be the more reaſon for it, becauſe the laſt Alliance which *Oliver* had made with the Crown of *Sweden*, and of which he was fonder than of all the reſt, did oblige him in the Spring to ſend a ſtrong Fleet into the *Sound*, to aſſiſt that King againſt *Denmark*; at leaſt to induce *Denmark*, by way of mediation, to accept of ſuch conditions as the other would be willing to give him. This could hardly be done without ſome aſſiſtance of Parliament; and therefore the new Protector ſent out his Writs to call a Parliament, to meet together on the twenty ſeventh day of *January*; till which day, for near five Months, he remain'd as great a Prince as ever his Father had been. He follow'd the Model that was left him; and ſent out his Writs to call thoſe as Peers who had conſtituted the Other Houſe in the former Parliament; and ſo both Lords and Commons met at a day aſſign'd.

He calls a Parliament to meet Jan. 27. 1659.

It meets on that day.

RICHARD came to the Parliament in the ſame State that *Oliver* his Father had done; and ſent the Gentleman Uſher of the Black-Rod to the Commons, that they ſhould attend him in the other Houſe; where, firſt by himſelf, and then by the Keeper of his Great Seal, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, he recommended to them the proſecution of the War with *Spain*, and the aſſiſtance of the King of *Sweden* in the *Sound*. He had no good fortune at the beginning, that all the Commons ſign'd an *Engagement* not to alter the preſent Government. But they were no ſooner incloſed within thoſe Walls, than there appear'd the old Republican Spirit, though more wary than

The buſineſs recommended to them by the Protector.

than it had uſed to be. It begun with enquiring into the Accounts, how the Money had been ſpent, and into the Offices of Exciſe and Cuſtoms, and what was become of all that Revenue. When they were called upon to ſettle the Act of Recognition, to confirm *Richard*, and his Authority in the State, they would firſt inform themſelves of their own Authority, and how far the Government was already ſettled, and what part was fit to be aſſign'd to the other Houſe; which they would by no means allow to be a part of the Government already eſtabliſh'd, which they had promiſed not to alter. Upon this Argument they exerciſed themſelves with great Licence, as well upon the Creator of thoſe Peers, and the power of the late Protector, as upon his Creatures the Peers; of whoſe dignity they were not tender, but handled them according to the Quality they had been of, not that which they were now grown to. They put the Houſe in mind, "How grievous it had been to the Kingdom, that the "Biſhops had ſate in the Houſe of Peers, becauſe they were "look'd upon as ſo many Votes for the King; which was a "reaſon much ſtronger againſt theſe Perſons; who were all "the work of the Protector's own hand, and therefore could "not but be entirely addicted and devoted to his Intereſt. They concluded, "That they could not, with good Con-"ſciences, and without the guilt of Perjury, ever conſent, that "That other Houſe ſhould have any part in the Government, "ſince they had all taken the Engagement, that there ſhould "be no more any Houſe of Peers, ſince the Office of Pro-"tector had been, and might ſtill continue without it.

Differences riſe in the Houſe of Commons about the accounts of Money, and about the other Houſe, &c.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this confidence, which diſturbed the Method intended to be proceeded in, this violent Party could not prevail, but it was carried by the Major part of the Houſe, "That they would meet, and confer with the "other Houſe, as a part of the Parliament, during this pre-"ſent Parliament; and likewiſe, that ſuch other Perſons, as "had a right to come to that other Houſe, and had not for-"feited it by their breach of Truſt (by which they meant thoſe Lords who had been always againſt the King) "Should "not be reſtrain'd from coming thither: yet the Temper of the Houſe of Commons could hardly be judged by all this. Some things were done, which looked like condeſcention to the Royal Party; but more for the countenance of the *Presbyterians*; and whatſoever contradicted thoſe who were for a Republick, was looked upon as favourable to the Protector.

It was carried, that the other Houſe ſhould be allow'd.

THE ſtirring theſe ſeveral humours, and the drowſy temper of *Richard*, raiſed another Spirit in the Army. A new Council of Officers met together by their own Authority, and admitted *Lambert*, though no Member of the Army, to conſult

A new Council of Officers met, who conſult about the Government

ſult with them; they neither liked Protector, nor Parliament, but conſulted what Government to ſettle, that might be better than either: yet they would not incenſe them both together, nor appear to have any diſinclination to *Richard*, who had many of his neareſt Friends amongſt them. They therefore prepared an Addreſs to him; in which they complain'd of, "The "great Arrears of pay that were due to the Army, by which "they were in great Streights: That they, who had borne the "brunt of the War, and undergone all the difficulties and "dangers of it, were now undervalued, derided, and laid aſide: "That the Good Old Cauſe was ill ſpoken of, and traduced "by Malignants and diſaffected Perſons; who grew every day "more Inſolent, and their Numbers encreaſed, by the reſort "out of *Flanders*, and other places; and they had ſeveral ſe-"cret meetings in the City of *London*: That the Names of "all thoſe who had ſate upon the late King as his Judges, were "lately Printed, and ſcatter'd abroad, as if they were deſign'd to "deſtruction; and that many Suits were commenced at Com-"mon Law againſt honeſt Men, for what they had tranſacted "in the War as Soldiers: That thoſe famous Acts which had "been performed in the long Parliament, and by the late Pro-"tector, were cenſured, rail'd at, and vilified. By all which, they ſaid, "It was very manifeſt, that the Good Old Cauſe "was declined; which they were reſolv'd to aſſert. And "therefore they beſought his Highneſs to repreſent thoſe their "Complaints to the Parliament, and to require proper and "ſpeedy Remedies.

Their Addreſs to Richard, Apr. 6. 1659.

THIS Addreſs was deliver'd from the Army by *Fleetwood* to *Richard*, on *April* 6th 1659; which was no ſooner known, than *Tichburn*, and *Ireton*, two Aldermen of *London*, and principal Commanders of that Militia, drew up likewiſe a Remonſtrance, and ſent it to the Council of Officers; in which they declared their Reſolutions with the Army to ſtick to the Good Old Cauſe, and that they were reſolv'd to accompany them, in whatſoever they ſhould do for what they call'd the Nation's good.

The City Militia ſecond them.

THE Parliament was quickly alarm'd with theſe Cabals of the Army, and the City; which *Richard* was as much terrified with, as They. In order to the ſuppreſſion thereof, the Parliament Voted, "That there ſhould be no meeting, or ge-"neral Council of Officers, without the Protector's Conſent, "and by his Order: and that no Perſon ſhould have Com-"mands by Sea or Land, in either of the three Nations, who "did not immediately ſubſcribe, that he would not diſturb the "free meetings of Parliaments, or of any Members in either "Houſe of Parliament; nor obſtruct their freedom in De-"bates and Counſels. Theſe Votes, or to this effect, were

Votes of the Parliament upon it.

ſent

ſent to *Richard*, and by him preſently to *Wallingford* Houſe, where the Council of Officers than ſate.

THESE Officers were Men who reſolv'd to execute as well as order; they knew well that they were gone much too far, if they went no farther: and therefore they no ſooner receiv'd theſe Votes, but they ſent *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* to *Richard* (the firſt had Married his Siſter; the other was his Uncle; both raiſed by *Crommell*) to adviſe him forthwith to diſſolve the Parliament. They were two upon whoſe Affection, in regard of the nearneſs of their Alliance, and their obligation to, and dependence upon his Father, he had as much reaſon to be confident, as on any Men's in the Nation. *Fleetwood* uſed no Arguments but of Conſcience, "To prevent the Nation's "being engaged in blood; which, he ſaid, "Would inevita- "bly fall out, if the Parliament were not preſently diſſolv'd. *Desborough* a fellow of a rough and rude temper, treated him only with threats, and menaces; told him, "It was impoſſible for "him to keep both the Parliament and the Army, his Friends; wiſhed him, "To chooſe which he would prefer: if he diſ- "ſolv'd the Parliament out of hand, he had the Army at his "Devotion; if he refuſed that, he bliev'd the Army would "quickly pull him out of *White-Hall*.

The Officers adviſe him to diſſolve the Parliament.

THE poor Man had not Spirit enough to diſcern what was beſt for him; and yet he was not without Friends to Counſel him, if he had been capable to receive Counſel. Beſides many Members of the Parliament, of Courage and Intereſt, who repair'd to him with aſſurance, "That the Parliament would con- "tinue firm to him, and deſtroy the Ring-leaders of this Sedi- "tious Crew, if he would adhere to the Parliament; but if "he were prevail'd upon to diſſolve it, he would be left with- "out a Friend; and they who had compell'd him to do ſo "imprudent an Action, would contemn him when he had "done it: Some Officers of the Army likewiſe of equal Courage and Intereſt with any of the reſt, perſwaded him "To re- "ject the deſire of thoſe who call'd themſelves the Council of "the Army, and to think of puniſhing their preſumption. *Ingoldsby*, *Whalley*, and *Goffe*, three Colonels of the Army, and the two former, Men of ſignal Courage, offer'd to ſtand by him; and one of them offer'd to kill *Lambert* (whom they looked upon as the Author of this Conſpiracy) if he would give him a Warrant to that purpoſe.

Advice to Richard *to the contrary.*

And of ſome Officers of the Army.

RICHARD continued irreſolute, now inclined one way, then another. But in the end, *Desborough* and his Companions prevail'd with him, before they parted, to ſign a Commiſſion, which they had cauſed to be prepared to *Nathaniel Fiennes*, his Keeper of the Seal, to diſſolve the Parliament the next morning; of which the Parliament having notice, they

He is prevail'd with to diſſolve the Parliament.

resolv'd not to go up. So that when *Fiennes* sent for them to the other House, the Commons shut the door of their House, and would not suffer the Gentleman Usher of the Black-rod to come in, but adjourn'd themselves for three days, till the five and twentieth of *April*, imagining that they should by that time convert the Protector from destroying himself. But the poor Creature was so hated by the Council of Officers, that he presently caused a Proclamation to be issued out, by which he did declare the Parliament to be dissolved. And from that minute no body resorted to him, nor was the Name of the Protector afterwards heard of, but in derision; the Council of Officers appointing Guards to attend at *Westminster*, which kept out those Members, who in pursuance of their adjournment, would have enter'd into the House upon the day appointed. Thus, by extreme pusillanimity, the Son suffer'd himself to be stripped, in one moment, of all the Greatness, and Power, which the Father had acquired in so many years, with wonderful Courage, Industry, and Resolution.

He issues out a Proclamation to that purpose; whereupon his Protectorship was at an end.

When the Council of Officers had, with this strange Success, having no Authority but what they gave one another, rid themselves of a Superior; or, as the Phrase then was, remov'd the *single Person*, they knew that they could not long hold the Government in their own hands, if before any thing else, they did not remove *Ingoldsby*, *Whaley*, *Goffe*, and those other Officers, who had dissuaded *Richard* from submitting to their Advice, from having any Command in the Army; which they therefore did; and replaced *Lambert*, and all the rest who had been Cashiered by *Oliver*, into their own Charges again. So that the Army was become Republican to their wish; and that the Government might return to be purely such, they publish'd a Declaration upon the sixth of *May*, wherein, after a large preamble in commendation of the good old Cause, and accusing themselves, "For having been "instrumental in declining from it; whence all the ills, the "Common-wealth had sustain'd, had proceeded, and the Vin- "dication whereof they were resolv'd to pursue for the fu- "ture; they remember'd, "That the long Parliament, con- "sisting of those Members who had continued to sit till the "twentieth of *April* 1653 (which was the day that *Cromwell*, with the assistance of those very Officers, had pull'd them out of the House, and dismissed them) "Had been eminent As- "sertors of that Cause, and had a special Presence of God with "them, and were signally blessed in that Work. They said "that the desires of many good People concurring with them, "they did, by that Declaration, according to their duty, in- "vite those Members to return to the discharge of their Trust, "as they had done before that day; and promised, "That "they

The Council of Officers restore Lambert, &c. *to the Army and remove many of* Cromwell's *Friends. They issue a Declaration to restore the long Parliament*, May 6.

"they would be ready, in their places, to yield them their "utmoſt Aſſiſtance, that they might ſit and conſult in ſafety, "for the ſettling and ſecuring the Peace and Quiet of the Com-"mon-wealth, for which they had now ſo good an oppor-"tunity. And this Declaration, within very few days, they ſeconded with what they call'd *The humble Petition and Addreſs of the Officers of the Army to the Parliament*; which contain'd ſeveral advices, or rather poſitive directions how they were to Govern.

THIS reſtoring the Rump-Parliament was the only way in which they could moſt agree, though it was not ſuitable to what ſome of them deſired: They well foreſaw, that they might give an opportunity of more People to come together than would be for their benefit; for that all the ſurviving Members of that Parliament would pretend a Title to ſit there: And therefore, they did not only carefully limit the Convention to ſuch Members who had continued to ſit from *January* 1648 to *April* 1653, but cauſed a Guard likewiſe to attend to hinder, and keep the other Members from entring into the Houſe. When *Lenthal*, the old Speaker, with forty or fifty of thoſe old Members ſpecified in the Declaration, took their places in the Houſe, and ſome of the old excluded Members likewiſe got in, and enter'd into Debate with them upon the matters propoſed, the Houſe was adjourn'd till the next day: And then better care was taken, by appointing ſuch Perſons, who well knew all the Members, to inform the Guards, who were, and who were not to go into the Houſe. By this means that Cabal only was ſuffer'd to enter which had firſt form'd the Common-wealth, and foſter'd it for near five years after it was born. So that the return of the Government into theſe Men's hands again, ſeem'd to be the moſt diſmal change that could happen, and to pull up all the hopes of the King by the roots.

Some of the old excluded Members went into the Houſe with them, but were excluded again.

WE muſt, for the better obſervation, and diſtinction of the ſeveral Changes in the Government, call this Congregation of Men, who were now repoſſeſſed of it, by the Style they call'd themſelves, The Parliament; how far ſoever they were from being one. They reſolv'd in the firſt place to vindicate, and eſtabliſh their own Authority; which they could not think to be firm, whilſt there was ſtill a Protector, or the Name of a Protector in being, and reſiding in *White-Hall*. They appointed therefore a Committee to go to *Richard Cromwell*, and that they might have hope they would be his good Maſters, firſt to enquire into the State of his Debts, and then to demand of him, whether He acquieſced in the preſent Government? He, already humbled to that poverty of Spirit they could wiſh, gave the Committee a paper, "In which, "he

The Parliament ſent to Richard *to know whether he acquieſced, and ſubmitted to their Authority.*

"he ſaid, was contain'd the State of his Debts, and how con-
"tracted; which amounted to twenty nine thouſand ſix hun-
dred and forty pounds.

To the other Queſtion, his Anſwer was likewiſe in writing; "That He truſted, his carriage and behaviour had mani-
"feſted his Acquieſcence in the Will and good Pleaſure of
"God, and that he loved and valued the Peace of the Com-
"mon-wealth much above his private concernment; deſiring
"by this, that a meaſure of his future comportment might be
"taken; which, by the bleſſing of God, ſhould be ſuch as
"ſhould bear the ſame Witneſs; he having, he hoped, in
"ſome degree learned rather to reverence and ſubmit to the
"hand of God, than be unquiet under it: That, as to the late
"Providence that had fallen out, however, in reſpect to the
"particular Engagement that lay upon him, he could not be
"active in making a Change in the Government of the Na-
"tions, yet, through the goodneſs of God, he could freely
"acquieſce in it being made; and did hold himſelf obliged,
"as with other Men he might expect Protection from the
"preſent Government, ſo to demean himſelf with all peace-
"ableneſs under it, and to procure, to the uttermoſt of his
"power, that all in whom he had Intereſt ſhould do the
"ſame.

THIS ſatisfied them as to *Richard*; but they were not without apprehenſion that they ſhould find a more refractory Spirit in his Brother *Harry*, who was Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and looked upon as a Man of another Air and Temper. He had in his Exerciſe of that Government, by the frankneſs of his Humour, and a general Civility towards all, and very particularly obliging ſome, render'd himſelf Gracious and Popular to all ſorts of People, and might have been able to have made ſome Conteſts with the Parliament. But aſſoon as he receiv'd an Order from them to attend them in Perſon, he thought not fit to be Wiſer than his elder Brother, and came over to them even ſooner than they expected, and laid his Commiſſion at their Feet; which they accepted, and put the Government of that Kingdom into the hands of *Ludlow*, and four other Commiſſioners.

Harry Cromwell *likewiſe ſubmits and reſigns his Commiſſion of Lieutenant of* Ireland.

The Parliament makes Ludlow, *and four other Commiſſioners, Governours of* Ireland,

IT may not prove ingrateful to the Reader, in this place, to entertain him with a very pleaſant ſtory that related to this miſerable *Richard*, though it happen'd long afterwards; becauſe there will be ſcarce again any occaſion ſo much as to mention him, during the continuance of this Relation. Shortly after the King's Return, and the manifeſt joy that poſſeſſed the whole Kingdom thereupon, this poor Creature found it neceſſary to Tranſport himſelf into *France*, more for fear of his Debts than of the King; who thought it not ne-

ceſſary

ceſſary to enquire after a Man ſo long forgotten. After he had liv'd ſome years in *Paris* untaken notice of, and indeed unknown, living in a moſt obſcure condition and diſguiſe, not owning his own Name, nor having above one Servant to attend him, he thought it neceſſary, upon the firſt rumour and apprehenſion that there was like to be a War between *England* and *France*, to quit that Kingdom, and to remove to ſome place that would be Neutral to either Party; and pitched upon *Geneva*. Making his way thither by *Bourdeaux*, and through the Province of *Languedoc*, he paſſed through *Pezenas*, a very pleaſant Town belonging to the Prince of *Conti*, who hath a fair Palace there, and being then Governour of *Languedoc*, made his Reſidence in it.

IN this place *Richard* made ſome ſtay, and walking abroad to entertain himſelf with the view of the Situation, and of many things worth the ſeeing, he met with a Perſon who well knew him, and was well known by him, the other having always been of his Father's, and of His Party; ſo that they were glad enough to find themſelves together. The other told him, "That all Strangers who came to that Town, "uſed to wait upon the Prince of *Conti*, the Governour of "the Province; who expected it, and always treated Strangers, "and particularly the *Engliſh*, with much Civility: That he "need not be known, but that he himſelf would firſt go to "the Prince and inform him, that another *Engliſh* Gentleman "was paſſing through that Town towards *Italy*, who would "be glad to have the honour to kiſs his hands. The Prince receiv'd him with great Civility and Grace, according to his natural cuſtom, and, after few words, begun to diſcourſe of the Affairs of *England*, and asked many Queſtions concerning the King, and whether all Men were quiet, and ſubmitted obediently to him; which the other anſwer'd briefly, according to the truth. Well, ſaid the Prince, "*Oliver*, though "he was a Traytor and a Villain, was a brave Fellow, had "great Parts, great Courage, and was worthy to Command; "but that *Richard*, that Coxcomb, *Coquin*, *Poltron*, was ſurely "the baſeſt Fellow alive; What is become of that Fool? "How was it poſſible he could be ſuch a Sot? He anſwer'd, "That he was betray'd by thoſe whom he moſt truſted, and "who had been moſt obliged by his Father; ſo being weary of his Viſit, quickly took his leave, and the next morning left the Town, out of fear that the Prince might know that He was the very Fool and Coxcomb he had mention'd ſo kindly. And within two days after, the Prince did come to know who it was whom he had treated ſo well, and whom before, by his behaviour, he had believ'd to be a Man not very glad of the King's Reſtoration.

MONK

Monk from Scotland declares his obedience to them.

MONK from *Scotland* presented his Obedience to the Parliament, and the assurance of the Fidelity of the Army under his Command, to all their determinations. The Navy Congratulated their Return to the Soveraign Power, and tender'd their Submission. The Embassadours who were in the Town, quickly receiv'd new Credentials, and then had Audience from them, as their good Allies, making all the Professions to them, which they had formerly done to *Oliver* and *Richard*.

So does the Navy.

They continued Lockhart *Embassadour in* France.

The Parliament continued *Lockhart* as their Embassadour in *France*, as a Man who could best cajole the Cardinal, and knew well the Intrigues of that Court.

They send Embassadours to mediate Peace between the two Northern Crowns.

They sent Embassadours to the *Sound*, to mediate a Peace between those two Crowns, being resolv'd to decline all Occasions of expence abroad, that they might the better settle their Government at home. To that purpose they were willing to put an end to the War with *Spain*, without parting with any thing that had been taken from it, which would not consist with their Honour.

They pass an Act of Indemnity to the Army.

That they might throughly unite their Friends of the Army to them, they passed an Act of Indemnity to pardon all their former Transgressions, and Tergiversations, which had been the cause of the Parliament's former dissolution, and of all the Mischief which had follow'd.

NOW there appear'd as great a Calm as ever, and their Government well settled, to the general content of the People of their Party, who testified the same by their Acclamations, and likewise by particular Addresses. And that they might be sure to be liable to no more Affronts, they would no more make a General, which might again introduce a single Person; the thought of which, or of any thing that might contribute towards it, they most heartily abhorr'd. And to make That impossible, as they thought, they appointed "The "Speaker to execute the Office of General, in such manner "as they should direct: and that all Commissions should be "granted by him, and sealed with their own Seal; all the "Seals used by the *Cromwells* being broken. And accordingly all the Officers of the Army, and Navy (for the Speaker was Admiral as well as General) deliver'd up their Commissions, and took new Ones in the form that was prescribed. So that now they saw not how their Empire could be shaken.

They appoint all Commissions Military to be sign'd by the Speaker.

BUT these Men had not sate long in their old places, when they call'd to mind how they had been used after they had been deposed, the reproaches, and the contempt they underwent from all kind of People; but above all, the scoffs and derision they suffer'd from the King's Party, when they saw them reduced to the same level in Power and Authority with themselves. And though the smart they felt from others,

vexed

vexed and anger'd them as much, yet they were content to ſuſpend their revenge towards Them, that they might with leſs controle exerciſe their Tyranny over the poor broken Cavaliers. So they made a preſent Order, "To baniſh all "who had ever manifeſted any Affection to the King, or his "Father, twenty Miles from *London*; and revived all thoſe Orders, they had formerly made, and which *Cromwell* had aboliſh'd or forborne to execute; by which many Perſons were committed to Priſons for offences they thought had been forgotten. And the conſequence of theſe proceedings awaken'd thoſe of another Claſſis, to apprehenſions of what They might be made liable to. The Soldiers were very merry at their new General; and thought it neceſſary he ſhould march with them upon the next Adventure; and the Officers thought they had deſerv'd more than an Act of Indemnity, for reſtoring them to ſuch a Soveraignty. In a word, as the Parliament remember'd how They had been uſed, ſo all other People remember'd how they had uſed them, and could not bring themſelves to look with reverance upon thoſe, whom, for above four years together, they had derided and contemn'd.

They baniſh all Cavaliers 20 miles from London.

THIS univerſal temper raiſed the Spirits again of the King's Friends, who found very many of thoſe who had heretofore ſerv'd the Parliament, and been afterwards diſobliged both by *Cromwell*, and the Rump Parliament, very deſirous to enter into Amity with them, and to make a firm conjunction with them towards the King's Reeſtabliſhment. Thoſe Members of the long Parliament, who, after the Treaty of the Iſle of *Wight*, were by violence kept from the Houſe, took it in great indignation, that They, upon whom the ſaid violence was practiced afterwards, which they had firſt countenanced upon them, ſhould not reſtore them being now reſtored themſelves, and were ready to embrace any occaſion to diſturb their new Governours; to which they were the more encouraged by the common diſcourſe of the Soldiers; who declared, "That, "if there were any commotion in the Kingdom, they would "go no farther to ſuppreſs it, than *Lenthal* ſhould lead them.

The King's Party begins to move.

Mr MORDAUNT, who had ſo lately his head upon the Block, was more active than any Man; and was ſo well truſted by Men of all conditions, upon the Courage of his former behaviour, that he had in truth very full engagements from very good Men in moſt Quarters of the Kingdom, "That if "the King would aſſign them a day, and promiſe to come to "them after they were imbodyed, they would not fail to ap- "pear at the day. Whereupon, Mr *Mordaunt* ventur'd himſelf to come in diſguiſe to the King to *Bruſſels*, to give him a clear Account how his buſineſs ſtood, and what probability there

Mr Mordaunt comes to Bruſſels to acquaint the King with the preparations.

there was of ſucceſs, and likewiſe to complain of the want of forwardneſs in ſome of thoſe upon whom the King moſt relied, to encourage other Men, and to deſire that his Majeſty would, by Him, require them to concur with the reſt. It appear'd, by the Account he gave, that there were very few Counties in *England*, where there was not a form'd Undertaking by the moſt powerful Men of that County, to poſſeſs themſelves of ſome conſiderable place in it; and if any of them ſucceeded, the opportunity would be fairer for the King to venture his own Perſon, than he yet had Had, or than he was like to have, if he ſuffer'd thoſe who were now in the Government, to be ſettled in it.

A deſign of ſurpriſing Lynne *by the Lord* Willoughby *of* Parham *and Sr* Horatio Townſend.

THAT which was beſt digeſted, and, in reſpect of the Undertakers, moſt like to ſucceed, was the firſt ſurpriſal and poſſeſſing of *Lynne*, a Maritime Town, of great importance in reſpect of the Situation, and likewiſe of the good Affection of the Gentlemen of the Parts adjacent. This was undertaken by the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, with the conſent and Approbation of Sr *Horatio Townſend*: who, being a Gentleman of the greateſt Intereſt, and Credit, in that large County of *Norfolk*, was able to bring in a good Body of Men to poſſeſs it. The former had ſerv'd the Parliament, and was in great credit with the Presbyterians, and ſo leſs liable to ſuſpicion; the latter had been under Age till long after the end of the War, and ſo liable to no reproach or jealouſy, yet of very worthy Principles, and of a noble Fortune; which he engaged very frankly, to borrow Money; and laid it out to provide Arms and Ammunition; and all the King's Friends in thoſe parts, were ready to obey thoſe Perſons in whatſoever they undertook.

And a deſign upon Gloceſter *by* Maſſey.

ANOTHER Deſign, which was look'd upon as ripe too, was the ſurpriſal of *Gloceſter*, a Town very advantageouſly Situated upon the River of *Severn*, that would have great influence upon *Briſtol* and *Worceſter*; both which, Perſons of the beſt Intereſt undertook to ſecure, aſſoon as *Gloceſter* ſhould be poſſeſſed; which Major General *Maſſey*, who had been formerly Governour thereof, and defended it too well againſt the King, made no queſtion he ſhould be able to do, having been in the Town *incognito*, and conferr'd with his Friends there, and lain conceal'd in the adjacent places, till the day ſhould be appointed for the Execution of it; of all which he ſent the King an Account; nor did there appear much difficulty in the point, there being no Garriſon in either of the places.

The Gentlemen of Shropſhire *ready.*

THE Lord *Newport*, *Littleton*, and other Gentlemen of *Shropſhire*, were ready at the ſame time to ſecure *Shrewsbury*; and for the making that Communication perfect, Sr *George Booth*,

Booth, a Person of one of the best Fortunes and Interest in *Cheshire*, and for the Memory of his Grandfather, of absolute power with the Presbyterians, promised to possess himself of the City and Castle of *Chester*. And Sr *Thomas Middleton*, who had likewise serv'd the Parliament, and was one of the best Fortune and Interest in North *Wales*, was ready to joyn with Sr *George Booth*; and both of them to unite entirely with the King's Party in those Counties. In the West, *Arundel*, *Pollard*, *Greenvil*, *Trelawny* and the rest of the King's Friends in *Cornwal* and *Devonshire*, hoped to possess *Plymouth*, but were sure of *Exeter*. Other Undertakings there were in the North, by Men very ready to venture all they had.

Sr G. Booth undertakes Chester.

Sr Thomas Middleton to joyn with him.

In the West, designs upon Plymouth and Exeter.

When the King receiv'd this Account in gross from a Person so well instructed, whereof he had by retail receiv'd much from the Persons concern'd (for it was another circumstance of the looseness of the present Government, that Messengers went forward and backward with all security) and likewise found by Mr *Mordaunt*, that all things were now gone so far that there was no retreat, and therefore that the resolution was general, "That, though any discovery should be made, and "any Persons imprison'd, the rest would proceed assoon as the "day should be appointed by the King; his Majesty resolv'd that he would adventure his own Person, and would be ready *incognito* at *Calais* upon such a day of the Month; and that his Brother the Duke of *York* should be likewise there, or very near, to the end that from thence, upon the Intelligence of the success of that day, which was likewise then appointed, they might dispose themselves, one to one place, and the other to another.

A discovery of the Treachery of Sr Richard Willis.

There happen'd at this time the discovery of a vile Treachery which had done the King's Affairs much harm; and had it been longer concealed, would have done much more. From the death of *Oliver*, some of those who were in the secretest part of his Affairs, discern'd evidently, that their new Protector would never be able to bear the burden; and so thought how they might do such service to the King, as might merit from him. One who had a part in the Office of Secrecy, Mr *Moreland*, sent an Express to the King, to inform him of many particulars of Moment, and to give him some advices, what his Majesty was to do; which was reasonable and prudent to be done. He sent him word what Persons might be induced to serve him, and what way he was to take to induce them to it, and what other Persons would never do it, what professions soever they might make. He made offer of his Service to his Majesty, and constantly to advertise him of whatsoever was necessary for him to know; and, as an instance of his fidelity, and his usefulness, he advertised the King

King of a Person who was much trusted by his Majesty, and constantly betrayed him; "That he had receiv'd a large Pen-"sion from *Cromwell*, and that he continually gave *Thurloe* "Intelligence of all that he knew; but that it was with so great "circumspection, that he was never seen in his presence: that "in his Contract, he had promised to make such discoveries, "as should prevent any danger to the State; but that he would "never endanger any Man's life, nor be produced to give in "Evidence against any: and that this very Person had disco-"ver'd the Marquis of *Ormond*'s being in *London* the last year, "to *Cromwell*; but could not be induced to discover where "his Lodging was; only undertook his Journey should be in-"effectual, and that he should quickly return; and then they "might take him if they could; to which he would not con-"tribute. To conclude, his Majesty was desired to trust this Man no more, and to give his Friends notice of it for their caution and indemnity.

The King at first believes it not.

THE King, and They who were most trusted by him in his secret Transactions, believ'd not this information; but concluded that it was contriv'd to amuse him, and to distract all his Affairs by a jealousy of those who were intrusted in the conduct of them. The Gentleman accused, was Sr *Richard Willis*: who had from the beginning to the end of the War, except at *Newark*, given testimony of his Duty and Allegiance, and was universally thought to be superior to all temptations of infidelity. He was a Gentleman, and was very well bred, and of very good parts, a courage eminently known, and a very good Officer, and in truth of so general a good Reputation, that, if the King had professed to have any doubt of his honesty, his Friends would have thought he had receiv'd ill infusions without any ground; and he had given a very late testimony of his sincerity by concealing the Marquis of *Ormond*, who had Communicated more with him, than with any Man in *England*, during his being there. On the other side, all the other informations, and advices, that were sent by the Person who accused him, were very important, and could have no end but his Majesty's Service; and the Offices that Gentleman offer'd to perform for the future, were of that consequence, that they could not be overvalued. This Intelligence could not be sent with a hope of getting Money; for the present condition of him who sent it, was so good, that he expected no reward, till the King should be enabled to give it; and he who was sent in the Errand, was likewise a Gentleman, who did not look for the Charges of his Journey: and how could it have been known to *Cromwell*, that That Person had been trusted by the Marquis of *Ormond*, if he had not discover'd it himself?

The Character of the Person accused.

IN

In this perplexity, his Majesty would not presently depart from his confidence in the Gentleman accused. As to all other particulars, he confessed himself much satisfied in the information he had receiv'd; acknowledged the great service; and made all those promises which were necessary in such a Case; only frankly declared, "That nothing could convince him of "the infidelity of that Gentleman, or make him withdraw his "trust from him, but the Evidence of his hand-writing; which "was well known. This Messenger no sooner return'd to *London*, but another was dispatch'd with all that manifestation of the truth of what had been before inform'd, that there remain'd no more room to doubt. A great number of his Letters were sent, whereof the Character was well known; and the Intelligence communicated, was of such things as were known to very few besides that Person himself. *The accuser clearly proves the thing by Letters &c.*

One thing was observ'd throughout the whole, that he seldom communicated any thing in which there was a necessity to name any man who was of the King's Party, and had been always so reputed. But what was undertaken by any of the Presbyterian Party, or by any who had been against the King, was poured out to the life. Amongst those, he gave information of *Massey*'s design upon *Gloucester*, and of his being concealed in some place near the same. If at any time he named any who had been of the King's Party, it was chiefly of them who were satisfied with what they had done, how little soever, and resolv'd to adventure no more. Whereupon very many were imprison'd in several places, and great noise of want of secrecy, or treachery in the King's Councils; which reproach fell upon those who were about the Person of the King.

It was a new perplexity to the King, that he knew not by what means to Communicate this Treachery to his Friends; lest the discovery of it might likewise come to light; which must ruin a Person of merit, and disappoint his Majesty of that Service, which must be of great moment. In this conjuncture, Mr *Mordaunt* came to *Brussels*, and inform'd his Majesty of all those particulars relating to the posture his Friends were in, which are mention'd before; and amongst the other Orders he desired, one was, that some Message might be sent to that knot of Men (whereof the accused Person was one) "Who, he said, were principally trusted by his Majesty, and "were all Men of honour, but so wary and incredulous, that "others were more discouraged by their coldness; and therefore wished, "That they might be quicken'd, and required to "concur with the most forward. Hereupon the King asked him, what he thought of such a one, naming Sr *Richard Willis*: Mr *Mordaunt* answer'd "It was of Him they complain'd

"principally; who, they thought, was the cauſe of all the "warineſs in the reſt; who looked upon him not only as an "excellent Officer, but as a prudent and diſcreet Man; and "therefore, for the moſt part, all debates were referr'd to him; "and he was ſo much given to objections, and to raiſing dif- "ficulties, and making things unpracticable, that moſt Men "had an unwillingneſs to make any propoſition to him. The King asked him, "Whether he had any ſuſpicion of his want "of honeſty? the other anſwer'd, "That he was ſo far from "any ſuch ſuſpicion, that, though he did not take him to be his "Friend, by reaſon of the many diſputes and contradictions "frequently between them, he would put his Life into his hand "to morrow.

The King communicates the diſcovery to Mr Mordaunt.

It was not thought reaſonable, that Mr *Mordaunt* ſhould return into *England* with a confidence in this Man; and therefore his Majeſty freely told him all he knew, but not the way by which he knew it, or that he had his very Letters in his own hand, which would quickly have diſcover'd how he came by them; and the King charged him "No farther to Com- "municate with that Perſon, and to give his Friends ſuch "caution, as might not give a greater diſturbance to his Af- "fairs, by raiſing new Factions amongſt them, or provoke "him to do more miſchief, which it was in his power to "do. But for all this there was another Expedient found; for by the time Mr *Mordaunt* return'd to *London*, the Perſon who gave the King the Advertiſement, out of his own wiſdom, and knowledge of the ill conſequence of that truſt, cauſed Papers to be poſted up in ſeveral places, by which all Perſons were warned not to look upon Sr *Richard Willis* as faithful to the King, but as one who betray'd all that he was truſted with; which in the general had ſome effect, though many worthy Men ſtill continued that intimacy with him, and communicated with him all they knew to be reſolv'd.

The Diſcoverer publiſhes Papers to forwarn the King's Friends of that Perſon.

It was towards the end of *June* that Mr *Mordaunt* left *Bruſſels*, with a reſolution that there ſhould be a general Rendezvous throughout *England* of all who would declare for the King, upon a day named, about the middle of *July*; where being Commiſſions in every County directed to ſix or ſeven known Men, with Authority to them to chooſe one to Command in Chief in that County, till they ſhould make a conjunction with other Forces, who had a ſuperior Commiſſion from the King. And thoſe Commiſſioners had in their hands plenty of Commiſſions under the King's hand, for Regiments and Governments, to diſtribute to ſuch as they judged fit to receive them; which was the beſt Model (how liable ſoever to exception) that, in ſo diſtracted a State of Affairs, could be adviſed.

The

THE King, as is ſaid, reſolv'd at the day appointed to be at *Calais*; which reſolution was kept with ſo great a ſecrecy at *Bruſſels*, that his Majeſty had left the Town before it was ſuſpected; and when he was gone, it was as little known whither he was gone; there being as much care taken to have it concealed from being known in *France*, as in *England*. Therefore, as the King went out in the Morning, ſo the Duke of *York* went out in the Afternoon, another way: his Highneſs's motion being without any ſuſpicion, or notice, by reaſon of his Command in the Army. The King went attended by the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Briſtol* (who was the Guide, being well acquainted with the Frontiers on both ſides) and two or three Servants, all *incognito*, and as Companions; and ſo they found their way to *Calais*; where they ſtaid. The Duke of *York*, with four or five of his own menial Servants, and the Lord *Langdale*, who deſired to attend his Highneſs, went to *Boulogne*; where he remain'd with equal privacy; and they correſponded with each other.

The King goes to Calais.

The Duke of York to Boulogne.

THE Affairs in *England* had no proſperous aſpect; every Poſt brought news of many Perſons of Honour and Quality committed to ſeveral Priſons, throughout the Kingdom, before the day appointed; which did not terrify the reſt. The day it ſelf was accompained with very unuſual Weather at that Seaſon of the Year, being the middle of *July*. The Night before, there had been an exceſſive Rain, which continued all the next day, with ſo terrible a cold high Wind, that the Winter had ſeldom ſo great a Storm: ſo that the Perſons over *England*, who were drawing to their appointed Rendezvous, were much diſmayed, and met with many croſs Accidents; ſome miſtook the place, and went ſome whither elſe; others went where they ſhould be, and were weary of expecting thoſe who ſhould have been there too.

The Diſappointment of all the deſigns in England.

IN the beginning of the Night when *Maſſey* was going for *Gloceſter*, a Troop of the Army beſet the Houſe where he was, and took him Priſoner; and putting him before one of the Troopers well guarded, they made haſte to carry him to a place where he might be ſecure. But that tempeſtuous Night had ſo mch of good fortune in it to him, that in the darkeſt part of it, the Troop marching down a very ſteep Hill, with Woods on both ſides, he either by his Activity, or the connivance of the Soldier, who was upon the ſame Horſe with him, found means, that in the ſteepeſt of the deſcent, they both fell from the Horſe, and he diſintangled himſelf from the embraces of the other, and being ſtrong and nimble, got into the Woods, and ſo eſcaped out of their hands, though his deſign was broken.

Maſſey ſeiſed on; but eſcapes.

OF all the Enterpriſes for the ſeiſing upon ſtrong places,

Sr G. Booth seiſed Cheſter; and Sr Tho. Middleton joyns with him.

only one ſucceeded; which was that undertaken by Sr *George Booth*; all the reſt failed. The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parrham*, and Sr *Horatio Townſend*, and moſt of their Friends, were apprehended before the day, and made Priſoners, moſt of them upon general ſuſpicions, as Men able to do hurt. Only Sr *George Booth*, being a Perſon of the beſt Quality and fortune of that County, of thoſe who had never been of the King's party, came into *Cheſter*, with ſuch Perſons as he thought fit to take with him, the Night before: ſo that though the tempeſtuouſneſs of the Night, and the next Morning, had the ſame effect, as in other places, to break or diſorder the Rendezvous, that was appointed within four or five miles of that City, yet Sr *George* being himſelf there with a good Troop of Horſe he brought with him, and finding others, though not in the number he looked for, he retired with thoſe he had into *Cheſter*, where his Party was ſtrong enough: and Sr *Thomas Middleton*, having kept his Rendezvous, came thither to him, and brought ſtrength enough with him to keep thoſe parts at their Devotion, and to ſuppreſs all there who had inclination to oppoſe them.

Their Declaration.

THEN they publiſhed their Declaration, rather againſt thoſe who call'd themſelves the Parliament, and uſurped the Government by the power of the Army, than owning directly the King's Intereſt. They ſaid, "That ſince God had "ſuffer'd the Spirit of diviſion to continue in this Nation, "which was left without any ſettled foundation of Religion, "Liberty, and Property, the Legiſlative Power uſurped at "pleaſure, the Army raiſed for it's defence miſled by their ſu"periour Officers, and no face of Government remaining, "that was lawfully conſtituted; therefore, They, being ſenſi"ble of their duty, and utter ruin, if theſe diſtractions ſhould "continue, had taken Arms in vindication of the freedom of "Parliaments, of the known Laws, Liberty, and Property, "and of the good People of this Nation groaning under inſup"portable Taxes: that they cannot deſpair of the bleſſing of "God, nor of the chearful concurrence of all good People, "and of the undeceiv'd part of the Army; whoſe Arrears "and future advancement they would procure, ſuffering no "impoſition or force on any Mans Conſcience. But though they mention'd nothing of his Majeſty in expreſs terms, they gave all countenance, and reception, and all imaginable aſſurance to the King's Party; who had directions from the King to concur, and to unite themſelves to them.

WHAT diſappointments ſoever there were in other places the fame of this Action of theſe two Gentlemen, raiſed the Spirits of all Men. They who were at liberty, renew'd their former deſigns; and they who could not promiſe themſelves

places

places of refuge, prepared themſelves to march to *Cheſter*, if Sr *George Booth* did not draw nearer with his Army; which in truth he meant to have done, if the appointments which had been made, had been obſerv'd. But when he heard that all other places failed, and of the multitude of Perſons Impriſon'd, upon whoſe aſſiſtance he moſt depended, he was in great apprehenſion that he had begun the Work too ſoon; and though his Numbers increaſed every day, he thought it beſt to keep the Poſt he was in, till he knew what was like to be done elſewhere.

THIS fire was kindled in a place which the Parliament leaſt ſuſpected; and therefore they were the more alarm'd at the News of it; and knew it would ſpread far, if it were not quickly quenched; and they had now too ſoon uſe of their Army, in which they had not Confidence. There were many Officers whom they had much rather truſt than *Lambert*; but there was none they thought could do their buſineſs ſo well: So they made choice of Him to march with ſuch Troops as he liked, and with the greateſt Expedition, to ſuppreſs this new Rebellion, which they ſaw had many Friends. They had formerly ſent for two Regiments out of *Ireland*, which, they knew, were devoted to the Republican Intereſt, and thoſe they appointed *Lambert* to joyn with. He undertook the Charge very willingly, being deſirous to renew his Credit with the Soldiers, who had loved to be under his Command, becauſe, though he was ſtrict in diſcipline, he provided well for them, and was himſelf eſteem'd brave upon any Action. He cared not to take any thing with him that might hinder his march; which he reſolv'd ſhould be very ſwift, to prevent the increaſe of the Enemy in Numbers. And he did make incredible haſte; ſo that Sr *George Booth* found he was leſs than a days march, before he thought he could have been half the way. Sr *George* himſelf had not been acquainted with the War, and the Officers who were with him, were not of one mind or humour; yet all were deſirous to Fight (the natural infirmity of the Nation, which could never endure the view of an Enemy without engaging in a Battle) and inſtead of retiring into the Town, which they might have defended againſt a much greater Army than *Lambert* had with him, longer than he could ſtay before it, they marched to meet him; and were, after a ſhort Encounter, Routed by him, and totally broken: ſo that, the next day, the Gates of *Cheſter* were open'd to *Lambert*; Sr *George Booth* himſelf making his flight in a diſguiſe; but he was taken upon the way, and ſent Priſoner to the Tower.

The Parliament ſends Lambert *againſt them.*

Who Routs Sr G. Booth *and takes* Cheſter.

LAMBERT proſecuted the advantage he had got, and marched into North *Wales*, whither Sr *Thomas Middleton* was

retired with his Troops to a ſtrong Caſtle of his own; and he thought neither the Man, nor the Place, were to be left behind him. It was to no purpoſe for one Man to oppoſe the whole Kingdom, where all other Perſons appeared ſubdued. And therefore, after a day or two making ſhew of reſiſtance, *Middleton* accepted ſuch Conditions as he could obtain, and ſuffer'd his goodly Houſe, for the ſtrength of the Situation, to be pulled down.

Sr Thomas Middleton *delivers up his Caſtle.*

THIS Succeſs put an end to all endeavours of force in *England*; and the Army had nothing to do but to make all Perſons Priſoners whoſe looks they did not like; ſo that all Priſons in *England* were fill'd; whilſt the Parliament, exalted with their Conqueſt, conſulted what Perſons they would Execute, and how they ſhould Confiſcate the reſt; by means whereof, they made no doubt they ſhould deſtroy all Seeds of future Inſurrections on the behalf of the King, many of the Nobility being at preſent in cuſtody. And they reſolv'd, if other Evidence was wanting, that the very ſuſpecting them ſhould be ſufficient reaſon to continue them there.

WHEN the King came to *Calais*, where he receiv'd Accounts every day from *England* of what was Tranſacted there, as he was much troubled with the News he receiv'd daily of the Impriſonment of his Friends, ſo he was revived with the Fame of S*r* *George Booth*'s being poſſeſſed of *Cheſter*, and of the Conjunction between him and *Middleton*. They were reported to be in a much better poſture than in truth they were; and the expectation of ſome appearance of Troops in *Lincoln-ſhire*, and *York-ſhire*, and ſome other Counties, ſtood fair; whereupon the King reſolv'd to go himſelf to ſome other part of *France*, from whence he might ſecurely Tranſport himſelf into thoſe parts of *England*, where, with leaſt hazard, he might joyn himſelf with the Troops which were in Arms for him, and ſo went to the Coaſt of *Bretagne*.

The King removes to the Coaſt of Bretagne.

THE Duke of *York* remain'd at *Boulogne*, to expect ſome appearance of Arms in *Kent*, and *Eſſex*; which was ſtill promiſed, aſſoon as the Army ſhould be drawn farther from *London*. In this expectation, his Royal Highneſs found an opportunity to confer with his old Friend Marſhal *Turenne*; who very frankly aſſign'd him ſome Troops; and likewiſe provided Veſſels to Tranſport them, if an opportunity had invited him to an Engagement in any probable Enterpriſe; and this with ſo much Generoſity and Secrecy, that the Cardinal, who was then upon the Borders of *Spain*, ſhould have had no notice of the preparation, till it was too late to prevent the effect thereof. But it pleaſed God, that, whilſt his Highneſs was providing for his longed for Expedition, and when the King, after his viſiting S*t* *Maloes*, was at *Rochel*, in hope to find

The Duke of York *confers with Monſieur* Turenne; *who offers Aſſiſtance.*

find a conveniency for his Tranſportation, the fatal News arriv'd in all parts of the defeat of Sr *George Booth*, and of the total and entire ſuppreſſion of all kind of oppoſition to the power of the Parliament; which ſeem'd now to be in as abſolute poſſeſſion of the Government of the three Nations, as ever *Cromwell* had been.

The King receives News of Sir G. Booth's defeat.

STRUCK with this diſmal relation, the King and his Brother ſeem'd to have nothing elſe to do, but to make what haſte they could out of *France*; where it was thought they could not now be found with ſafety. The Duke of *York* return'd ſpeedily to *Bruſſels*; but the King, leſs dejected than might have been expected from the extreme deſpair of his Condition, reſum'd a reſolution he had formerly taken, to make a Journey himſelf to the Borders of *Spain*, to ſollicite more powerful Supplies; the two chief Miniſters of the two Crowns being there met at this time. And indeed his Majeſty preferr'd any peregrination before the neglect he was ſure to find at *Bruſſels*, and the dry looks of the *Spaniards* there; who were broken into ſo many Factions amongſt themſelves, that the Government was hardly in a ſtate to ſubſiſt; and the Marquis of *Carracena*, and *Don Alonzo*, had ſuch an influence upon the Counſels at *Madrid*, that *Don Juan* receiv'd Orders without delay to return to *Spain*, and to leave the Government in the hands of the Marquis of *Carracena*; which *Don Juan* very willingly obeyed; and aſſoon as he could obtain a Paſs to go through *France*, he left thoſe Provinces, and made his Journey through that Kingdom towards *Madrid*. He was a Perſon of a ſmall Stature, but well made, and of great vivacity in his looks; his Parts very good, both natural and acquired, in fancy and judgment. And if he had not been reſtrain'd by his Education, and accuſtom'd to the pride and forms of a *Spaniſh* breeding, which likewiſe diſpoſed him to lazineſs and taking his pleaſure, he was capable of any great Employment, and would have diſcharged it well.

The Duke returns to Bruſſels.

The King reſolves to be at the meeting of the two Favourites of the two Crowns.

Don Juan *recall'd to* Spain.

I SAID before, the Chief Miniſters of the two Crowns were now met on the Borders of the two Kingdoms. For, this year, ſome thing had happen'd abroad, that, as it was new, might ſeem to adminiſter new hopes to raiſe the King's Spirits; however, it was a ſubject for Men to exerciſe their thoughts on with variety of conjectures. The War had now continued between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, for near the ſpace of thirty years, to the ſcandal, and reproach of Chriſtianity, and in ſpight of all the interpoſition and mediation of moſt of the Princes of *Europe*; a War wantonly enter'd into, without the leaſt pretence of Right and Juſtice, to comply with the Pride and Humour of the two Favourites of the Crowns (beſides the natural Animoſity, which will al-

ways be between the two Nations) who would try the Maſtery of their Wit and Invention, at the charge of their Maſter's Treaſure, and the blood of their Subjects, againſt all the obligations of Leagues and Alliances; a War proſecuted only for War's ſake, with all the circumſtances of Fire, Sword, and Rapine, to the conſumption of Millions of Treaſure, and Millions of Lives of noble, worthy, and honeſt Men, only to improve the skill, and myſtery, and ſcience of deſtruction. All which appear'd the more unnatural and the more monſtrous, that this ſeem'd to be effected, and carried on by the power of a Brother and Siſter againſt each other (for half the time had been ſpent in the Regency of the Queen of *France*) when they both lov'd, and tender'd each others good, and happineſs, as the beſt Brother and Siſter ought to do.

The Queen Mother of France *deſigns to put an end to the War between the two Crowns by a Treaty and Marriage. She adviſes the Cardinal to concur in it.*

It was high time to put an end to this barbarous cruel War, which the Queen Mother had long and paſſionately deſired in vain. But now being more ſtruck in years, and troubled with the infirmities of Age, and the young King being of years ripe to Marry, and the Infanta of *Spain* being in that, and all other reſpects, the moſt competent Match for him, which would be the beſt, and was the only Expedient to procure a Peace, her Majeſty reſolv'd to imploy all her Intereſt, and Authority, to bring it to paſs, and knowing well, all Her deſires could produce no effect, if ſhe had not the full concurrence of the Cardinal, ſhe propoſed it to him with all the warmth, and all the concernment ſuch a Subject required; conjuring him "By all the good Offices ſhe had "perform'd towards him, that he would, not only con- "ſent to it, but take it to heart, and put it into ſuch a way "of Negotiation, that it might arrive at the iſſue ſhe de- "ſired.

His arguments againſt it.

The Cardinal uſed all the Arguments he could, to diſſwade her Majeſty from deſiring it at this time; "That it would not "be for her Majeſty's Service; nor was he able to bear the "reproach, of being the Inſtrument of making a Peace, at a "time when *Spain* was reduced to thoſe ſtreights, that it "could no longer reſiſt the Victorious Arms of *France*; that "they could not fail the next Summer of being poſſeſſed of "*Bruſſels* it ſelf, and then they ſhould not be long without "the reſt of the *Spaniſh* Netherlands; and therefore, at this "time, to propoſe a Peace, which muſt diſappoint them of ſo "ſure a Conqueſt, would not only be very ingrateful to the "Army, but incenſe all good *French*-men againſt him, and "againſt her Majeſty her ſelf.

The Queen was not diverted from her purpoſe by thoſe Arguments; but propoſed it to the King, and proſecuted it with the Cardinal, that, as himſelf confeſſed to his intimate Friends

Friends, he was neceſſitated either to conſent to it, or to have an irreconcilable breach with her Majeſty; which his gratitude would not ſuffer him to chooſe; and thereupon He yielded; and *Don Antonio Pimentel* from *Madrid*, and *Monſieur de Lyonne* from *France*, ſo Negotiated this laſt Winter in both Courts, both, *incognito*, making ſeveral Journies backward and forward, and with that effect, that, by the end of the Winter, it was publiſhed, there would be a Treaty between the two Crowns, and that in the beginning of the Summer of this year 1659, the two Favourites, Cardinal *Mazarin*, and *Don Lewis de Haro* would meet, and make a Treaty both for the Peace, and the Marriage.

But at laſt he yields to her purpoſe. The Treaty is tranſacted firſt incognito *at* Paris *and* Madrid.

THE Cardinal was the ſooner induced to this Peace by the unſettled Condition of *England*. The death of *Cromwell*, with whom he had concerted many things to come, had much perplexed him; yet the Succeſſion of *Richard*, under the advice, of the ſame Perſons who were truſted by his Father, pleaſed him well. But then the throwing Him out with ſuch circumſtances, broke all his Meaſures. He could not forget that the Parliament, that now govern'd, were the very ſame Men who had eluded all his Application, appear'd ever more inclined to the *Spaniſh* Side, and had, without any colour of provocation, and when he believ'd they ſtood fair towards *France*, taken the *French* Fleet, when it could not but have Reliev'd *Dunkirk*; by which that Town was deliver'd up to the *Spaniard*. He knew well, that *Spain* did, at that inſtant, uſe all the underhand means they could to make a Peace with them; and he did not believe, that the Parliament would affect the continuance of that War, at ſo vaſt a Charge both at Sea and Land; but that they would rather foment the Diviſions in *France*, and endeavour to unite the Prince of *Condè* and the Hugonots; which would make a concuſſion in that Kingdom; and he ſhould then have cauſe to repent the having put *Dunkirk* into the hands of the *Engliſh*. Theſe reflections diſturbed him, and diſpoſed him at laſt to believe, that, over and above the benefit of gratifying the Queen, he ſhould beſt provide for the ſecurity of *France*, and of Himſelf, by making a Peace with *Spain*.

The reaſons that moved the Cardinal to yield to this Peace.

HOWEVER, he was not ſo ſure of bringing it to paſs, as to provoke, or neglect *England*. Therefore he renew'd all the promiſes, he had formerly made to *Oliver*, again to *Lockhart* (who was the Embaſſadour now of the Rebublick) "That he would never make a Peace without the conſent, and "inclusion of *England*; and very earneſtly deſired him, and writ to that purpoſe to the Parliament, that he might be at the Treaty with him, that ſo they might ſtill conſult what would be beſt for their joynt Intereſt, from which he would never

His promiſes to Lockhart *touching his adhering to the Parliament.*

never ſeparate; inſinuating to him, in broken and half Sentences, "That though the Treaty was neceſſary to ſatisfy the "Queen, there were ſo many difficulties in view, that he had "little hope of a Peace: and, in truth, many ſober Men did not believe the Treaty would ever produce a Peace: for, beſides the great Advantages which *France* had gotten, and that it could not be imagined, that *Spain* would ever conſent to the relinquiſhing all thoſe important places to the *French*, which they had then in their hands by Conqueſt (the uſual Effect of Peace being a reſtitution of all places taken in the War; which *France* would never permit) there were two particulars which it was hard to find any Expedient to compoſe, and which, notwithſtanding all the preparations made by *de Lyonne and Pimentel*, were entirely reſerv'd for the Treaty of the two Favourites; both Sides having with great obſtinacy, proteſted againſt the departing from the reſolution they had taken.

Two particulars of difficulty in the Treaty referr'd to the perſonal conference between the Favourites.

The firſt, the buſineſs of Portugal.

THE two particulars were thoſe concerning *Portugal*, and the Prince of *Condè*. There could not be a greater Engagement, than *France* had made to *Portugal*, never to deſert it, nor to make a Peace without providing that the King ſhould quietly enjoy his Government to him and his Poſterity, without being in the leaſt degree ſubject to the Yoke of *Spain*. And *Spain* was principally induced to buy a Peace upon hard terms, that it might be at liberty to take revenge of *Portugal*; which they always reckon'd they ſhould be able to do within one year, if they had no other Enemy upon them; and they would never value any Peace, if That were not entirely left to them, and diſclaimed by *France*.

The ſecond, that of the Prince of Condè.

ON the other hand, the Prince of *Condè* had the King of *Spain*'s word and obligation, by the moſt ſolemn Treaty that could be enter'd into, that he would never conclude a Peace without including Him, and all who adhered to him, not only to a full reſtitution to their Honours, Offices, and Eſtates, but with ſome farther recompence for the great Service he had done; which was very great indeed: and no body believed, that the Cardinal would ever conſent to the Reſtoration of that Prince, who had wrought him ſo many calamities, and brought him to the brink of deſtruction. With theſe ill preſages, great preparations was made for this Treaty, and the time and the place were agreed on, when, and where the two great Favourites ſhould meet. *Fuentarabia*, a place in the *Spaniſh* Dominions, very near the Borders of *France*, the ſame place where *Francis* the Firſt was deliver'd, after his long Impriſonment in *Spain*, was agreed upon for their Interview; a little River near that place parting both the Kingdoms; and a little building of boards over it, brought the two Favourites

Fuentarabia *the place of interview.*

to

to meet, without either of their going out of his Maſter's Dominions.

THE fame of this Treaty, aſſoon as it was agreed to, had yielded variety, and new Matter to the King to conſider. Both Crowns had made the contention and War that was between them, the only ground and reaſon, why they did not give him that Aſſiſtance, which in a caſe ſo near relating to themſelves, he might well expect; and both had made many profeſſions, that, when it ſhould pleaſe God to releaſe them from the War, they would manifeſt to the world, that they took the King's caſe to be their own: ſo that his Majeſty might very reaſonably promiſe himſelf ſome advantage and benefit from this Peace, and the World could not but expect, that he would have ſome Embaſſadour preſent to ſollicite on his behalf. There were ſo many difficulties to find a fit Perſon, and ſo many greater to defray the expence of an Embaſſadour, that his Majeſty had at firſt reſolv'd to find himſelf preſent in that Treaty; which reſolution he kept very private, though he was ſhortly after confirm'd in it by a Letter from Sr *Harry Bennet*; by which he was inform'd, "That he ſpeaking with "*Don Lewis* about his Journey to *Fuentarabia*, and asking "him whither he would give him leave to wait on him thi- "ther, *Don Lewis* anſwer'd, that he ſhould do well to be pre- "ſent; and then asked him, why the King himſelf would not "be there; and two or three days after, he told him, that if "the King, with a very light Train, came *incognito* thither, "for the place could not permit them to receive him in State, "after the great difficulties of the Treaty were over, he "would do all he could to induce the Cardinal to concur in "what might be of convenience to his Majeſty. The King had before reſolv'd to have a very little Train with him, ſuitable to the Treaſure he had to defray his Expences, and to make his whole Journey *incognito*, and not to be known in any place through which he was to paſs. But he was troubled what he was to do with reference to *France*, through which he was neceſſarily to make his Journey. How much *incognito* ſoever he meant to travail, it might be neceſſary againſt any accident to have a Paſs; yet to ask one, and be refuſed, would be worſe than going without one. Though he expected much leſs from the Nature of the Cardinal, than from the ſincerity of *Don Lewis de Haro*, yet the former was able to do him much more good than the latter; and therefore care was to be taken that he might have no cauſe to find himſelf neglected, and that more depending upon *Spain* might not irreconcile *France*.

The King reſolves to be preſent at it.

To extricate himſelf out of theſe perplexities, his Majeſty had written to the Queen his Mother, to intreat her, "As of "her

"her ſelf, to deſire the Cardinal's advice, whether it would "not be fit for the King to be preſent at the Treaty; that "ſhe might ſend his Majeſty ſuch counſel as was proper: if "he thought well of it, ſhe might then propoſe ſuch Paſſes, as "ſhould ſeem reaſonable to her. Her Majeſty accordingly took an opportunity to ask the Queſtion of the Cardinal; who, at the very motion, told her very warmly, "That it was "by no means fit; and that it would do the King much harm; and afterwards, recollecting himſelf, he wiſh'd the Queen "To let the King know, that he ſhould rely upon him to take "care of what concern'd him; which he would not fail to do, "aſſoon as he diſcern'd that the Treaty would produce a "Peace. Her Majeſty acquieſced with this profeſſion, and ſent "the King word, how kind the Cardinal was to him; but would by no means that his Majeſty ſhould think of undertaking ſuch a Journey himſelf; nor did the Queen imagine that the King would ever think of it without a Paſs, and the Cardinal's approbation.

Cardinal Mazarin *adviſes againſt it.*

When his Majeſty had received this Account from his Mother, he ſaw it was to no purpoſe to think of a Paſs. And thus far, in the beginning of this laſt Spring, before any deſign of riſing in *England* was ripened, his Majeſty had proceeded in his intention of being perſonally preſent at the Conference between the two great Miniſters. But now, when all his expectations from *England* for this year were defeated, and when he himſelf was already advanced far into *France*, he thought it more neceſſary than ever to take up his former reſolution. Being therefore by this time fully advertiſed, that the Favourites had been met a conſiderable time, and were enter'd ſo far into the Treaty, in the very entrance of which they had agreed to a Ceſſation of Arms, his Majeſty attended by the ſame Company he had then with him, the Marquis of *Ormand*, *Daniel O Neile*, and two or three other Servants, together with the Earl of *Briſtol* (though Sr *Harry Bennet* had before informed the King, that *Don Lewis de Haro* had particularly deſired he would not bring that Earl with him; whoſe Company yet, in reſpect of his Language, the King believ'd would be very convenient to him) his Majeſty, I ſay, with this Attendance, began his Journey from that part of *Bretagne* where he then was ſtill *incognito*. He had indeed now more reaſon than ever to conceal himſelf in his Journey, and really to apprehend being ſtopp'd if he were diſcover'd; and therefore was not to go about by *Paris*, or any of thoſe Roads where he had been heretofore known; yet he allowed himſelf the more time, that he might in his Compaſs ſee thoſe parts of *France* where he had never been before, and indeed give himſelf all the pleaſure, and divertiſement, that ſuch a Journey would admit of

The King begins his journey thither with the Marquis of Ormond, *and the Earl of* Briſtol.

of. To that purpose he appointed the Earl of *Bristol* to be the Guide; who knew most of *France*, at least more than any body else did; and who always delighted to go out of the way; and *Daniel O Niele* to take care that they always fared well in their Lodgings; for which Province no Man was fitter. Thus they wheeled about by *Lyons* into *Languedoc*, and were so well pleased with the varieties in the Journey, that they not enough remember'd the end of it, taking their information of the Progress in the Treaty from the Intelligence they met with in the way.

He goes by Lyons *into* Languedoc; *and so onward.*

When they came near *Toulouse*, they found that the *French* Court was there, which they purposely design'd to decline. However the King, going himself a nearer way, sent the Marquis of *Ormond* thither, to inform himself of the true State of the Treaty, and to meet his Majesty again at a place appointed, that was the direct way to *Fuentarabia*. The Marquis went alone without a Servant, that he might be the less suspected; and when he came to *Toulouse*, he was inform'd from the common discourse of the Court, that the Treaty was upon the matter concluded, and that the Cardinal was expected there within less than a week.

An account of the close of that Treaty in respect of the difficulties concerning Portugal *and the Prince of* Condè.

It was very true, all matters of difficulty were over in less time than was conceiv'd possible, both Parties equally desiring the Marriage, which could never be without the Peace. The Cardinal, who had much the advantage over *Don Lewis* in all the Faculties necessary for a Treaty, excepting probity and punctuality in observing what he promised, had used all the Arts imaginable to induce *Don Lewis* to yield both in the point of *Portugal*, and what related to the Prince of *Condè*, and his Party. He enlarged upon "The desperate estate in "which *Flanders* was; and that they could possess themselves "entirely of it in one Campagne; and therefore it might easi-"ly be concluded, that nothing but the Queen's absolute Au-"thority, could in such a conjuncture have disposed the King "to a Treaty; and, he hoped, that she should not be so ill "requited, as to be obliged to break the Treaty, or to oblige "the King her Son to consent to what was indispensably against "his Honour: that if he should recede from the Interest of "*Portugal*, no Prince or State would hereafter enter into Al-"liance with him: that though they were bound to insist to "have *Portugal* included in the Peace, yet he would be con-"tented that a long Truce might be made, and all Acts of Ho-"stility forborne for a good Number of years, which, he said, "was necessary for *Spain*, that they might recover the fatigue "of the long War they had sustain'd, before they enter'd "into a New One: if they would not consent to that, then "that *Portugal* should be left out of the Peace, and *Spain* at "liberty

"liberty to profecute the War, and *France* at the ſame time "to aſſiſt *Portugal*; which, he ſaid, in reſpect of the diſtance, "they ſhould never be able to adminiſter in ſuch a proportion "as would be able to preſerve it from their Conqueſt; not "without inſinuation, that ſo they might not renounce the "promiſe they had made, they would not be over ſollicitous "to perform it. As to the Prince of *Condè*, that the Catho-"lick King was now to look upon *France* as the Dominion "of his Son in Law, and to be inherited by his Grandſon, and "therefore he would conſider what peril it might bring to "both, if the Prince of *Condè* were reſtored to his greatneſs "in that Kingdom, who only could diſturb the Peace of it, "and whoſe Ambition was ſo reſtleſs, that they could no "longer enjoy Peace, than whilſt he was not in a condition "to interrupt it. The Cardinal told him, in confidence, of ſeveral Indignities offer'd by the Prince of *Condè*, to the Per-ſon of the Queen, of which her Brother ought to be very ſenſible, and which would abſolve him from any Engagement he had enter'd into with that Prince; which he would never have done, if his Majeſty had been fully inform'd of thoſe rude Tranſgreſſions. And therefore he beſought *Don Lewis*, "That the joy and triumph, which the King and the Queen "would be poſſeſſed of by this Peace and Marriage, might not "be clouded, and even render'd diſconſolate, by their being "bound to behold a Man in their preſence, who had ſo often, "and with ſo much damage, and diſdain, affronted them "both; but that the Peace of *France* might be ſecured by "that Prince's being for ever reſtrain'd from living in it; "which being provided for, whatſoever his Catholick Ma-"jeſty ſhould require in ready Money, or Penſions, to enable "the Prince to live in his juſt ſplendour abroad, ſhould be "conſented to.

DON *Lewis de Haro* was a Man of great Temper, of a ſallow Complexion, Hypocondriac, and never weary of hearing; thought well of what he was to ſay; what he wanted in acuteneſs he made up in warineſs, and though he might omit the ſaying ſomewhat he had a good occaſion to ſay, he never ſaid any thing of which he had occaſion to repent. He had a good judgment and underſtanding, and as he was without any talent of Rhetorick, ſo he was very well able to defend himſelf from it. He told the Cardinal, "That "he knew well his Maſter's Affairs needed a Peace with "*France*; and that the accompliſhing this Marriage, was the "only way to attain it; that the Marriage was the beſt, and "the moſt honourable in Chriſtendom, and ought to be equally "deſired on both ſides; and that his Catholick Majeſty was ſen-"ſible of his own Age, and the infirmities which attended it;

"and

"and desired nothing more than that, before his death, he "might see this Peace and this Marriage finished, and made "perfect; and that he was well content to purchase the for- "mer at any price, but of his Honour; which was the only "thing he preferr'd even before Peace: that for *Portugal*, "the groundless Rebellion there was so well known to all the "World, that he should not go to his grave in Peace, if he "should do any thing which might look like a countenance, "or concession to that Title, that was only founded upon "Treason and Rebellion; or if he should omit the doing any "thing that might, with God's Blessing, of which he could "not doubt, reduce that Kingdom to their duty, and his obe- "dience: that his resolution was, assoon as this Peace should "be concluded, to apply all the Force and all the Treasure "of his Dominions, to the Invasion of *Portugal*; which, he "hoped, would be sufficient speedily to subdue it; and was "a great part of the fruit he promised himself from this Peace; "and therefore he would never permit any thing to be con- "cluded in it, that might leave *France* at liberty to assist that "War: that the Catholick King had done all he could, both "by *Don Antonio Pimentel* and *Monsieur de Lyonne*, that his "most Christian Majesty might know his unalterable resolu- "tion in the point of *Portugal*, and with reference to the "Prince of *Condè*, before He consented to Treat; and that he "would never depart from what he had declared in either; "that He made a Treaty with the Prince of *Condè*; by which "he had engaged himself never to desert his Interest, nor "to make a Peace without providing for his full restitution, "and reparation, and of those who had run his Fortune, and "put themselves under his Protection: that the Prince had "performed all he had undertaken to do, and had render'd "very great Service to his Catholick Majesty; who would "not onely rather lose *Flanders*, but his Crown likewise, than "fail in any particular which he was bound to make good to "the Prince: and therefore he desired the Cardinal "To ac- "quiesce in both those particulars, from which he should not "recede in a tittle; in others, he would not have the same "obstinacy.

When the Cardinal found that all his Art, and crafty Eloquence were lost upon *Don Lewis*'s want of Politeness; and that he could not bend him in the least degree in either of these important particulars, he resolv'd they should pay otherwise for their Idol Honour, and Punctuality; and after he had brought him to consent to the detention of all the places they had taken, as well in *Luxemburg*, as *Flanders*, and all other Provinces, by which they dismember'd all the *Spanish* Dominions in those parts, and kept themselves nearer Neighbours

bours to the *Hollanders*, than the other desired they should be, he compell'd them, though a thing very forreign to the Treaty, to deliver the Town of *Juliers* to the Duke of *Newburgh*, without the payment of any Money for what they had laid out upon the Fortifications; which they could otherwise claim. It is very true, that Town did belong of right to the Duke of *Newburgh*, as part of the Dutchy of *Juliers*, which was descended to him. But it is as true, that it was preserv'd by *Spain*, from being possess'd by the *Hollanders* many years before, and by Treaty to remain in their hands, till they should receive satisfaction for all their Disbursments. After which time, they erected the Citadel there, and much mended the Fortifications. And this dependence, and expectation, had kept that Prince fast to all the *Spanish* Interest in *Germany*: whereas, by the wresting it now out of their hands, and frankly giving it up to the true Owner, they got the entire Devotion of the Duke of *Newburgh* to *France*, and so a new Friend to strengthen their Alliance upon the *Rhine*, which was before inconvenient enough to *Spain*, by stopping the resort of any *German* Succours into *Flanders*. And if at any time to come, the *French* shall purchase *Juliers* from the Duke of *Newburgh*, as upon many Accidents he may be induced to part with it, they will be possessed of the most advantageous Post to facilitate their enterprise upon *Liege*, or *Cologne*, or to disturb the *Hollanders* in *Maestricht*, or to seise upon *Aquisgrane*, an Imperial Town; and, indeed, to disturb the Peace of *Christendom*.

Of *Portugal* no other care was taken in the Treaty, than that after the *French* King had pompously declar'd, "He would "have given up all his Conquests by the War, provided the "King of *Spain* would have consented that all things should "remain in *Portugal* as they were at that present (which Proposition, "'Twas said, his Catholick Majesty had absolutely refused) now "The most Christian King should be allow'd "three Months time, counting from the day of the Ratifica-"tion of the Treaty, wherein he might try to dispose the *Por-"tuguese* to satisfy his Catholick Majesty. But after those "three Months should be expired, if his good offices should "not produce the effect desired, then neither his most Chri-"stian Majesty nor his Successours should give the *Portuguese* "any aid or assistance, publickly or secretly, directly or indi-"rectly, by Sea or Land, or in any other manner whatsoever. And this the Ingenuity of the Cardinal thought could never be called renouncing of the King of *Portugal*'s Interest.

To the Prince of *Condè* all things were yielded which had been insisted on; and full recompence made to such of his Party as could not be restored to their Offices; as President *Viole*,

Viole, and some others: yet *Don Lewis* would not sign the Treaty, till he had sent an Express to the Prince of *Condè*, to inform him of all the particulars, and had receiv'd his full approbation. And even then, the King of *Spain* caused a great Sum of Money to be paid to him, that he might discharge all the debts which he had contracted in *Flanders*, and reward his Officers, who were to be disbanded; a Method *France* did not use at the same time to their Proselytes, but left *Catalonia* to their King's Chastisement, without any provision made for *Don Joseph de Margarita*, and others, who had been the principal Contrivers of those disturbances; and were left to eat the bread of *France*; where it is administer'd to them very sparingly, without any hope of ever seeing their Native Country again, except they make their way thither by fomenting a new Rebellion.

When all things were concluded, and the Engrosments preparing, the Cardinal came one Morning into *Don Lewis* his Chamber with a sad Countenance; and told him, "They "had lost all their pains, and the Peace could not be concluded. At which *Don Lewis*, in much disturbance, asked, "What "the matter was? the Cardinal very composedly answer'd, "that it must not be; that they two were too good Catholicks "to do any thing against the Pope's infallibility, which would "be called in question by this Peace; since his Holyness had "declared, that there would be no Peace made; as indeed he had done, after he had, from the first hour of his Pontificate, labour'd it for many years, and found himself still deluded by the Cardinal, who had yet promised him, that, when the Season was ripe for it, he should have the sole power to conclude it; so that when he heard that the two Favourites were to meet, of which he had no Notice, he said in the Consistory, "That he was sure that Cardinal *Mazarin* "would not make a Peace. *Don Lewis* was glad that there was no other objection against it; and so all the Company made themselves merry at the Pope's charge.

When the Marquis of *Ormond* discover'd by the information he receiv'd at *Tolouse*, that the Treaty was so near an end, he made all possible haste to the place the King had appointed to meet at, that his Majesty might lose no more time. When he came thither, he found no body; which he imputed to the usual delays in their Journey; and stayed one whole day in expectation of them; but then concluded that they were gone forward some other way, and so thought it his business to hasten to *Fuentarabia*, where he heard nothing of the King. Sr *Harry Bennet* was in great perplexity, and complain'd, very reasonably, that the King neglected his own business in such a conjuncture, the benefit whereof was lost by

his not coming. *Don Lewis* ſeem'd to wonder, that the King had not come thither, whilſt the Cardinal and He were together. The Treaty was now concluded; and though the Cardinal remain'd ſtill at his old Quarters on the *French* ſide, under ſome indiſpoſition of the Gout, yet He and *Don Lewis* were to meet no more. But *Don Lewis* was the leſs troubled that the King had not come ſooner, becauſe he had found the Cardinal, as often as he had taken occaſion to ſpeak of the King, very cold, and reſerv'd; and he had magnified the power of the Parliament, and ſeem'd to think his Majeſty's hopes deſperate; and adviſed *Don Lewis*, "To be wary how he "Embarked himſelf in an Affair that had no foundation; and "that it was rather time for all Catholicks to unite to the "breaking the power and intereſt of the Heretical Party, "wherever it was, than to ſtrengthen it by reſtoring the King, "except he would become Catholick. And it is believ'd by Wiſe Men, that, in that Treaty, ſomewhat was agreed to the prejudice of the Proteſtant Intereſt; and that, in a ſhort time, there would have been much done againſt it both in *France*, and *Germany*, if the meaſures they had there taken had not been ſhortly broken; chiefly by the ſurpriſing Revolution in *England* (which happen'd the next year) and alſo by the death of the two great Favourites of the two Crowns, *Don Lewis de Haro*, and Cardinal *Mazarin*; who both died not very long after it; the Cardinal, probably, ſtruck with the wonder, if not the agony of that undream'd of proſperity of our King's Affairs; as if he had taken it ill, and laid it to heart, that God Almighty would bring ſuch a work to paſs in *Europe*, without his concurrence, and even againſt all his Machinations.

DURING the whole time of the Treaty, *Lockhart* had been at *Bayonne*, and frequently conſulted with the Cardinal, and was by him brought to *Don Lewis* twice or thrice, where they ſpoke of the mutual benefit that would redound to both, if a Peace were ſettled between *Spain* and *England*. But the Cardinal treated *Lockhart* (who was in all other occaſions too hard for him) in ſuch a manner, that, till the Peace was upon the matter concluded, he did really believe it would not be made (as appear'd by ſome of his Letters from *Bayonne*, which fell into the King's hands) and to the laſt he was perſwaded, that *England* ſhould be comprehended in it, in terms to its ſatisfaction.

THE King, the next day after he had ſent the Marquis of *Ormond* to *Toulouſe*, receiv'd information upon the way, that the Treaty was abſolutely ended, and that *Don Lewis* was return'd to *Madrid*; to which giving credit, he concluded, that it would be to no purpoſe to proſecute his Journey to *Fuentarabia*;

Farabia; and therefore was eaſily perſwaded by the Earl of *Briſtol* to take the neareſt way to *Madrid*, by entring into *Spain* aſſoon as they could; preſuming that the Marquis of *Ormond* would quickly conclude whither they were gone, and follow his Majeſty. With this reſolution, and upon this Intelligence, they continued their Journey till they came to *Saragoſa*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom of *Aragon*. Here they receiv'd Advertiſement, that the Treaty was not fully concluded, and that *Don Lewis* remain'd ſtill at *Fuentarabia*. This was a new perplexity: at laſt they reſolv'd, that the King, and the Earl of *Briſtol*, who had ſtill a mind to *Madrid*, ſhould ſtay at *Saragoſa*, whilſt O *Neile* ſhould go to *Fuentarabia*, and return with direction what courſe they were to ſteer.

The King by miſtake went into Spain *as far as to* Saragoſa.

Don *Lewis* and the Marquis of *Ormond*, were in great confuſion with the apprehenſion that ſome ill Accident had befallen the King, when Mr O *Neile* arriv'd, and inform'd them by what accident, and miſintelligence, the King had reſolv'd to go to *Madrid*, if he had not been better inform'd at *Saragoſa*; where he now remain'd, till he ſhould receive farther advice. *Don Lewis* was in all the diſturbance imaginable, when he heard the relation: he concluded that this was a trick of the Earl of *Briſtol*'s that he held ſome Intelligence with *Don Juan*, and intended to carry the King to *Madrid*, whilſt he was abſent, with a purpoſe to affront him, and in hope to tranſact ſomewhat without his Privity. They were now to ſave, and to borrow all the Money they could to defray the Expences which muſt be ſhortly made for the Interview, Marriage, and delivery of the Infanta, and all this muſt be ſpent upon the King of *England*'s Entry, and Entertainment in *Madrid*; for a King *incognito* was never heard of in *Spain*. The Marriage was concluded, and now another young unmarried King muſt be receiv'd, and careſſed in that Court; which would occaſion much diſcourſe both in *Spain* and *France*. All theſe things his melancholy had made him revolve; nor did he conceal the trouble he endured, from the Marquis of *Ormond*, and Sr *Harry Bennet*; who aſſured him, "That all that "was paſt was by meer miſtake, and without any purpoſe to "decline Him, upon whoſe Friendſhip alone the King ab- "ſolutely depended; and undertook poſitively, "That aſſoon "as his Majeſty ſhould be inform'd of his advice, he would "make all the haſte thither he could, without thought of do- "ing any thing elſe: which *Don Lewis* deſired might be effected aſſoon as was poſſible: So O *Neile* return'd to *Saragoſa*, and his Majeſty, without delay, made his Journey from thence to *Fuentarabia*, with as much expedition as he could uſe.

Thence returns to Fuentarabia. *His Treatment there by* Don Lewis de Haro.

The King was receiv'd according to the *Spaniſh* Mode and Generoſity, and treated with the ſame reſpect and reverence

rence that could be ſhew'd to his Catholick Majeſty himſelf, if he had been in that place. *Don Lewis* deliver'd all that could be ſaid from the King, his Maſter; "How much he "was troubled, that the condition of his Affairs, and the ne- "ceſſity that was upon him to make ſhortly a long Journey, "would not permit him to invite his Majeſty to *Madrid*, and "to treat him in that manner that was ſuitable to his Gran- "deur: that having happily concluded the Peace, he had "now nothing ſo much in his thoughts, as how he might be "able to give, or procure ſuch aſſiſtance as his Majeſty ſtood "in need of; and that he ſhould never be deſtitute of any "thing, that His power and intereſt could help him to. *Don Lewis* for himſelf made all thoſe profeſſions, which could poſſibly be expected from him. He confeſſed, "That there "was no proviſion made in the Treaty that the two Crowns "would joyntly aſſiſt his Majeſty; but that he believ'd the "Cardinal would be ready to perform all good Offices to- "wards him; and that, for his own particular, his Majeſty "ſhould receive good Teſtimony of the profound veneration "he had for him.

DON *Lewis* intimated a Wiſh, that his Majeſty could yet have ſome conference with the Cardinal, who was, as is ſaid, ſtill within diſtance. Whereupon the King ſent the Marquis of *Ormond* to viſit him, and to let him know, that his Majeſty had a deſire to come to him, that he might have ſome conference with him, and receive his Counſel and Advice. But the Cardinal would by no means admit it; ſaid, "It would "adminiſter unſeaſonable jealouſy to the Parliament, without "any manner of benefit to the King. He made many large profeſſions, which he could do well, of his Affection to the King; deſired, "He would have patience till the Marriage "ſhould be over, which would be in the next Spring; and "till then their Majeſties muſt remain in thoſe parts: but, "aſſoon as that ſhould be diſpatched, the whole Court would "return to *Paris*; and that he would not be long there, before "he gave the King ſome evidence of his kindneſs and reſpect: other anſwer than this the Marquis could not obtain.

The Cardinal would not ſee the King.

AFTER his Majeſty had ſtay'd as long as he thought convenient at *Fuentarabia* (for he knew well that *Don Lewis* was to return to *Madrid* before the King of *Spain* could take any reſolution to begin, or order his own Journey, and that he ſtay'd there only to entertain his Majeſty) he diſcern'd that he had nothing more to do than to return to *Flanders*; where he was aſſured, his reception ſhould be better than it had been. So he declared his reſolution to begin his return on ſuch a day. In the ſhort time of his ſtay there, the Earl of *Briſtol*, according to his excellent talent, which ſeldom failed him in any

any exigent, from as great a prejudice as could attend any Man, had wrought himſelf ſo much into the good Graces of all the *Spaniards*, that *Don Lewis* was willing to take him with him to *Madrid*, and that he ſhould be receiv'd into the Service of his Catholick Majeſty, in ſuch a Province as ſhould be worthy of him. So that his Majeſty had now a leſs Train to return with, the Marquis of *Ormond*, *Daniel O Neile*, and two or three Servants.

DON *Lewis* with a million of excuſes that their Expences had been ſo great, as had waſted all their Money, preſented his Majeſty with ſeven thouſand Gold Piſtoles, "To defray, as he ſaid, "The Expences of his Journey, with aſſurance, "That "when he came into *Flanders*, he ſhould find all neceſſary "Orders for his better Accommodation, and carrying on his "buſineſs. So his Majeſty begun his Journey, and took *Paris* in his way to viſit the Queen his Mother, with whom a good underſtanding was made upon removing all former miſtakes; and, towards the end of *December*, he return'd to *Bruſſels* in good Health; where he found his two Brothers the Dukes of *York*, and *Gloceſter*, impatiently expecting him.

The King's return towards Flanders *by* Paris.

He came to Bruſſels *about the end of* Decemb.

THE pleaſure and variety of his Journey, and the very civil Treatment he had receiv'd from *Don Lewis*, with the good diſpoſition he had left the Queen his Mother in, had very much reviv'd and refreſhed the King's Spirit, and the Joy for his Return diſperſed the preſent Clouds. But he had not been long at *Bruſſels*, before he diſcern'd the ſame melancholy and deſpair in the Countenances of moſt Men, which he had left there: and though there had ſome Changes happen'd in *England*, which might reaſonably encourage Men to look for greater, they had ſo often been diſappointed in thoſe Expectations, that it was a reproach to any Man to think that any good could come from thence.

UPON this melancholick conjuncture ſome about the King began to think of Providing a Religion, as well as other conveniencies, that might be grateful to thoſe People and Places, where, and with whom they were like to reſide. The Proteſtant Religion was found to be very agreeable to their Fortune, and they exerciſed their thoughts moſt how to get handſomely from it; and if it had not been for the King's own ſteadineſs, of which he gave great indications, Men would have been more out of Countenance to have own'd the Faith they were of; and many made little doubt, but that it would ſhortly be very manifeſt to the King, that his Reſtoration depended wholely upon a Conjunction of Catholick Princes, who could never be United, but on the behalf of Catholick Religion.

The ill state of his Majesty's affairs there.

THE best the King could now look for, seem'd to be a permission to remain in *Flanders*, with a narrow assignation for his Bread, which was a melancholick Condition for a King; nor could that be depended upon; for there were secret approaches made, both from *England*, and *Spain*, towards a Peace; and the *Spaniard* had great reason to desire it, that he might meet with no obstruction in his intended Conquest of *Portugal*. And what influence any Peace might have upon his Majesty's quiet, might reasonably be apprehended. However, there being no War in *Flanders*, the Dukes of *York*, and *Gloceſter*, could no longer remain in an unactive course of Life; and the Duke of *York* had a great Family, impatient to be where they might enjoy plenty, and where they might be absent from the King. And therefore, when the Marquis of *Carracena* at this time brought the Duke of *York* a Letter from the King of *Spain*, that he would make him *El Admirante del Oceano*, his Highness was exceedingly pleased with it, and those about him so transported with the promotion, that they thought any Man to be a declared Enemy to their Master, who should make any objection against his accepting it. And when they were told, "That it was not such a pre-"ferment, that the Duke should so greedily embrace it, be-"fore he knew what Conditions he should be subject to, and "what he might expect from it: That the Command had "been in a younger Son of the Duke of *Savoy*, and at ano-"ther time in a younger Son of the Duke of *Florence*, who "both grew quickly weary of it; for whatsoever Title they "had, the whole Command was in the *Spanish* Officers under "Them; and that, if the Duke were there, he might possi-"bly have a competent Pension to live on Shore, but would "never be suffer'd to go to Sea under any Title of Command, "till he first changed his Religion; all this had no signifi-cation with them; but they prevail'd with his Royal Highness, to return his consent, and acceptation of the Office, by the same Courier who brought the Letter.

The Duke of York invited into Spain.

THE Marquis of *Carracena* likewise told the King, "That "he had receiv'd Orders to put all things in a readiness for "his Expedition into *England*, towards which he would add "three thousand Men to those Troops which his Majesty al-"ready had. At the same time the Lord *Jermyn*, and Mr *Walter Mountague*, came to the King from *Paris*, with many Compliments from the Cardinal, "That when there should "be a Peace between the two Northern Kings (for *Sweden* and *Denmark* were now in a War) "*France* would declare "ayowedly for the King; but in the mean time they could "only assist him under hand; and to that purpose, they had "appointed three thousand Men to be ready on the Borders "of

The Lord Jermyn *came to the King with Compliments from the Cardinal.*

"of *France*, to be Transported out of *Flanders*, and thirty "thousand Piſtoles to be diſpoſed of by the King to advance "that Expedition. Sr *Harry Bennet* had ſent from *Madrid* a Copy of the *Spaniſh* Orders to the Marquis of *Carracena*; by which he was not (as he had told the King) to add three thouſand Men to the King's Troops, but to make thoſe which his Majeſty had, amount to the Number of three thouſand. But that which was ſtrangeſt, the King muſt be obliged to Embark them in *France*. The Men the Cardinal would provide, muſt be Embarked in *Flanders*; and they who were to be ſupplied by *Spain*, muſt be Embarked in *France*. So that by theſe two ſpecious pretences, and profers, the King could only diſcern, that they were both afraid of offending *England*, and would offer nothing of which his Majeſty could make any uſe, before they might take ſuch a proſpect of what was like to come to paſs, that they might new form their Counſels. And the Lord *Jermyn*, and Mr *Mountague*, had ſo little expectation of *England*, that they concurr'd both in opinion, that the Duke of *York* ſhould embrace the opportunity that was offer'd from *Spain*; to which they made no doubt the Queen would give Her conſent.

In this ſtate of deſpair the King's Condition was concluded to be, about the beginning of *March*, old Style, 1659: and though his Majeſty, and thoſe few entruſted by him, had reaſon to believe that God would be more propitious to him, from ſome great alterations in *England*; yet ſuch imagination was ſo looked upon as meer dotage, that the King thought not fit to communicate the hopes he had, but left all Men to caſt about for themſelves, till they were awaken'd, and confounded by ſuch a prodigious Act of Providence, as God hath ſcarce vouchſafed to any Nation, ſince he led his own choſen People through the *Red Sea*.

The affairs of England *after the defeat of* Booth *and* Middleton.

After the defeat of *Booth* and *Middleton*, and the King's hopes ſo totally deſtroy'd, the Parliament thought of Tranſporting the Loyal Families into *Barbadoes*, and *Jamaica*, and other Plantations, leſt they might hereafter produce in *England* Children of their Fathers Affections; and by degrees, ſo to model their Army that they might never give them more trouble. They had ſent *Lambert* a thouſand pounds to buy him a Jewel; which he employ'd better by beſtowing it among the Officers, who might well deſerve it of him. This bounty of his, was quickly known to the Parliament; which concluded, that he intended to make a Party in the Army, that ſhould more depend upon Him than upon Them. And this put them in mind of his former behaviour; and that it was by His advice, that they were firſt diſſolv'd, and that He in truth had helped to make *Cromwell* Protector, upon his

The Parliament grows jealous of Lambert's *Army.*

promiſe that He ſhould ſucceed him; and that he fell from him only becauſe he had fruſtrated him of that expectation. They therefore reſolv'd to ſecure him from doing farther harm, aſſoon as he ſhould come to the Town.

LAMBERT, inſtead of making haſte to them, found ſome delays in his march (as if all were not ſafe) to ſeiſe upon the Perſons of Delinquents. He was well inform'd of their good purpoſes towards him, and knew that the Parliament intended to make a Peace with all Forreigners, and then to Disband their Army, except only ſome few Regiments, which ſhould conſiſt only of Perſons at their own devotion. He foreſaw what His portion then muſt be, and that all the ill he had done towards them would be remember'd, and the good forgotten. He therefore contriv'd a Petition, which was ſign'd by the inferior Officers of his Army; in which they deſir'd the Parliament, "That they might be govern'd, as all Armies "uſed to be, by a General, who might be amongſt them, and "other Officers, according to their Qualities, ſubordinate to "him. The Addreſs was intuled, *The humble Petition and Propoſals of the Army, under the Command of the Lord* Lambert, *in the late Northern Expedition.*

The Petition and Propoſals of Lambert's *Army.*

THEY made a large Recapitulation of "The many Services "they had done, which they thought were forgotten; and "that now lately they had preſerv'd them from an Enemy, "which, if they had been ſuffer'd to grow, would, in a ſhort time, "have overrun the Kingdom, and engaged the Nation in a "new bloody War; to which too many Men were ſtill in-"clined; and concluded with a deſire, "That they would "commit the Army to *Fleetwood*, as General; and that they "would appoint *Lambert* to be Major General. *Fleetwood* was a weak Man, but very popular with all the praying part of the Army; a Man, whom the Parliament would have truſted, if they had not reſolv'd to have no General, being as confident of his fidelity to them, as of any Man's; and *Lambert* knew well he could govern him, as *Cromwell* had done *Fairfax*, and then in the like manner lay him aſide. This Petition was ſent by ſome truſty Perſon to ſome Colonels of the Army, in whom *Lambert* had confidence, to the end that they ſhould deliver it to *Fleetwood*, to be by him preſented firſt to the Council of Officers, and afterwards to the Parliament. He reſolv'd firſt to conſult with ſome of his Friends for Their advice; and ſo it came to the notice of *Haſlerig*, who immediately inform'd the Parliament "Of a Rebellion growing in the "Army, which, if not ſuppreſſed, would undo all they had "done. They, as they were always apt to take Alarms of that kind, would not have the patience to expect the delivery of the Petition, but ſent to *Fleetwood* for it. He anſwer'd, he

This Petition diſcover'd to Haſlerig; *who acquaints the Houſe with it.*

he had only a Copy, but that ſuch Officers, whom he named, had the Original. The Officers were preſently ſent for, but could not be found till the Afternoon; when they produced the Petition. Whereupon the Parliament, that they might diſcountenance and exclude any Addreſs of that kind, paſſed a Vote, "That the having more general Officers was a thing "needleſs, chargeable, and dangerous to the Common-"wealth.

They paſs a Vote to have no more General Officers.

THIS put the whole Army into that diſtemper, that *Lambert* could wiſh it in; and brought the Council of Officers to meet again more avowedly, than they had done ſince the reviving of the Parliament. They prepared and preſented a Petition and Repreſentation to the Parliament; in which they gave them many good words, and aſſured them of "Their fidelity towards them; but yet that they would ſo "far take care for their own preſervation, that they would "not be at the Mercy of their Enemies; and implied, that they having no way forfeited their Rights of Freemen, had likewiſe Privileges, which they would not quit; and then ſeconded the propoſals of the Northern Brigade with more warmth, and deſired, "That whatever Perſons ſhould for the "future groundleſly inform the Parliament againſt them, "creating jealouſies, and caſting ſcandalous imputations upon "them, may be brought to examination, juſtice, and condign "puniſhment.

The Council of Officers upon this prepare a Petition, and Repreſentation to the Parliament.

THE Parliament, that was govern'd by *Vane* and *Haſlerig* (the Heads of the Republick Party, though of very different Natures and Underſtandings) found there would be no compounding this diſpute amicably, but that one Side muſt be ſuppreſſed. They reſolv'd therefore to take away all hope of Subſiſtence from the Army, if they ſhould be inclined to make any alteration in the Government by force. In order thereunto they declared "That it ſhould be Treaſon in any Perſon "whatſoever to raiſe, levy and collect Money, without con-"ſent in Parliament. Then they made void all Acts for Cuſtom, and Exciſe; and by this there was nothing left to maintain the Army, except they would prey upon the People, which could not hold long. Next they caſhier'd *Lambert*, and eight other principal Officers of the Army; with whom they were moſt offended, for ſubſcribing a Letter to all the other Forces deſiring their concurrence with the Army in *London*, and conferr'd their Regiments and Commands upon other Perſons, in whom they could confide; and committed the whole Government of the Army into the hands of ſeven Commiſſioners; who were, *Fleetwood* (whom they believ'd to have a great Intereſt in the Army, and ſo durſt not totally diſoblige him) *Ludlow* (who commanded the Army in *Ireland*) *Monk*

The Parliament declare it Treaſon to raiſe Money without conſent of Parliament; and make void all Money Acts.

They Caſhire Lambert, and eight other principal Officers of the Army.

They make ſeven Commiſſioners to govern the Army.

Monk (who was their General in *Scotland*) *Haſlerig*, *Walton*, *Morley*, and *Overton*; who were all upon the place.

THE Army was too far engaged to retire, and it was unskilfully done by the Parliament to provoke ſo many of them, being not ſure of a competent ſtrength to execute their Orders. But they had a great preſumption upon the City; and had already forgotten, how the Army baffled it about a dozen years before, when the Parliament had much more reputation, and the Army leſs terrour. The Nine caſhier'd Officers were reſolv'd not to part with their Commands, nor would the Soldiers ſubmit to their new Officers; and both Officers and Soldiers conſulted their Affairs ſo well together, that they agreed to meet at *Weſtminſter* the next Morning, and determine to whoſe lot it would come to be caſhier'd.

The Parliament ſend for Forces to defend them, and for the City Militia.

THE Parliament, to encounter this deſign, ſent their Orders to thoſe Regiments whoſe fidelity they were confident of, to be the next Morning at *Weſtminſter* to defend them from force; and likewiſe ſent into the City to draw down their Militia. Of the Army, the next Morning, there appear'd two Regiments of Foot, and four Troops of Horſe; who, were well Arm'd, and ranged themſelves in the *Palace*-yard, with a Reſolution to oppoſe all force that ſhould attempt the Parliament. *Lambert* intended they ſhould have little to do there; and divided his Party in the Army to the ſeveral places by which the City Militia could come to *Weſtminſter*, with order "That they ſhould ſuffer none to march that way, or "to come out of the Gates; then placed himſelf with ſome Troops in *King*-ſtreet, and before *White-Hall*, to expect when the Speaker would come to the Houſe; who, at his accuſtom'd hour, came, in his uſual State, guarded with his Troop of Horſe. *Lambert* rode up to the Speaker, and told him, "There was nothing to be done at *Weſtminſter*, and therefore adviſed him "To return back again to his Houſe: which he refuſed to do, and endeavour'd to proceed, and called to his Guard to make way. Upon which *Lambert* rode to the Captain, and pulled him off his Horſe; and bid Major *Creed*, who had formerly Commanded that Troop, to mount into his Saddle; which he preſently did. Then he took away the Mace, and bid Major *Creed* conduct Mr *Lenthal* to his Houſe. Whereupon they made his Coach-man turn, and without the leaſt contradiction the Troop march'd very quietly, till he was alighted at his own Houſe; and then diſpoſed of themſelves as their new Captain commanded them.

Lambert *draws ſome Troops together, ſtops the Speaker, and makes him go home.*

WHEN they had thus ſecured themſelves from any more Votes, *Lambert* ſent to thoſe who had been order'd into the *Palace*-yard by the Parliament, to withdraw to their Quarters; which they refuſed to do; at which he ſmiled, and bid them

them then to ſtay there: which they did till towards the Evening; but then finding themſelves laughed at, that they had nothing to do, and that the Parliament ſate not, they deſired that they might repair to their Quarters; which they were appointed to do. But their Officers were Caſhier'd; and ſuch ſent to command as *Lambert* thought fit; who found all ſubmiſſion and obedience from the Soldiers, though no body yet knew who had power to command them. There was no Parliament, nor any Officer in the Army who was by his Commiſſion above the degree of a Colonel, nor had any of them power to command more than his own Regiment.

WHEREUPON the Officers of the Army meet together and declare, "That the Army finding it ſelf without a Gene-"ral, or other general Officers, had themſelves made choice "of *Fleetwood* to be their General, and *Lambert* to be their "Major General, and of *Desborough* to be Commiſſary General "of the Horſe; and that they bound themſelves to obey them "in their ſeveral Capacities, and to adhere to, and defend them. Upon the publiſhing this Declaration, they aſſum'd their ſeveral Provinces; and the whole Army took Commiſſions from their new General; and were as much united, as if they were under *Cromwell*; and look'd upon it as a great deliverance, that they ſhould no more be ſubject to the Parliament; which they all deteſted.

The Officers meet, and chooſe Fleetwood General &c.

BUT theſe Generals were not at eaſe; they knew well upon what ſlippery ground they ſtood: the Parliament had ſtopped all the Channels in which the Revenue was to run; put an end to all payments of Cuſtom and Exciſe; and to revive theſe Impoſitions, by which the Army might receive their Wages, required another Authority than of the Army it ſelf. The diviſions in the Parliament, had made the outrage that was committed upon it leſs reproachful. *Vane* who was much the wiſeſt Man, found he could never make that Aſſembly ſettle ſuch a Government as He affected, either in Church or State: and *Haſlerig*, who was of a rude, and ſtubborn Nature, and of a weak underſtanding, concurr'd only with him in all the fierce Counſels, which might more irrecoverably diſinherit the King, and root out his Majeſty's Party: in all other things relating to the Temporal, or Eccleſiaſtical matters, they were not only of different judgments, but of extraordinary animoſity againſt each other.

Vane's and Haſlerig's parts in this buſineſs.

VANE was a Man not to be deſcribed by any Character of Religion; in which he had ſwallow'd ſome of the fancies, and extravagancies of every Sect, or Faction; and was become (which cannot be expreſſed by any other Language than was peculiar to that time) *a Man above Ordinances*, unlimited, or unreſtrain'd

unreſtrain'd by any rules, or bounds preſcribed to other Men, by reaſon of his perfection. He was a perfect Enthuſiaſt; and, without doubt did believe himſelf inſpired; which ſo far corrupted his reaſon and underſtanding (which in all matters without the Verge of Religion was Superior to that of moſt Men) that he did at ſome time believe, he was the Perſon deputed to Reign over the Saints upon Earth for a thouſands years.

HASLERIG was, as to the State, perfectly Republican; and as to Religion, perfectly Presbyterian: and ſo he might be ſure never to be troubled with a King or a Biſhop, was indifferent to other things; only he believed the Parliament to be the only Government that would infallibly keep thoſe two out; and his Credit in the Houſe was greater than the other's; which made *Vane* leſs troubled at the Violence that was uſed (though he would never adviſe it) and appear willing enough to confer, and joyn with thoſe who would find any other hinge to hang the Government upon: ſo he preſently enter'd into converſation with thoſe of the Army, who were moſt like to have Authority.

A MODEL of ſuch a Government, as the People muſt acquieſce in, and ſubmit to, would require very much Agitation, and very long time; which the preſent conjuncture would not bear: nor were there enough of one mind, to give great Authority to their Counſels. In this they could agree, which might be an expedient towards more ripe reſolutions, "That a Number of Perſons ſhould be choſen, who, under "the ſtyle of a *Committee of Safety*, ſhould aſſume the preſent "entire Government, and have full power to revive all ſuch "Orders, or to make new, which might be neceſſary for "raiſing of Money, or for doing any thing elſe which ſhould "be judged for the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom; and to "conſider and determine, what form of Government was fit "to be erected, to which the Nation was to ſubmit. They alſo declar'd "All the Orders, Acts, or pretended Acts made "in Parliament on the 10, 11, and 12 of *October*, before their "Interruption, to be void and null to all intents and purpoſes, "as if they had never been.

A Committee of Safety conſtituted by the Army.

TO this new Invention, how wild ſoever; they believ'd the People would be perſwaded, with the Aſſiſtance of the Army, to pay a temporary Obedience, in hope of another ſettlement ſpeedily to enſue. They agreed that the Number of this *Committee of Safety* ſhould conſiſt of three and twenty Perſons; ſix or ſeven Officers of the Army, whereof *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, and *Desborough* were three; *Ireton*, Lord Mayor of *London*, and *Tichburn*, the two principal Officers of the Militia of the City, with four or five more Citizens of more

more private Names; but Men try'd, and faithful to the Republick Intereſt, and not like to give any countenance to Presbyterians (for they were very jealous of that Party generally) beſides three or four others of thoſe who had been the King's Judges, with *Warreſton*, *Vane*, *Steel*, and *Whitlock*, whom they made Keeper of their Great Seal.

THUS having choſen each other, and agreed that they ſhould exerciſe the whole Legiſlative Power of the Nation, and proclaim'd themſelves *The Committee of Safety for the Kingdom*, and required all People to pay them Obedience, and iſſued out their Warrants for all things which they thought good for themſelves, to which there appear'd a general ſubmiſſion and acquieſcence, that they might be ſure to receive no diſturbance from thoſe of their own Tribe in any Parts, they ſent Colonel *Cobbet* to *Scotland*, to perſwade General *Monk* to a concurrence with them; and becauſe they were not confident of him (there being great emulation between Him and *Lambert*) to work upon as many of his Officers as he could; there being many in that Army of whoſe Affections they were well aſſured; and, at the ſame time, they ſent another Colonel into *Ireland*, to diſpoſe the Army there to a ſubmiſſion to their Power and Authority.

Cobbet *ſent into* Scotland *to* Monk.

And another to the Army in Ireland.

BEFORE the Parliament was Routed, they diſcern'd what *Lambert*'s Intrigues would ſhortly produce; and therefore had writ to *Monk*, "That he would take care of his Army, leſt it "ſhould be corrupted againſt him, which they knew was en- "deavouring; and *Haſlerig*, who had ſome Frindſhip with him, writ particularly to him "To continue firm to the Par- "liament; and to aſſure him, "That before *Lambert* ſhould "be able to be near him to give him any trouble, he would "give him other divertiſement. And ſome time after *Lambert* had acted that Violence upon the Speaker, ſo that they could meet no more, *Haſlerig*, *Walton*, and *Morley*, three of the Commiſſioners of the Government of the Army, went to *Portſmouth*; where Colonel *Whetham* the Governour was their Friend, and devoted to the Presbyterian-Republican Party; for that diſtinction was now grown amongſt them; Others, and the moſt conſiderable of that Party, profeſſing "That "they very much deſired Monarchical Government, and the "Perſon of the King, ſo that they might have him without "Epiſcopacy, and enjoy the Lands of the Church; which they had divided among them. Theſe three were well receiv'd at *Portſmouth*; and that they might be without any diſturbance there, the Governour turn'd all ſuch Officers and Soldiers out of the Town, who were ſuſpected to be, or might be made of the Party of the Army; and Colonel *Morley*, whoſe Intereſt was in *Suſſex*, eaſily drew in enough of his Friends,

Haſlerig, Walton, *and* Morley *go to* Portſmouth.

Friends, to make them very ſecure in their Garriſon; which the *Committee of Safety* thought would be quickly reduced, if all the reſt of the Kingdom were at their Devotion; nor did the matter it ſelf much trouble them; for they knew that *Haſlerig* would never be induced to ſerve the King, whoſe Intereſt only could break all their Meaſures.

BUT this open declaring of *Portſmouth* for the Parliament happen'd not till the following *December*. That which gave them real trouble was, that they receiv'd bold Letters from *Monk*, about the end of *October*; who preſum'd to cenſure, and find fault with what they had done, in uſing ſuch force and violence to the Parliament, from whom they had all their Power and Authority: and ſhortly after they heard that he had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Berwick*. But that which troubled them moſt was, that aſſoon as *Cobbet* came into *Scotland*, he was committed cloſe Priſoner to *Edenborough* Caſtle; and that *Monk* uſed extraordinary diligence to purge his Army, and turn'd all the Fanaticks, and other Perſons who were ſuppoſed by him to have any inclination to *Lambert*, and his Party, both out of the Army, and the Kingdom; ſending them under a Guard into *Berwick*, and from thence diſmiſſing them into *England*, under the penalty of death, if they were ever after found in *Scotland*. This was an Alarm worthy of their fear; and evidence enough, that they were never to expect *Monk* to be of their Party: beſides that they had always look'd upon him as entirely devoted to the Perſon of *Cromwell*; otherwiſe without obligation to any Party or Opinion, and more like to be ſeduced by the King, than any Man who had Authority in the three Kingdoms: therefore they reſolv'd to ſend *Lambert*, with their whole Army into the North, that he might at leaſt ſtop him in any march he ſhould think of making: reſerving only ſome Troops to guard themſelves, and keep the Town quiet, and ſome others to ſend to *Portſmouth*, if not to reduce it, at leaſt to hinder the Garriſon there from making Incurſions into the two Neighbour Counties of *Suſſex*, and *Hampſhire*, where they had many Friends.

Monk writes to the Officers of the Army declaring for the Parliament.

Poſſeſſes Berwick; *Impriſons* Cobbet; *and purges his Army of Fanaticks.*

Lambert *ſent againſt him.*

WHILST all preparations were making for the Army to march towards *Scotland*, *the Committee of Safety* reſolv'd once more to try if they could induce *Monk* to a conjunction with them; and to that purpoſe they ſent to him two ſuch Perſons as they thought might be grateful to him; of whom one was his Wife's Brother; and after them ſome Officers of the Army and two Independent Miniſters, with offers of any thing he could deſire of advantage to himſelf, or for any of his Friends. He receiv'd theſe Men with all imaginable civility and courteſy, making great profeſſions "That he deſired nothing more "than

They ſend Clarges, &c. *to* Monk

Monk's *anſwer to them.*

"than to unite Himself and his Army with that of *England*, "provided that there might be a Lawful power, to which "they might all be subject: but that the Force that had been "used upon the Parliament, was an Action of such a Nature, "that was destructive to all Government, and that it would "be absolutely necessary to restore that to its Freedom, Rights, "and Privileges; which being done, he would use all the in- "stance and credit he had to procure an Act of Pardon, and "Oblivion, for all that had been done amiss; and this would "unite both Parliament and Army for the publick Safety, "which was apparently threaten'd and shaken'd by this dis- "union. He added, "That he so much desired Peace and "Union, and so little thought of using Force, that he would "appoint three Officers of his Army, *Wilks*, *Clobery*, and "*Knight*, to go to *London*, and treat with *the Committee of* "*Safety*, of all particulars necessary thereunto. When the Persons sent from *London* gave an Account of their reception, and of the great professions the General made, and his reso- lution to send a Committee to treat upon the Accommoda- tion, *the Committee of Safety* was very well pleased, and con- cluded, that the fame of their Army's march had frighted him: so that, as they willingly embraced the Overture of a Treaty, they likewise appointed *Lambert* to hasten his March, and to make no stay, till he should come to *New-Castle*. All which he observed with great punctuality and expedition, his Army still encreasing till he came thither.

He appoints three Commissioners to treat with the Officers of the Army at London.

They at London *accept of a Treaty.*

GENERAL *Monk* was a Gentleman of a very good Ex- traction, of a very ancient Family in *Devonshire*, always very Loyally affected. Being a younger Brother, he enter'd early into the life and condition of a Soldier, upon that Stage where some of all *Europe* then acted, between the *Spaniard* and the *Dutch*; and had the reputation of a very good Foot-Officer in the Lord *Vere*'s Regiment in *Holland*, at the time when he as- sign'd it to the Command of Colonel *Goring*. When the first Troubles begun in *Scotland*, *Monk*, and many other Officers of the Nation, left the *Dutch* Service, and betook themselves to the Service of the King. In the beginning of the *Irish* Re- bellion, he was sent thither, with the Command of the Lord *Leicester*'s own Regiment of Foot (who was then Liutenant of *Ireland*) and continued in that Service with singular repu- tation of courage, and conduct. When the War broke out in *England* between the King and the Parliament, he fell under some discountenance, upon a suspicion of an inclination to the Parliament; which proceeded from his want of bitterness in his discourses against them, rather than from any inclination towards them; as appear'd by his behaviour at *Nantwich*, where he was taken Prisoner, and remained in the Tower till the

A particular account of General Monk.

the end of the War. For though his behaviour had been such in *Ireland*, when the Transportation of the Regiment from thence, to serve the King in *England*, was in debate, that it was evident enough he had no mind his Regiment should be sent on that Expedition, and his Answer to the Lord of *Ormond* was so rough, and doubtful, that he thought not fit to trust him, but gave the Command of the Regiment to *Harry Warren*, the Lieutenant Colonel of it, an excellent Officer, generally known, and exceedingly beloved where he was known; yet when those Regiments were sent to *Chester*, and there were others at the same time sent to *Bristol*, and with them *Monk* went under some Cloud, and from *Bristol* to the King at *Oxford*, where he was known to many Persons of Quality (and his eldest Brother being at the same time most zealous in the King's Service in the West, and most useful) his professions were so sincere (he being, throughout his whole life, never suspected of dissimulation) that all Men there thought him very worthy of all trust; and the King was willing to send him into the West, where the Gentlemen had a great opinion of his ability to command. But he desired that he might serve with his old Friends and Companions; and so, with the King's leave, made all haste towards *Chester*; where he arriv'd the very day before the Defeat at *Nantwich*; and though his Lieutenant Colonel was very desirous to give up the Command again to him, and to receive his Orders, he would by no means at that time take it, but chose to serve, as a Voluntier, in the first Rank, with a Pike in his hand; and was the next day, as was said, taken Prisoner with the rest, and with most of the other Officers sent to *Hull*, and shortly after from thence to the Tower of *London*.

He was no sooner there, than the Lord *Lisle*, who had great kindness for him, and good Interest in the Parliament, with much importunity endeavour'd to perswade him to take a Commission in that Service, and offer'd him a Command Superior to what he had ever had before; which he positively and disdainfully refused to accept, though the streights he suffer'd in Prison were very great, and he thought himself not kindly dealt with, that there was neither care for his Exchange, nor Money sent for his support. But there was all possible endeavour used for the first, by offering several Officers of the same Quality for his Exchange; which was always refused; there having been an Ordinance made, "That no Officer who "had been Transported out of *Ireland*, should ever be ex- "changed; so that most of them remained still in Prison with him in the Tower, and the rest in other Prisons; who all underwent the same hardships by the extreme necessity of the King's condition, which could not provide Money enough for

for their ſupply; yet all was done towards it that was poſſible.

When the War was at an end, and the King a Priſoner, *Cromwell* prevailed with *Monk*, for his liberty and preferment, to engage himſelf again in the War of *Ireland*. And, from that time, *Monk* continued very firm to *Cromwell*; who was liberal and bountiful to him; and took him into his entire confidence; and after he had put the Command of *Scotland* into his hands, he feared nothing from thoſe Quarters; nor was there any Man in either of the Armies, upon whoſe fidelity to himſelf *Cromwell*, more depended. And thoſe of his Weſtern Friends, who thought beſt of him, thought it to no purpoſe to make any Attempt upon him, whilſt *Cromwell* liv'd. But aſſoon as He was dead, *Monk* was generally looked upon as a Man more inclined to the King, than any other in great Authority, if he might diſcover it without too much loſs or hazard. His Elder Brother had been entirely devoted to the King's Service, and all his Relations were of the ſame faith. He himſelf had no fumes of Fanaticiſm to turn his head, nor any credit with, or dependance upon any who were ſway'd by thoſe trances.

He had a younger Brother, a Divine, who had a Parſonage in *Devonſhire*, and had, through all the ill times, carried himſelf with ſingular Integrity; and being a Gentleman of a good Family, was in great reputation with all thoſe who conſtantly adhered to the King. Sr *Hugh Pollard*, and Sr *John Greenvil*, who had both Friendſhip for the General, and old acquaintance, and all confidence in his Brother, adviſed with him, "Whe-"ther, ſince *Cromwell* was now gone, and in all reaſon it might "be expected that his death would be attended with a gene-"ral Revolution, by which the King's Intereſt would be again "diſputed, he did not believe, that the General might be "wrought upon, in a fit conjuncture, to ſerve the King, in "which, they thought, he would be ſure to meet with a uni-"verſal concurrence from the whole *Scotiſh* Nation. The honeſt Clergy-man thought the overture ſo reaſonable, and wiſhed ſo heartily it might be embraced, that he offer'd himſelf to make a Journey to his Brother into *Scotland*, upon pretence of a viſit (there having been always a brotherly Affection perform'd between them) and directly to propoſe it to him. *Pollard* and *Greenvil* inform'd the King of this deſign; and believ'd well themſelves of what they wiſh'd ſo much, and deſired his Majeſty's Approbation, and Inſtruction. The King had reaſon to approve it; and ſent ſuch directions as he thought moſt proper for ſuch a Negotiation. Whereupon his Brother begun his Journey towards *Edenborough*, where the General receiv'd him well. But after he had ſtaid ſome time there, and

found an opportunity to tell him on what Errand he came, He soon dismissed him, without discovering to him any inclination to the business he came about, advising him "To return "no more to him with such Propositions.

In truth, at that time, the General had not given the least publick proof that he had any thought, or purpose of contributing to the King's Restauration, which he might possibly think to be desperate. Some rather believed, that the disposition, which afterwards grew in him, towards it, did arise from divers Accidents, which fell out in the course of Affairs, and seem'd even to oblige him to undertake that which in the end conduced so much to his greatness and glory: yet from that very time, his Brother's Inclinations to the King being known, and his Journey taken notice of, it was generally believed in *Scotland* that he had a purpose to serve the King; which his Majesty took no pains to disclaim either there, or in *England*.

Monk's jealousy of Lambert *before this time.*

Now upon the several suddain Changes in *England*, and the Army's possessing it self of the entire Government, *Monk* saw he should be quickly overrun and destroyed by *Lambert's* greatness, of which he had always great emulation, if he did not provide for his own security. And therefore when he heard of his march towards the North, he used all inventions to get time, by entring into Treaties, and in hope that there would appear some other Party that would own and avow the Parliament's Interest, as He had done: nor did he then manifest to have more in his purpose, than his own profit and honour, under the establishment of that Government.

He calls together an Assembly of the Scotish *Nation.*

When he heard of *Lambert's* being passed *York* and his making haste to *New-Castle*, and had purged out of his Army all those whose affections and fidelity were suspected by him, he called together an Assembly, somewhat resembling a Convention of the States of *Scotland*; which he had subdued to all imaginable tameness, though he had exercised no other power over them than was absolutely necessary to reduce that People to an entire submission to that Tyrannical *Yoke*. In all his other carriage towards them, but what was in order to that end, he was Friendly and Companiable enough; and as he was fear'd by the Nobility, and hated by the Clergy, so he was not unlov'd by the Common People, who receiv'd more Justice, and less Oppression from him, than they had been accustom'd to under their own Lords. When this Convention appear'd before him, he told them, "That he had receiv'd a "Call from heaven, and Earth, to march with his Army in- "to *England*, for the better settlement of the Government "there; and though he did not intend his absence should be "long, yet he foresaw that there might be some disturbance

His discourse to them.

"of

"of the Peace which they enjoyed; and therefore he expect-
"ed, and desired, that, in any such occasion, they would be
"ready to joyn with the Forces he left behind in their own de-
"fence. In the second place, which was indeed all he cared for
from them, he very earnestly pressed them, "That they would
"pay in a present Sum of Money out of the Arrears of their
"Taxes, for supplying the necessities of the Army, without
"which it could not well march into *England*.

FROM the time that he had settled his Government in that Kingdom, he had shew'd more kindness to, and used more familiarity with such Persons as were most notorious for Affection to the King, as finding them a more direct and punctual People than the rest: and when these Men resorted to him upon this Convention, though they could draw nothing from him of promise, or intimation to any such purpose, yet he was very well content they should believe that he carried with him very good Inclinations to the King; by which imagination of theirs, he receiv'd great Advantage: for they payed him the Arrears of a twelve Months Tax over the Kingdom; which complied with his wish, and partly enabled him to draw his Army together. And after he had assign'd those whom he thought fit to leave behind him, and afterwards put them under the command of Major General *Morgan*, he march'd with the rest to *Berwick*; where a good part of his Horse and Foot expected him; having refused to ratify the Treaty sign'd by his Commissioners at *London*, and committed Colonel *Wilks*, one of them, upon his return to *Scotland*, for having consented to something prejudicial to him, and expressly contrary to his Instructions. However he desired to gain farther time, and agreed to another Treaty to be held at *New-Castle*; which, though he knew it would be govern'd by *Lambert*, was like not to be without some benefit to himself, because it would keep up the opinion, in the *Committee of Safety*, that he was inclined to an accommodation of Peace.

IT was towards the end of *November*, that *Lambert* with his Army arriv'd at *New-Castle*, where he found the Officers and Soldiers whom *Monk* had cashir'd; and who, he perswaded the People, had deserted *Monk*, for his infidelity to the Common-wealth, and that most of those, who yet stayed with him, would do so too, assoon as he should be within distance to receive them. But he now found his confidence had carried him too far, and that he was at too great a distance to give that relief to his *Committee of Safety*, which it was like to stand in need of. *Haslerig* and *Morley* were now looked upon, as the Persons invested with the Authority of Parliament, whose Interest was supported by them; and the Officer, who was sent by *the Committee of Safety* to restrain them in *Portsmouth*;

Lambert comes with his Army to New-Castle towards the end of November.

mouth, or rather to reſtrain Perſons from reſorting to them, found himſelf deſerted by more than half his Soldiers; who declared "That they would ſerve the Parliament, and ſo went into *Portſmouth*; and another Officer, who was ſent with a ſtronger Party to ſecond them, diſcovering, or fomenting the ſame Affections in his Soldiers, very frankly carried them to the ſame place: ſo that they were now grown too Numerous to be contain'd within that Garriſon, but were Quarter'd to be in a readineſs to march whither their Generals *Haſlerig* and *Morley*, would conduct them.

The Soldiers before Portſmouth *revolted to it.*

THE City took new courage from hence; and what the Maſters durſt not publickly own, the Apprentices did, their diſlike, of the preſent Government; and flocking together in great Multitudes, declar'd "That they would have a free Par-"liament. And though Colonel *Hewſon* (a bold Fellow, who had been an ill Shoemaker, and afterwards Clerk to a Brewer of ſmall Beer) who was left to guard *the Committee of Safety*, ſuppreſſed that Commotion by marching into the City, and killing ſome of the Apprentices, yet the loſs of that blood inflamed the City the more againſt the Army; which, they ſaid, "Was only kept on foot to murder the Citizens. And it was ſaid, they cauſed a Bill of Indictment to be prepared againſt *Hewſon* for thoſe Murders. The Common Council appear'd every day more refractory, and refuſed to concur in any thing that was propoſed to them by *the Committee of Safety*; which begun to be univerſally abhorr'd, as like to be the Original of ſuch another Tyranny as *Cromwell* had erected, ſince it wholely depended upon the Power and Spirit of the Army: though on the other hand, the Committee proteſted and declared to them, "That there ſhould be a Parliament "called to meet together in *February* next, under ſuch Quali-"fications and Reſtrictions, as might be ſure to exclude ſuch "Perſons who would deſtroy them. But this gave no ſatis-faction, every Man remembring the Parliament that had been packed by *Cromwell*.

The City Apprentices riſe, but are ſuppreſſed by Hewſon.

BUT that which broke the heart of *the Committee of Safety*, was the revolt of their Favourite Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, a Man at that time appearing at leaſt as much Republican, as any amongſt them; as much an Independent, as much an Enemy to the Presbyterians and to the Covenant, as Sr *Harry Vane* himſelf; and a great dependent upon Sr *Harry Vane*; and one whom they had raiſed to that Command in the Fleet, that they might be ſure to have the Sea-men ſtill at their devotion. This Man, with his whole Squadron, came into the River, and declared for the Parliament; which was ſo unexpected, that they would not believe it; but ſent Sr *Harry Vane*, and two others of great intimacy with *Lawſon*, to con-

Lawſon *and the Fleet declare for the Parliament; and come into the River.*

fer

ſer with him; who, when they came to the Fleet, found Sr *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, and two others Members of the Parliament, who had ſo fully prepoſſeſſed him, that he was deaf to all their Charms; and told them, "That he would ſubmit "to no Authority but that of the Parliament.

Haſlerig and Morley *march from* Portſmouth *towards* London.

UPON the Fame of this, *Haſlerig* and *Morley* reſolv'd with their Troops to leave *Portsmouth*, and to march towards *London*, where their Friends now prevail'd ſo much. And the News of this march raiſed new thoughts in thoſe Soldiers who had been left by *Lambert* to execute any Orders, which they ſhould receive from *the Committee of Safety*. The Officers of theſe Regiments had been Caſhier'd by the Council of Officers, or *the Committee of Safety*, for adhering to the Parliament; and their Commands having been given to other Men, who had been diſcountenanced by the Parliament, the Regiments for a time appear'd as much confirm'd in the Intereſt of the Army, as could be wiſhed. But theſe Caſhier'd Officers, upon ſo great Revolutions in the City and the Navy, and the News of the Advance of *Haſlerig* and *Morley*, reſolv'd to confer with their old Soldiers, and try whether they had as much Credit with them as their new Officers; and found ſo much encouragement, that at a time appointed, they put themſelves into the Heads of their Regiments, and march'd with them into the Field; whence, after a ſhort conference together, and renewing vows to each other never more to deſert the Parliament, they all march'd into *Chancery*-Lane to the Houſe of the Speaker; and profeſſed their reſolution to live and die with the Parliament, and never more to ſwerve from their Fidelity to it.

The Soldiers in London *reſolve to reſtore the Parliament; and wait on the Speaker.*

LAMBERT, upon the firſt News of the froward Spirit in the City, had ſent back *Desborough*'s Regiment, which was now march'd as near *London* as St *Albans*; where, hearing what their fellows at *Weſtminſter*, with whom they were to joyn, had done, they reſolv'd not to be the laſt in their Submiſſion; but declared that they likewiſe were for the Parliament; and gave the Speaker notice of their Obedience.

Desbo-rough's *Regiment revolts to the Parliament.*

In all theſe ſeveral Tergiverſations of the Soldiers, General *Fleetwood* remain'd ſtill in conſultations with *the Committee of Safety*; and when any Intelligence was brought of any murmur amongſt the Soldiers, by which a revolt might enſue, and he was deſired to go amongſt them to confirm them, he would fall upon his Knees to his Prayers, and could hardly be prevail'd with to go to them. And when he was amongſt them, and in the middle of any diſcourſe, he would invite them all to Prayers, and put himſelf upon his Knees before them: And when ſome of his Friends importun'd him to appear more vigorous in the Charge he had, without which

The behaviour of Fleetwood *at this time.*

they must be all destroy'd, they could get no other answer from him, than "That God had spit in his Face, and would "not hear him: So that Men ceased to wonder why *Lambert* had preferr'd him to the Office of General, and been content with the second Command for himself.

Lenthal goes into the City.

LENTHAL the Speaker, upon this new Declaration of the Soldiers, recover'd his Spirit, and went into the City, conferr'd with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and declared to them, "That the Parliament would meet (though not immediately) "within very few days. For, as the Members were not many, who were alive, and suffer'd to meet as the Parliament, so they were now dispersed into several places. Then he went to the Tower, and, by his own Authority, remov'd the Lieutenant, who had been confirm'd there by *the Committee of Safety*; and put Sr *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, and other Members of the Parliament, into the Government and Command of the Tower.

Changes the Command of the Tower.

The Parliament meets again at Westminster.

ALL things being in this good order, He and the Members met again together at *Westminster* on *December* the 26th, and assum'd the Government of the three Kingdoms, out of which they had been twice before cast, with so much reproach and infamy. Assoon as they came together, they repeal'd their Act against the payment of Excise and Customs; and put those Collections into the state they had been formerly in, that they might be sure not to be without Money to pay their Proselyte Forces, and to carry on their other Expences. Then they appointed Commissioners to direct the Quarters into which the Army should be put; and made an Order, that all the Troops under the Command of *Lambert*, without sending any direction to him, should repair to those Quarters to which they were assign'd.

They order Lambert's *Troops to their several Quarters.*

THIS Man was now in a disconsolate condition: As *Monk* approach'd nearer to him, very many of his Soldiers deserted him, and went to the other. The Lord *Fairfax* had raised Forces and possessed himself of *York*, without declaring any thing of his purpose. And this last Order of the Parliament so entirely stripp'd *Lambert* of his Army, that there remain'd not with him above one hundred Horse; all the rest return'd to their Quarters with all quietness and resignation; and himself was some time after committed to the Tower. The rest of the Officers of the Army, who had been formerly Cashier'd by the Parliament, and had resum'd their Commands that they might break it, were again dismissed from their Charges, and committed Prisoners to their own Houses. Sr *Harry Vane*, and divers other Members of the House who had concurr'd with *the Committee of Safety*, were likewise confin'd to their own Houses: So that the Parliament seem'd now again

Lambert's *Army separates; and He is committed to the Tower.* Vane *and Others who had concurred with* the Committee of Safety, *confin'd to their own Houses.*

again poſſeſſed of a more abſolute Authority than ever it had been, and to be without any danger of oppoſition, or contradiction.

THE other Changes and Fluctuations had ſtill adminiſter'd ſome hopes to the King, and the daily breaking out of new Animoſities amongſt the Chief Miniſters of the former Miſchiefs, diſpoſed Men to believe that the Government might at laſt reſt upon the old foundation. Men expected, that a very ſharp Engagement between *Lambert* and *Monk* might make their parts of the Army for ever after irreconcilable, and that all Parties would be at laſt obliged to conſent to a new Parliament; in the Election whereof there was a reaſonable belief, that the general temper of the People would chooſe Sober and Wiſe Men, who would rather bind up the Wounds which had been already made, than endeavour to widen them. *The Committee of Safety* had neither receiv'd the Reverence, nor inculcated the Fear, which any Government muſt do, that was to laſt any time. But this ſurpriſing Reſurrection of the Parliament, that had been ſo often exploded, ſo often dead and buried, and was the only Image of Power that was moſt formidable to the King and his Party, ſeem'd to pull up all their hopes by the Roots, and was interpreted by that Party, as an Act of Providence to eſtabliſh their Monſtrous Murders and Uſurpation. And it may be juſtly ſaid, and tranſmitted as a truth to Poſterity, that there were very few Men, who bore a part in theſe Changes and giddy Revolutions, who had the leaſt purpoſe or thought to contribute towards the King's Reſtoration, or who wiſh'd well to his Intereſt; they who did ſo, being ſo totally ſuppreſſed and diſpirited, that they were only at gaze, what Light might break out of this Darkneſs, and what order Providence might produce out of this Confuſion. This was the true State of Affairs when the King return'd from *Fuenterabia* to *Bruſſels*, or within few days after; and therefore 'tis no wonder, that there was that dejection of Spirit upon thoſe about his Majeſty; and that the Duke of *York*, who ſaw ſo little hope of returning into *England*, was well pleaſed with the Condition that was offer'd him in *Spain*, and that his Servants were impatient to find him in poſſeſſion of it.

Upon this return of the Parliament the King's Affairs ſeem'd more deſperate.

The Condition of the King at Bruſſels.

WHILST the diviſions had continued in the Army, and the Parliament ſeem'd entirely depoſed and laid aſide, and no body imagin'd a poſſibility of any compoſition without Blood, the Cardinal himſelf, as is ſaid before, and the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, ſeem'd ready and prepared to advance any deſign of the King's. But when they ſaw all thoſe contentions and raging Animoſities compoſed, or ſuppreſſed, without one broken Head, and thoſe very Men again in poſſeſſion of the

Government and the Army, who had been ſo ſcornfully rejected and trampled upon, and who had it now in their power, as well as their purpoſe, to level all thoſe prehemineneces which had overlooked them, they looked upon the Parliament as more ſecurely ſettled againſt Domeſtic diſturbances, and much more formidably, with reference to their Neighbours, than it had been under *Cromwell* himſelf; and thought of nothing more, than how to make advantageous and firm Alliances with it.

THERE remain'd only within the King's own Breaſt ſome faint hope (and God knows it was very faint) that *Monk*'s march into *England* might yet produce ſome alteration. His Majeſty had a ſecret Correſpondence with ſome principal Officers in his Army, who were much truſted by him, and had promiſed great Services; and it was preſum'd that they would undertake no ſuch perilous Engagement without His privity and connivance. Beſides, it might be expected from his judgment, that whatever preſent Condition the Governing Party might give him, for the Service he had done, he could not but conclude, that they would be always jealous of the Power they ſaw he was poſſeſſed of, and that an Army that had marched ſo far barely upon his word, would be as ready to march to any place, or for any purpoſe, he would Conduct them. And it was evident enough that the Parliament reſolv'd to new Model their Army, and to have no Man in any ſuch extent of Command, as to be able to Controle their Counſels. Then his Majeſty knew they were jealous of his Fidelity, how much ſoever they courted him at that time; and therefore *Monk* would think himſelf obliged to provide for his own Safety and Security.

BUT, I ſay, theſe were but faint hopes, grounded upon ſuch probabilities as deſpairing Men are willing to entertain. The truth is, thoſe Officers had honeſt Inclinations; and, as Wiſe Men, had concluded, that, from thoſe frequent Shuffles, ſome Game at laſt might fall out that might prove to the King's Advantage, and ſo were willing to beſpeak their own welcome by an early application; which, in regard of the Perſons truſted by them, they concluded would be attended with no danger. But it never appear'd they ever gave the General the leaſt cauſe to imagine they had any ſuch Affection; and if they had, 'tis likely they had paid dearly for it. And it was the King's great happineſs, that the General never own'd his purpoſe to ſerve his Majeſty, till it fell to be in his power, and indeed was the beſt thing in his power to do. If he had declar'd his reſolution ſooner, he had been deſtroy'd himſelf; the whole Machine being ſo infinitely above his ſtrength, that it could be only mov'd by a Divine hand; and

it

it is Glory enough to his Memory, that he was God's Instrument in bringing those mighty things to pass, which, undoubtedly, no one Man living had, of himself, either Wisdom enough to foresee, or Understanding to contrive, or Courage to attempt, and execute.

When the Parliament found themselves at so much ease, and so much without apprehension of farther insecurity, they heartily wish'd that General *Monk* was again in his old Quarters in *Scotland*. But as he continued his march towards *London*, without expecting their Orders, so they knew not how to Command him to return, whom they had sent for to assist them, without seeing him, and giving him thanks and reward for his great Service: yet they sent to him their desire, "That "a good part of his Forces might be sent back to *Scotland*; and He, having sent back as many as he knew would be sufficient for any Work they could have to do in those Northern parts, continued his march with an Army of about five thousand Foot and Horse, consisting of such Persons in whose Affections to him he had full Confidence. When he came to *York*, he found that City in the possession of the Lord *Fairfax*; who receiv'd him with open Arms, as if he had drawn those Forces together, and seised upon that place, to prevent the Army's possessing it, and to make *Monk's* Advance into *England* the less interrupted.

Monk marches towards London.

The Parliament desire, that part of his Forces may be sent back to Scotland.

Monk comes to York.

The truth is, that, upon a Letter from the King, deliver'd to *Fairfax* by Sr *Horatio Townsend*, and with his sole privity, and upon a presumption that General *Monk* brought good Affections with him for his Majesty's Service, that Lord had call'd together some of his old disbanded Officers and Soldiers, and many principal Gentlemen of the Country, and marched in the Head of them into *York*, some time after that *Lambert* was passed towards *New-Castle*, with a full resolution to declare for the King; but when he could not afterwards discover, upon conference with *Monk*, that he had any such thought, he satisfied himself with the Testimony of his own Conscience, and presently dismissed his Troops, being well contented with having, in the Head of the principal Gentlemen of that large County, presented their desires to the General, first in Person, and afterwards in Writing, "That he "would be instrumental to restore the Nation to Peace and "Security, and to the enjoying those Rights and Liberties, "which by the Law were due to them, and of which they "had been robb'd and depriv'd by so many years distractions; "and that, in order thereunto, he would prevail, either for "the restoring those Members which had been excluded in "the year 1648 by Force and Violence, that they might ex"ercise that Trust the Kingdom had reposed in them; or

The Lord Fairfax's part in the whole business.

"that

"that a free and full Parliament might be called by the Votes "of the People; to which all Subjects had a Right by their "Birth.

Addreſſes to Monk *from all Counties as he paſſed. The City ſent to him by their Sword-Bearer to the ſame purpoſe. His manner of receiving theſe Addreſſes.*

THE Principal Perſons of all Counties through which the General paſſed, flocked to him in a Body with Addreſſes to the ſame purpoſe. The City of *London* ſent a Letter to him by their Sword-Bearer as far as to *Morpeth*, to offer their Service; and all concluded for a free Parliament, legally choſen by the free Votes of the People. He receiv'd all with much civility, and few words; took all occaſions publickly to declare "That nothing ſhould ſhake his fidelity to the preſent "Parliament, yet privately aſſured thoſe, who he thought it neceſſary ſhould hope well, "That he would procure a free "Parliament: ſo that every body promiſed himſelf that which he moſt wiſhed.

THE Parliament was far from being confident that *Monk* was above temptation: the manner of his march with ſuch a Body, his receiving ſo many Addreſſes from the People, and his treating Malignants ſo civilly, ſtartled them much; and though his Profeſſions of fidelity to the Parliament, and referring all determinations to Their Wiſdom, had a good Aſpect towards them, yet they feared that he might obſerve too much how generally odious they were grown to the People, which might leſſen his reverence towards them. To prevent this as much as might be, and to give ſome check to that licence of Addreſſes, and reſort of Malignants, they ſent two of their Members of moſt credit with him, *Scot* and *Robinſon*, under pretence of giving their thanks to him for the Service he had done, to continue and be preſent with him, and to diſcountenance, and reprehend any boldneſs that ſhould appear in any Delinquents. But this ſerved but to draw more Affronts upon them; for thoſe Gentlemen who were civilly uſed by the General, would not bear any diſreſpect from thoſe of whoſe Perſons they had all Contempt; and for the Authority of thoſe who ſent them, had no kind of reverence. Aſſoon as the City knew of the deputing thoſe two Members, they likewiſe ſent four of their principal Citizens, to perform the ſame Compliments, and to confirm him in his inclinations to a free Parliament, as the remedy all Men deſired.

The Parliament ſends Scot *and* Robinſon *to meet him.*

At St. Albans *he ſent to the Parliament to have the other Regiments remov'd out of Town.*

HE continued his march with very few halts, till he came to St *Albans*. There he ſtopped for ſome days; and ſent to the Parliament, "That he had ſome apprehenſion that thoſe Re- "giments and Troops of the Army who had formerly deſerted "them, though for the preſent they were returned to their "obedience, would not live peaceably with his Men; and therefore deſired that all the Soldiers (except one or two Regiments, which he named) "Who were then quarter'd in the

"*Strand*,

"*Strand*, *Weſtminſter*, or other Suburbs of the City, might "be preſently removed, and ſent to more diſtant Quarters, "that there might be room for his Army. This Meſſage was unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed them; and made them ſee their Fate would ſtill be under the force and awe of an Army. However they found it neceſſary to comply; and ſent their Orders to all Soldiers to depart; which with the reaſon and ground of their reſolution, was ſo diſdainfully receiv'd, that a Mutiny did ariſe amongſt the Soldiers; and the Regiment that was Quarter'd in *Somerſet* Houſe, expreſly refuſed to obey thoſe Orders; ſo that there were like to be new Uproars. But their Officers, who would have been glad to inflame them upon ſuch an occaſion, were under reſtraint, or abſent: and ſo at laſt all was well compoſed, and Officers and Soldiers removed to the Quarters aſſign'd them, with animoſity enough againſt thoſe who were to ſucceed them in their old ones. And in the beginning of *February*, General *Monk* with his Army marched through the City into the *Strand*, and *Weſtminſter*, where it was Quarter'd; his own Lodgings being provided for him in *White-Hall*.

The Parliament gives Orders accordingly.

Monk marches in about the beginning of February.

He was ſhortly after conducted to the Parliament. There he had a Chair appointed for him to ſit in; and the Speaker made him a Speech to this effect, "That though it was God, "and not Man, who had done this great work, and ought to "have the Glory of it; yet the Influence of that Glory ex- "tended to Him the Inſtrument, as a reward of his prudent "and wiſe Conduct: that when their Friends had left them, "and there was a great defection in duty and truſt, ſo that the "whole Nation ſeem'd to be expoſed to the utmoſt ruin; they "diſcern'd, as the Prophet did, a little Cloud afar off, and "in His hand which had diſperſed the Miſeries of theſe Na- "tions, and was become a glorious Mercy to them all: that "the Houſe had a true reſentment of his Service, and return'd "their hearty thanks to Him, and all his Officers and Sol- "diers.

He is conducted to the Parliament and complimented by the Speaker.

The General was not a Man of Eloquence or Volubility of Speech; but after having thanked them, "For the honour "they had done him for but doing his duty; he told them, "that, in his march from *Scotland*, ſeveral Applications, with "numerous Subſcriptions, had been made to him, for a full "and free Parliament, for admittance of the ſecluded Mem- "bers without any previous Oath or Engagement; and that "this Parliament would determine their Sitting: to all which "he had anſwer'd, That they were now a free Parliament; "and that they had voted to fill up their Houſe, and then "they would be a full Parliament; and that they had already "determin'd their Sitting. But as for the ſecluded Members, "this

Monk's Reply.

"this Parliament had already given judgment in it, in which "all People ought to acquiesce; and that to admit any Mem- "bers to sit in Parliament, without a previous Oath to pre- "serve the Government in being, was never done in *England*. "But now he craved pardon to say to themselves, that the "less Oaths or Engagements were imposed, their Settlement "would be the sooner attain'd to: that He knew, all the so- "ber Gentry would close with them, if they might be ten- "derly and gently used: that it was their common Concern- "ment to amplify, not to lessen, their Interest, and to be care- "ful that neither the Cavalier nor the Fanatick Party should "have yet a share in the Civil, or Military Power.

THE rest of his Speech concern'd *Ireland*, and *Scotland*. And all being spoken with more than his natural warmth, there were some Expressions in it which they disliked. But others gave them some ease, and hope that he would be faithful, though inwardly they heartily wish'd that he was again in *Scotland*, and that they had been left to contend with the Malignity of their old Army; and they watched for some occasion that he might manifest his fidelity and resignation to them, or give them just occasion to suspect and question it.

THE late confusions and interruptions of all publick receipts had wholely emptied their Coffers, out of which the Army, and all other expences, were to be supplied. And though the Parliament had, upon their coming together again, renewed their Ordinances for all Collections and Payments, yet Money came in very slowly; and the People generally had so little reverence for their Legislators, that they gave very slow obedience to their directions: so that they found it necessary, for their present supply, till they might by degrees make themselves more universally obey'd, to require the City presently to collect and bring in the Arrears of their Taxes, and in the mean time to borrow a considerable Sum of Money of them; which could not be easily done but by the advice, and with the consent of the Common-Council; that is, it could not be levied and collected orderly, and peaceably, without their distribution.

The Common Council of the City are refractory to the Parliament.

THE Common-Council was constituted of such Persons as were weary of the Parliament, and would in no degree submit to, or comply with any of their Commands. They did not only utterly refuse to consent to what was demanded, but, in the debate of it, excepted against the Authority, and, upon the matter, declar'd, "That they would never submit to any Im- "position that was not granted by a free and lawful Parliament. And it was generally believ'd, that they had assumed this courage upon some confidence they had in the General; and the Apprehension of this, made the Parliament to be in the greater

greater perplexity and diſtraction. This refuſal would immediately have put an end to their Empire; they therefore reſolved upon this occaſion to make a full Experiment of their own power, and of their General's obedience.

THE Parliament having received a full information from thoſe Aldermen, and others, whoſe Intereſt was bound up with theirs, of all that had paſſed at the Common-Council, and of the ſeditious diſcourſes and expreſſions made by ſeveral of the Citizens, referr'd it to the conſideration of the Council of State, what was fit to be done towards the Rebellious City, to reduce them to that ſubmiſſion which they ought to pay to the Parliament. The Council of State deliberated upon the matter, and return'd their Advice to the Parliament, "That ſome part of the Army might be ſent into the City, and "remain there, to preſerve the peace thereof, and of the "Common-wealth, and to reduce it to the obedience of the "Parliament. In Order thereunto, and for their better humi-"liation, they thought it convenient that the Poſts and Chains "ſhould be removed from, and out of the ſeveral Streets of the "City; and that the Portculliſes, and Gates of the City, "ſhould be taken down and broken. Over and above this, they named ten or eleven Perſons, who had been the principal Conductors in the Common-Council, all Citizens of great reputation; and adviſed "That they ſhould be apprehended and "committed to Priſon, and that thereupon a new Common-"Council might be erected, that would be more at their De-"votion.

THIS round advice was embraced by the Parliament; and they had now a fit occaſion to make experiment of the courage and fidelity of their General, and commanded him to march into the City with his Army; and to execute all thoſe particulars which they thought ſo neceſſary to their Service; and He as readily executed their Commands; led his Army into the Town on *Feb.* the 9th, neglected the entreaties and prayers of all who applied to him (whereof there were many who believed he meant better towards them) cauſed as many, as he could, of thoſe who were ſo proſcribed to be apprehended, and ſent them to the Tower; and, with all the circumſtances of contempt, pull'd down and broke the Gates and Portculliſes, to the confuſion and conſternation of the whole City; and having thus expoſed it to the ſcorn and laughter of all who hated it, he return'd Himſelf to *White-Hall*, and his Army to their former Quarters. And by this laſt Act of compliance he fruſtrated the preſent hopes of thoſe who had expected better from him, and confirm'd his Maſters, that they could not be too confident of his obedience to their moſt extravagant Injunctions. And many at that time feared, that

Monk *ſent into the City to reduce it to obedience.*

Returns to White-Hall.

that if the Parliament had cultivated this tame resignation of his, with any temper and discretion, by preparing his consent and approbation to their proceedings, they might have found a full condescension from him, at least no opposition to all their other Counsels. But they were so infatuated with pride and insolence, that they could not discern the ways to their own preservation.

The Parliament resolve to joyn others in Commission with him, and receive a Petition by Barebone *from the* Fanaticks.

WHILST He was executing this their Tyranny upon the City, They were contriving how to lessen his Power and Authority, and resolv'd to joyn others with him in the Command of the Army; and, upon that very day, they receiv'd a Petition, which they had fomented, presented to the Parliament by a Man notorious in those times, and who hath been formerly mention'd, *Praise-God Barebone*, in the head of a crowd of Sectaries. The Petition begun with all the imaginable bitterness and reproaches upon the Memory of the late King, and against the Person of the present King, and all the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry of the Kingdom, which adhered to him; the utter Extirpation of all which it prest with great Acrimony. It took notice of many discourses of calling a new Parliament, at least of admitting those Members to sit in the present Parliament, who had been excluded in the year 1648; "Either of which, the Petitioners said, "would prove the inevitable destruction of all the Godly in "the Land: and therefore they besought them with all earnestness, "That no Person whatsoever might be admitted to the "exercise of any Office or Function in the State, or in the "Church, no not so much as to teach a School, who did not "first take the Oath of Abjuration of the King, and of all his "Family, and that he would never submit to the Government of any One single Person whatsoever; and that whosoever should presume so much as to propose, or mention "the Restoration of the King in Parliament, or any other "place, should be adjudged guilty of, and condemn'd for High "Treason.

Monk's chief Officers discontented at this neglect of the Parliament of their General.

THIS Petition was receiv'd with great approbation by the House, their Affection much applauded, and the thanks of the Parliament very solemnly return'd by the Speaker: all which information the General receiv'd at *White-Hall*, when he return'd out of the City; and was presently attended by his chief Officers; who with open mouths, inveigh'd against the proceedings of the Parliament, "Their manifest ingratitude "to him, and the indignity offer'd to him, in giving such "countenance to a rabble of infamous Varlets, who desired "to set the whole Kingdom in a flame, to comply with their "Fanatick and mad Enthusiasms; and that the Parliament "would never have admitted such an infamous Address with

"appro-

"approbation, except they had first resolv'd upon his Ruin "and destruction; which he was assuredly to look for, if he "did not prevent it by his Wisdom, and Sagacity; and there-upon told him of the under-hand Endeavours which were used to work upon the Affections of the Soldiers.

THE General had been prepared, by the conferences of *Scot* and *Robinson* in the march, to expect, that, assoon as he came to the Parliament, he must take the Oath of Abjuration of the King and his Family. And therefore they had advised him "To offer the taking it himself, before it should be pro-"posed to him, as a matter that would confirm all Men in an "entire confidence in him. When he came to the Parlia-ment, they forbore, that day, to mention it, being a day de-dicated only to caress him, and to give him thanks, in which it could not be seasonable to mingle any thing of distrust. But they meant roundly to have pressed him to it, if this last op-portunity, which they look'd upon as a better earnest of his fidelity, had not fallen out; and they thought he had not then taken any such resolution, as would have made him pause in the giving them that satisfaction. But being now awaken'd by this Alarm from his Officers, and the temper they were in, and his flegm a little curdled, he begun to think himself in danger; and that this body of Men, that was called the Par-liament, had not reputation enough to preserve themselves, and those who adher'd to them. He had observ'd throughout the Kingdom, as he march'd, how despicable they were in the estimation of all men, who gave them no other term or appellation but the *Rump*, as the fag end of a Carcase long since expired. All that night was spent in consultation with his Officers; nor did he then form any other design than so to unite his Army to him that they might not leave him in any resolution he should think fit to take.

This awak-ens him.

IN the morning, which was very soon after he had broken the Gates and the Hearts of the City, he called his Army a-gain together, and marched with it into *London*, taking up his own Quarters at an Alderman's House. At the same time he left *White-Hall*, he sent a Letter to the Parliament, in which he roundly took notice of "Their unreasonable, un-"just, and unpolitick proceedings; of their abetting and "countenancing wicked, and unchristian Tenents in reference "to Religion, and such as would root out the practice of "any Religion, of their underhand corresponding with those "very Persons whom they had declared to be Enemies, and "who had been principally instrumental in all the affronts "and Indignities they had undergone, in and after their dis-"solution. Thereupon he advised them in such Terms as they could not but understand for the most peremptory Com-mand

He marches again into the City, and sends an ex-postulatory Letter to the Parliament.

mand, "That, in such a time (a time prescribed in his Letter) "they would issue out Writs for a new Parliament, that so "their own sitting might be determined; which was the "only Expedient, that could return Peace and Happiness to "the Kingdom, and which both the Army and Kingdom ex- "pected at their hands. This Letter was no sooner deliver'd to the House, than it was Printed, and carefully published, and dispersed throughout the City, to the end that they who had been so lately and so wofully disappointed, might see how throughly he was Embarked, and so entertain no new Jealousies of him.

His Letter to the Parliament printed and dispersed.

AFTER he had dined with the Lord Mayor, and disposed his Army in such a manner and order as he thought fit, he desired Him and the Aldermen, with the Common Council, to meet him at the *Guild-Hall*; where, after many Excuses for the work of the other day, they plighted their Troth each to other in such a manner, for the perfect Union and adhering to each other for the future, that, assoon as they came from thence, the Lord Mayor attended the General to his Lodgings, and all the Bells of the City proclaim'd, and testified to the Town and Kingdom, that the Army and the City were of one mind. And assoon as the Evening came, there was a continual light of Bone-fires throughout the City and Suburbs, with such an universal Exclamation of Joy, as had never been known, and cannot be expressed, with such ridiculous signs of Scorn and Contempt of the Parliament, as testified the no-regard, or rather the notable detestaion they had of it; there being scarce a Bone-fire at which they did not roast a Rump, and pieces of flesh made like one; "Which they said, "Was for the Celebration of the Funeral of the Par- "liament: and there can be no invention of fancy, wit, or ribaldry, that was not that Night exercised to defame the Parliament, and to magnify the General.

He meets the Lord Mayor and Common Council, excuses what was past, and promises to stand by them, and They by him. Great rejoycing in the City upon it.

IN such a huddle and mixture of loose People of all Conditions, and such a transport of Affections, it could not be otherwise but that some Men would drink the King's Health; which was taken no notice of; nor was it known that one Person of Condition did once presume to mention him. All this, how much soever it amazed and distracted the Parliament, did not so dishearten them, but that they continued still to sit, and proceed in all things with their usual confidence. They were not willing to despair of recovering their General again to them; and, to that purpose, they sent a Committee to treat with him, and to make all such profers to him as they conceiv'd were most like to comply with his Ambition. The entertainment he gave this Committee, was the engaging them in a conference with another Committee of the secluded Members

The Parliament sent some Members to treat with him. He engages them in a conference with some secluded Members.

Members; to the end that he might be ſatisfied by hearing both, how one could have right to ſit there as a Parliament, and the other be excluded: and when he had heard them all, he made no ſcruple to declare, "That in juſtice the ſecluded "Members ought to be admitted before the calling another "Parliament, and the diſſolution of this.

AFTER He had put the City into the poſture they deſired and found no danger threaten'd him from thence, he return'd again to his Quarters in *White-Hall*, and diſpoſed his Army to thoſe Poſts which he judged moſt convenient. He then ſent for the Members of the Parliament to come to him, and many others who had been Excluded, and lamented, "The "ſad Condition the Kingdom was in, which he principally "imputed to the diſunion, and diviſions, which had ariſen "in Parliament among thoſe who were faithful to the Com- "mon-wealth: that he had had many Conferences with them "together, and was ſatisfied by thoſe Gentlemen, who had "been Excluded, of their Integrity; and therefore he had de- "ſired this Conference between them, that he might commu- "nicate his own thoughts to them; in doing whereof, that he "might not be miſtaken in his Delivery, or miſapprehended "in his Expreſſions, as he had lately been, he had put what "he had a mind to ſay in writing; which he Commanded his Secretary to read to them: and was as follows.

He returns to White-Hall.

Sends for the Members of both Parties.

He delivers his mind to them in a paper.

"Gentlemen,

"You are not, I hope, Ignorant, what care and endea- "vours have been uſed, and means eſſay'd, for healing the "breaches of our diviſions amongſt our ſelves; and that in "order thereunto divers Conferences have been procured be- "tween you, though to ſmall effect; yet having at length re- "ceiv'd fuller ſatisfaction, from thoſe worthy Gentlemen that "were ſecluded, than formerly; I was bold to put you all to "the trouble of this meeting, that I might open my ſelf to "you all, even with more freedom than formerly: but leſt I "might be miſapprehended or miſtaken, as of late it befell "me, I have commited to writing the Heads of what I in- "tended to diſcourſe to you, and deſire it may be read openly "to you all.

"Gentlemen,

"IT appears unto me, by what I have heard from You and "the whole Nation, that the Peace and happy Settlement of "theſe bleeding Nations, next under God, lieth in Your "hands. And when I conſider that Wiſdom, Piety, and Self- "denial, which I have reaſon to be confident, lodgeth in you, "and how great a ſhare of the Nations Sufferings will fall

"upon you, in case the Lord deny us now a Settlement, I am "in very good hopes, there will be found in you all, such "melting Bowels towards these poor Nations, and towards "one another, that you will become Healers and makers up, "of all its woful Breaches. And that such an opportunity "might clearly appear to be in Your hands, I thought good to "assure you, and that in the presence of God, that I have no- "thing before my Eyes but God's Glory, and the Settlement "of these Nations upon Common-wealth Foundations. In "pursuit whereof I shall think nothing too dear; and for my "Own particular, I shall throw my self down at Your Feet "to be any thing or nothing in order to these great Ends. As "to the way of future Settlement, far be it from Me to im- "pose any thing; I desire you may be in perfect freedom; "only give me leave to mind You, that the Old Foundations "are by God's Providence so broken, that, in the eye of rea- "son, they cannot be restored but upon the Ruins of the Peo- "ple of these Nations, that have engaged for their Rights, in "defence of the Parliament, and the great and main ends of "the Covenant, for uniting and making the Lord's Name "One in the Three Nations: and also the Liberty of the Peo- "ple's Representative's in Parliament will be certainly lost; "for if the People find, that after so long and bloody a War "against the King for breaking in upon their Liberties, yet at "last He must be taken in again, it will be out of question, "and is most manifest, He may for the future govern by his "Will, dispose of Parliaments and Parliament Men, as He "pleaseth, and yet the People will never more rise for As- "sistance.

"And as to the Interest of this Famous City (which hath "been in all Ages the Bulwark of Parliaments, and unto "whom I am for their great Affection so deeply engaged) "certainly it must lye in a Common-wealth; that Govern- "ment only being capable to make them, through the Lord's "Blessing, the Metropolis and Bank of the Trade for all "*Christendom*; whereunto God and Nature hath fitted them "above others.

"And as to a Government in the Church, the want "whereof hath been no small Cause of these Nations distra- "ctions, it is most manifest, that if it be Monarchical in the "State, the Church must follow, and Prelacy must be "brought in; which these Nations, I know, cannot bear, and "against which they have so solemnly Sworn.

"And indeed moderate, not rigid Presbyterian Govern- "ment, with a sufficient Liberty for Consciences truly tender, "appears at present to be the most indifferent and acceptable "way to the Church's Settlement.

"The

"THE main thing that ſeems to lye in the way, is the "Intereſt of the Lords, even of thoſe Lords who have ſhew'd "themſelves Noble indeed, by joyning with the People, and "in defence of thoſe juſt Rights have adventured their deareſt "Blood and large Eſtates. To that I ſhall only ſay, that "though the ſtate of theſe Nations be ſuch, as cannot bear "their Sitting in a diſtinct Houſe; yet, certainly, the Wiſdom "of Parliament will find out ſuch Hereditary Marks of Ho-"nour for them, as may make them more Noble in after "Ages.

"Gentlemen,

"UPON the whole matter, the beſt reſult that I can make "at preſent for the Peace of theſe Nations, will be, in my "opinion, that you forthwith go to ſit together in Parliament, "in order,

1. "To the ſettling the Conduct of the Armies of the "Three Nations in that manner, as they may be ſerviceable "to the Peace and Safety of them, and not to its own, and the "Nation's ruin, by Faction and Diviſion.

2. "To the providing ſufficient maintenance for them; "that is, for the Forces by Land, and for the Navy by "Sea, and all the Arrears of both, and other contingencies of "the Government.

3. "To the appointing a Council of State with Authority "to ſettle the Civil Government and Judicatories in *Scotland* "and *Ireland*, and to take care for the iſſuing of Writs for "the Summoning a Parliament of theſe Three Nations united, "to meet at *Weſtminſter* the 20th day of *April* next, with ſuch "Qualifications as may ſecure the Publick Cauſe we are all "engaged in, and according to ſuch diſtributions as were uſed "in the Yar 1654. Which Parliament ſo called, may meet "and act in freedom, for the more full Eſtabliſhing of this "Common-wealth, without a King, ſingle Perſon, or Houſe "of Lords.

4. "To a Legal Diſſolution of this Parliament, to make "way for Succeſſion of Parliaments.

"AND in order to theſe good Ends, the Guards will not "only willingly admit you, but faithfully both my ſelf, and "every the Officers under my Command; and I believe the "Officers and Soldiers of the Three Nations will ſpend their "Blood for you and ſucceſſive Parliaments.

"IF Your Conjunction be directed to this end, you may "part Honourably, having made a fair ſtep to the Settle-"ment of theſe Nations, by making a way for ſucceſſive Par-"liaments.

"BUT I muſt needs ſay, that if any different Counſel

"ſhould be taken (which I have no reaſon to fear) theſe "Nations would preſently be thrown back into Force and "Violence, and all hopes of this much deſired Eſtabliſhment "buried in diſorder; which the Lord in his great Mercy I "hope will prevent. And ſo God ſpeed you well together, "and unite your hearts for the preſervation of Peace and Set-"tlement of theſe Nations, to his Glory and Yours, and all "our Comforts.

DIVERS who heard this, thought there was no diſſimulation in it, in order to cover and conceal his good intentions for the King: for, without doubt, he had not to this hour ſeem'd to them to have any purpoſe, or thought to ſerve him, but appear'd to be really of the opinion he expreſſed in his Paper, that it was a work impoſſible. So that they thought he deſired nothing, but that he might ſee a Common-wealth eſtabliſh'd in ſuch a Model as *Holland* was, where he had been bred; and that himſelf might enjoy the authority and place which the Prince of *Orange* poſſeſſed in that Government. He had not, from his marching out of *Scotland* to this time, had much publick converſation with any Perſons who had ſerv'd the King; nor had he hitherto, or, for ſome time after, did he ſet one of the King's Friends at Liberty, though all the Priſons were full of them; but on the contrary, they were every day committed by the Rump-Parliament; and with them it was guilt enough to be ſuſpected but to wiſh for the King's Reſtoration.

The ſecluded Members go to the Houſe.

ASSOON as the Conference above mention'd was ended with the Members of the Parliament, They who had been excluded from the year 1648, repair'd to the Houſe on *Feb.* the 21ſt, and without any interruption, which they had hitherto found, took their places; and being ſuperior in number to the reſt, they firſt repealed and aboliſh'd all the Orders by which they had been excluded; then they provided for Him who had ſo well provided for Them, by renewing and enlarging the General's Commiſſion, and revoking all other Commiſſions which had been granted to any to meddle with, or aſſign Quarters to any part of the Forces.

Their tranſactions there.

THEY who had ſate before, had put the whole Militia of the Kingdom into the hands of Sectaries, Perſons generally of no degree or quality, and notorious only for ſome new Tenent in Religion, and for ſome barbarity exerciſed upon the King's Party. All theſe Commiſſions were revoked, and the Militia put under the Government of the Nobility, and principal Gentry throughout the Kingdom; yet with this care and exception, that no Perſon ſhould be capable of being truſted in that Province, who did not firſt declare under his hand,

hand, "That he did confeſs, and acknowledge, that the War "raiſed by the two Houſes of Parliament againſt the late "King, was juſt, and lawful, until ſuch time as force and vio-"lence was uſed upon the Parliament in the year 1648.

In the laſt place, they raiſed an Aſſeſment of one hundred thouſand pounds by the Month, for the payment of the Army, and defraying the Publick expences for ſix Months, to which the whole Kingdom willingly ſubmitted; and the City of *London*, upon the credit and ſecurity of that Act, advanced as much ready Money as they were deſired; and having thus far redreſſed what was paſt, and provided as well as they could for the future, they iſſued out Writs to call a Parliament, to meet upon the five and twentieth day of *April* next enſuing (being *April* 1660) and then, on the ſixteenth, or ſeventeenth day of *March*, after they had appointed a Council of State, of which there were many ſober and honeſt Gentlemen, who did not wiſh the King ill, they diſſolv'd that preſent Parliament, againſt all the importunities uſed by the Sectaries (who in Multitudes flock'd together, and made Addreſſes in the Name of their Party in the City of *London*, that they would not diſſolve themſelves) but to the unſpeakable Joy of all the reſt of the Kingdom; who, notwithſtanding their very different affections, expectations, and deſigns, were unanimous in their wearineſs and deteſtation of the long Parliament.

They iſſue Writs for a New Parliament: and diſſolve themſelves, and appoint a New Council of State.

When the King, who had rather an imagination, than an expectation, that the march of General *Monk* to *London* with his Army might produce ſome alteration that might be uſeful to him, heard of his entire ſubmiſſion to the Parliament, and of his entring the City, and diſarming it, the Commitment of the principal Citizens, and breaking their Gates and Portculliſes, all the little remainder of his hopes was extinguiſhed, and he had nothing left before his Eyes but a perpetual Exile, attended with all thoſe diſcomforts, whereof he had too long Experience, and which he muſt now expect, would be improved with the worſt circumſtances of neglect, which uſe to wait upon that condition. A greater conſternation and dejection of mind cannot be imagin'd than at that time cover'd the ſmall Court of the King; but God did not ſuffer him long to be wrapp'd up in that melancholic Cloud. As the General's ſecond march into the City was within two or three days after his firſt, and diſpell'd the miſts and fogs which the other had raiſed, ſo the very Evening of that day which had brought the News of the firſt in the Morning, brought likewiſe an Account to his Majeſty of the ſecond, with all the circumſtances of Bells, and Bone-fires, and burning of Rumps, and ſuch other Additions, as might reaſonably be true, and which a willing Relator would not omit.

The King's Affairs at Bruſſels *during this time.*

The King hears on the ſame day of both the marches of the General into the City.

When it begun to be dark, the Lord Marquis of *Ormond* brought a young Man with him to the Chancellor's Lodging at *Bruſſels*; which was under the King's Bed-Chamber, and to which his Majeſty every day vouchſafed to come for the diſpatch of any Buſineſs. The Marquis ſaid no more but "That "that Man had formerly been an Officer under him, and he "believed he was an honeſt Man; beſides, that he brought a "line or two of Credit from a Perſon they would both be-"lieve; but that his diſcourſe was ſo ſtrange and extrava-"gant, that he knew not what to think of it; however, he "would call the King to judge; and ſo went out of the Room leaving the Man there, and immediately return'd with the King.

The Man's name was *Baily*; who had liv'd moſt in *Ireland*, and had ſerv'd there as a Foot Officer under the Marquis. He look'd as if he had drank much, or ſlept little: his Relation was, "That in the Afternoon of ſuch a day, he was with "Sr *John Stephens* in *Lambeth* Houſe, uſed then as a Priſon for "many of the King's Friends; where, whilſt they were in "conference together, News was brought into the Houſe by "ſeveral Perſons, that the General was marched with his "whole Army into the City (it being within two or three "days after he had been there, and broke down their Gates, "and pull'd down their Poſts) and that he had a conference "with the Mayor and Aldermen; which was no ſooner end-"ed, but that all the City Bells rang out; and He heard the "Bells very plain at *Lambeth*: and that he ſtaid there ſo late, "till they ſaw the Bone-fires burning and flaming in the City: "upon which Sr *John Stephens* had deſir'd him, that he would "immediately croſs the River, and go into *London*, and in-"quire what the matter was, and if he found any thing extra-"ordinary in it, that he would take Poſt, and make all poſſi-"ble haſte to *Bruſſels*, that the King might be inform'd of it; "and ſo gave him a ſhort Note in Writing to the Marquis of "*Ormond*, that he might believe all that the Meſſenger would "inform him: that thereupon he went over the River, walked "through *Cheapſide*, ſaw the Bone-fires, and the King's health "drank in ſeveral places, heard all that the General had done, "and brought a Copy of the Letter which the General had "ſent to the Parliament, at the time when he return'd with "his Army into the City; and then told many things, which "were, he ſaid, "Publickly ſpoken, concerning ſending for "the King: that then he took Poſt for *Dover*, and hired a "Bark that brought him to *Oſtend*.

The time was ſo ſhort from the hour he left *London*, that the expedition of his Journey was incredible; nor could any Man undertake to come from thence in ſo ſhort a time, upon the

the moſt important Affair, and for the greateſt reward. It was evident by many pauſes and heſitations in his diſcourſe, and ſome Repetitions, that the Man was not compoſed, and at beſt wanted ſleep; yet his Relation could not be a meer fiction and imagination. Sr *John Stephens* was a Man well known to his Majeſty, and the other two; and had been ſent over lately by the King, with ſome advice to his Friends; and it was well known, that he had been apprehended at his Landing, and was ſent Priſoner to *Lambeth* Houſe. And though he had not mention'd in his Note any particulars, yet he had given him credit, and nothing but the Man's own Devotion to the King could reaſonably tempt him to undertake ſo hazardous and chargeable a Journey. Then the General's Letter to the Parliament was of the higheſt moment, and not like to be feign'd; and upon the whole matter, the King thought he had Argument to raiſe his own Spirits, and that he ſhould do but juſtly in communicating his Intelligence to his diſpirited Family, and Servants; who, upon the News thereof, were revived proportionably to the deſpair they had ſwallow'd; and, according to the temper of Men who had lain under long diſconſolation, thought all their Sufferings over; and laid in a ſtock of ſuch vaſt hopes, as would be very hard for any ſucceſs to procure ſatisfaction for.

But the King, who thanked God for this new dawning of hope, and was much refreſh'd with this unexpected Alteration, was yet reſtrain'd from any confidence that this would produce any ſuch Revolution as would be ſufficient to do his work; towards which he ſaw cauſe enough to deſpair of aſſiſtance from any Forreign power. The moſt that he could collect from the General's Letter, beſides the ſuppreſſing the preſent Tyranny of the Rump-Parliament, was, that, poſſibly, at laſt the excluded Members might be again admitted, and, it may be, able to govern that Council. And even this Adminiſter'd no ſolid ground of comfort or confidence to his Majeſty. Several of thoſe excluded Members had not been true Members of Parliament, but elected, after the end of the War, into Their places who had been expelled for adhering to the King; and ſo they had no title to ſit there, but what the Counterfeit Great Seal had given them, without, and againſt the King's Authority. It was thought theſe Men, with others who had been Lawfully choſen, were willing, and deſirous, that the Conceſſions made by the late King at the Iſle of *Wight* might be accepted; which in truth did, with the preſervation of the Name and Life of the King, near as much eſtabliſh a Republican Government, as was ſettled after his Murther; and becauſe they would inſiſt upon that, they were, with thoſe circumſtances of force and violence, which are

formerly mention'd, excluded from the House; without which that horrid Villany could never have been committed.

Now what could the King reasonably expect from these Men's readmission into the Government, but that they would resume their old Conclusions, and press him to consent to his Father's Concessions? which his late Majesty yielded to with much less chearfulness, than he walked to the Scaffold; though it was upon the promise of many powerful Men then in the Parliament, "That he should not be obliged to accomplish "that Agreement. These Revolvings wrought much upon his Majesty, though he thought it necessary to appear pleased with what he had heard, and to expect much greater things from it; which yet he knew not how to contribute to, till he should receive a farther Account from *London* of the Revolutions there.

Many now apply to the King.
The Council of State's kind behaviour now to the King's Friends.

Indeed, when all his Majesty had heard before, was confirm'd by several Expresses, who passed with much freedom, and were every day sent by his Friends, who had recover'd their Courage to the full, and discern'd that these excluded Members were principally admitted to prepare for the calling a New Parliament, and to be sure to make the dissolution of this unquestionable and certain, the King recover'd his hopes again; which were every day increased by the Addresses of many Men, who had never before applied themselves to him; and many sent to him for his Majesty's Approbation and leave to serve and sit in the next Parliament. And from the time that the Parliament was dissolv'd, the Council of State behaved themselves very civilly towards his Majesty's Friends, and released many of them out of Prison: particularly *Annesley*, when President of the Council, was very well contented that the King should receive particular Information of His Devotion, and of his Resolution to do him Service; which he manifested in many particulars of importance, and had the Courage to receive a Letter from his Majesty, and return'd a dutiful Answer to it: all which had a very good aspect, and seem'd to promise much good. Yet the King knew not what to think of the General's Paper, which he had deliver'd at his Conference with the Members; for which he could seem to have no temptation, but his violent Affection to a Common-wealth. Few or none of his Majesty's Friends could find any means of address to him; yet they did believe, and were much the better for believing it, that the King had some secret correspondence with him. And some of them sent to the King, "Of what importance it would be, that he "gave them some credit, or means of Access to the General, "by which they might receive his Order and Direction in "such things as occurr'd on the suddain, and that they might "be

"be ſure to do nothing that might croſs any purpoſe of His. To which the King return'd no other Anſwer, "But that "they ſhould have patience, and make no Attempt whatſo-"ever; and that in due time they ſhould receive all Adver-"tiſements neceſſary; it being not thought fit to diſclaim hav-ing intelligence with, or hopes of the General; ſince it was very evident, that the receiv'd opinion, that he did deſign to ſerve the King, or that he would be at laſt obliged to do it, whether he deſign'd to do it or no, did really as much con-tribute to the Advancement of his Majeſty's Service, as if he had dedicated himſelf to it. And the Aſſurance, that the other Party thought they had, that he had no ſuch Intention, hin-der'd thoſe obſtructions, jealouſies, and interruptions, which very probably might have leſſen'd his credit with his own Army, or united all the reſt of the Forces againſt him.

THERE happen'd likewiſe at this time a buſineſs that very much troubled the King, and might very probably have de-ſtroy'd all the hopes that began to flatter him. Upon the Diſſolution of the Parliament, which put an end to all the Power and Authority of thoſe who had been the chief Inſtru-ments of all the monſtrous things which had been done, the higheſt deſpair ſeiſed upon all who had been the late King's Judges; who were ſure to find as hard meaſure from the ſe-cluded Members, as they were to expect if the King himſelf had been reſtored. And all they who had afterwards con-curr'd with them, and exerciſed the ſame power, who were call'd the *Rump*, believ'd their ruin and deſtruction to be cer-tain, and at hand. And therefore they contrived all the ways they could to preſerve themſelves, and to prevent the aſſem-bling a new Parliament; which if they could interrupt, they made no doubt but the Rump Members would again reſume the Government, notwithſtanding their Diſſolution by the power of the ſecluded Members; who would then pay dear for their preſumption and intruſion.

TO this purpoſe, they employ'd their Agents amongſt the Officers and Soldiers of the Army, who had been diſgrace-fully remov'd from their Quarters in the *Strand*, and *Weſt-minſter*, and the parts adjacent to *London*, to make room for General *Monk*'s Army; which was now look'd upon as the ſole Confiding part of the Army. And they inflamed theſe Men with the ſenſe of their own deſperate condition; who, having ſerved throughout the War, ſhould, beſides the loſs of all the Arrears of Pay due to them, be now offer'd as a ſa-crifice to the Cavaliers, whom they had Conquer'd, and who, they ſuppoſed, were implacably incenſed againſt them. Nor did they omit to make the ſame infuſions into the Soldiers of General *Monk*'s Army, who had all the ſame Title to the ſame

fears

fears and apprehenſions. And when their minds were thus prepared, and ready to declare upon the firſt opportunity, *Lambert* made his eſcape out of the Tower; his Party having in all places ſo many of their Combination, that they could compaſs their deſigns of that kind whenever they thought fit; though the General had as great a jealouſy of this Man's eſcape, as of any thing that could fall out to ſupplant him. And therefore, it may be preſumed, he took all poſſible care to prevent it: and they who then had Command of the place, were notoriouſly known neither to love *Lambert*'s Perſon, nor to favour his Deſigns.

Lambert's *eſcape out of the Tower.*

THIS eſcape of *Lambert* in ſuch a conjuncture, the moſt perilous that it could fall out in, put the General, and the Council of State, into a great Agony. They knew well what Poyſon had been ſcatter'd about the Army, and what impreſſion it had made in the Soldiers. *Lambert* was the moſt Popular Man, and had the greateſt Influence upon them. And though they had lately deſerted him, they had ſufficiently publiſh'd their remorſe, and their deteſtation of thoſe who had ſeduced and couſen'd them. So that there was little doubt to be made, now he was at liberty, but that they would flock and reſort to him, aſſoon as they ſhould know where to find him. On the other hand, no ſmall danger was threaten'd from the very drawing the Army together to a Rendezvous in order to proſecute and oppoſe him, no Man being able to make a judgment what they would chooſe to do in ſuch a conjuncture, when they were ſo full of jealouſy and diſſatisfaction. And it may very reaſonably be believ'd, that if he had, after he found himſelf at liberty, lain conceal'd, till he had digeſted the Method he meant to proceed in, and procured ſome place to which the Troops might reſort to declare with him, when he ſhould appear (which had been very eaſy then for him to have done) he would have gone near to have ſhaken at leaſt, the Model the General had made.

BUT either through the fear of his ſecurity, and being betray'd into the hands of his Enemies (as all kind of treachery was at that time very active; of which he had experience) or the preſumption, that the Army would obey him upon his firſt Call; and that, if he could draw a ſmall part to him, the reſt would never appear againſt him; he precipitated himſelf to make an attempt, before he was ready for it, or it for Him; and ſo put it into his Enemy's power to diſappoint, and controle all his deſigns. He ſtaid not at all in *London*, as it was his Intereſt to have done, but haſten'd into the Country; and truſting a Gentleman in *Buckingham-ſhire*, whom he thought himſelf ſure of, the General had quickly notice

notice in what Quarter he was: yet, with great Expedition, *Lambert* drew four Troops of the Army to him, with which he had the Courage to appear near *Daventry* in *Northampton-ſhire*, a Country famous for diſaffection to the King, and for adhering to the Parliament; where he preſumed he ſhould be attended by other parts of the Army, before it ſhould be known at *White-hall* where he was, and that any Forces could be ſent from thence againſt him: of which, he doubted not, from his many Friends, he ſhould have ſeaſonable Notice.

He draws four Troops of the Army to him near Daventry.

BUT the General, upon his firſt ſecret intimation of his being in *Buckingham-ſhire*, and of the courſe he meant to take, had committed it to the charge and care of Colonel *Ingoldsby* (who was well known to be very willing and deſirous to take revenge upon *Lambert*, for his malice to *Oliver* and *Richard*, and the affront he had himſelf receiv'd from him) to attend and watch all his Motions with his own Regiment of Horſe; which was the more faithful to him for having been before ſeduced by *Lambert* to deſert him. *Ingoldsby*, being joyn'd with a good Body of Foot under Colonel *Streater*, uſed ſo much diligence in waiting upon *Lambert*'s Motion, before he was ſuſpected to be ſo near, that one of *Lambert*'s four Captains fell into the hands of his Forlorne hope; who made him Priſoner, and brought him to their Colonel. The Captain was very well known to *Ingoldsby*; who, after ſome conference with him, gave him his liberty, upon his promiſe, "That he would himſelf retire to his Houſe, and ſend his "Troop to obey his Commands; which promiſe he obſerv'd; and the next day his Troop, under his Cornet and Quarter-Maſter, came to *Ingoldsby*, and inform'd him where *Lambert* was. He thereupon made haſte, and was in his view, before the other had notice that he was purſued by him.

The General ſends Ingoldsby *againſt him with his own Regiment and a Body of Foot under Colonel* Streater.

One of Lambert's *Troops revolts to* Ingoldsby,

LAMBERT, ſurpriſed with this diſcovery, and finding that one of his Troops had forſaken him, ſaw his Enemy much ſuperior to him in Number; and therefore ſent to deſire that they might treat together; which the other was content to do. *Lambert* propoſed to him, "That they might reſtore "*Richard* to be Protector; and promiſed to unite all his Credit to the Support of that Intereſt. But *Ingoldsby* (beſides that he well underſtood the folly and impoſſibility of that Undertaking) had devoted himſelf to a better Intereſt; and adher'd to the General, becauſe he preſum'd that He did intend to ſerve the King, and ſo rejected this Overture. Whereupon both Parties prepared to Fight, when another of *Lambert*'s Troops forſaking him, and putting themſelves under his Enemy, he concluded, that his Safety would depend upon his Flight; which he thought to ſecure by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe.

and another alſo.

But

Lambert and his party disperſed. He and others taken.

But *Ingoldsby* keeping his Eye ſtill upon him, and being as well Horſed, overtook him, and made him his Priſoner, after he had in vain uſed great and much importunity to him, that he would permit him to eſcape.

WITH him were taken *Cobbet*, *Creed*, and ſome other Officers of the greateſt Intereſt with the Fanatick part of the Army, and who were moſt apprehended by the General in a time when all the ways were full of Soldiers endeavouring to repair to them: ſo that, if they had not been cruſhed in that inſtant, they would, in very few days, have appear'd very formidable. *Ingoldsby* return'd to *London*, and brought his Priſoners to the Privy Council; who committed *Lambert* again to the Tower with a ſtricter Charge, with ſome other of the Officers; and ſent the reſt to other Priſons. This very ſeaſonable Victory look'd to all Men, as a happy Omen to the ſucceeding Parliament; which was to aſſemble ſoon after the Priſoners were brought before the Council; and would not have appear'd with the ſame chearfulneſs, if *Lambert* had remain'd ſtill in Arms, or, in truth, if he had been ſtill at liberty.

The Parliament's and Council of State's prudent Actions.

IN this ſhort Interval between the return of the ſecluded Members, and the Convention of the new Parliament, many prudent Actions and Alterations, (beſides what have been already mention'd, were begun by that Parliament, before it was diſſolv'd, and finiſh'd afterwards by the Council of State; which were good Preſages, that the future Councils would proceed with Moderation. They releaſed Sr *George Booth* from his Impriſonment, that he might be Elected to ſit in the enſuing Parliament, as he ſhortly after was; and they ſet at liberty all thoſe who had been committed for adhering to him. Thoſe of the King's Party who had ſhelter'd themſelves in obſcurity, appear'd now abroad, and converſed without controle, and Mr *Mordaunt*, who was known to be entirely truſted by the King, walked into all places with freedom; and many of the Council, and ſome Officers of the Army, as *Ingoldsby* and *Huntington*, &c. made, through Him, tender of their Services to the King.

Before the Aſſembling of the New Parliament, they releaſe Sir George Booth, *&c.*

They reform the Navy by making Monk *and* Mountague *Admirals.*

BUT that which ſeem'd of moſt importance, was the reformation they made in the Navy; which was full of Sectaries, and under the Government of thoſe who of all Men were declared the moſt Republican. The preſent Fleet prepared for the Summer Service, was under the Command of Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*; an excellent Sea-man, but then a notorious Anabaptiſt; who had fill'd the Fleet with Officers, and Mariners, of the ſame principles. And they well remember'd, how he had lately beſieged the City; and by the power of his Fleet, given that turn which helped to ruin the *Committee*

of

of Safety, and reſtore the Rump-Parliament to the exerciſe of their Juriſdiction; for which he ſtood high in Reputation with all that Party. The Parliament reſolv'd, though they thought it not fit or ſafe to remove *Lawſon*, yet ſo far to eclipſe him, that he ſhould not have it ſo abſolutely in his power to Controle Them, as he had done *the Committee of Safety*. In order to this they concluded, that they would call *Mountague*, who had lain privately in his own Houſe, under a Cloud, and Jealouſy of being inclined too much to the King, and make Him and the General (who was not to be left out in any thing) joynt Admirals of the Fleet; whereby *Mountague* only would go to Sea, and have the Ships under his Command; by which he might take care for good Officers, and Seamen, for ſuch other Ships as they meant to add to the Fleet, and would be able to obſerve, if not reform the reſt. *Mountague* ſent privately over to the King for his Approbation, before he would accept the Charge; which being ſpeedily ſent to him, he came to *London*, and enter'd into that joynt Command with the General; and immediately applied himſelf to put the Fleet into ſo good order, that he might comfortably ſerve in it. Since there was no Man who betook himſelf to his Majeſty's Service with more generoſity than this Gentleman, it is fit in this place to enlarge concerning him, and the correſpondence which he held with the King.

An account of Admiral Mountague.

MOUNTAGUE was of a Noble Family, of which ſome were too much addicted to Innovations in Religion, and in the beginning of the Troubles, appear'd againſt the King; though his Father, who had been long a Servant to the Crown, never could be prevail'd upon to ſwerve from his Allegiance, and took all the care he could to reſtrain this his only Son within thoſe limits: but being young, and more out of his Father's Controle by being Married into a Family, which, at that time, alſo trod awry, he was ſo far wrought upon by the Careſſes of *Cromwell*, that, out of pure Affection to him, he was perſwaded to take Command in the Army, when it was new Modell'd under *Fairfax*, and when he was little more than twenty years of Age. He ſerv'd in that Army in the Condition of a Colonel to the end of the War, with the Reputation of a very ſtout and ſober young Man. And from that time *Cromwell*, to whom he paſſionately adher'd, took him into his neareſt Confidence, and ſent him, firſt, joyn'd in Commiſſion with *Blake*; and then, in the ſole Command by Sea; in which he was diſcreet and ſucceſful. And though Men looked upon him as devoted to *Cromwell*'s Intereſt, in all other reſpects he behaved himſelf with civility to all Men, and without the leaſt ſhew of Acrimony towards any who had ſerv'd the King; and was ſo much in love with Monarchy,

chy, that he was one of those who most desired and advised *Cromwell* to accept, and assume that Title, when it was offer'd to him by his Parliament. He was design'd by him to Command the Fleet that was to mediate, as was pretended, in the *Sound* between the two Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*; but was, in truth, to hinder the *Dutch* from assisting the *Dane* against the *Swede*; with whom *Oliver* was engaged in an inseparable Alliance. He was upon this Expedition, when *Richard* was scornfully thrown out of the Protector-ship; and was afterwards joyn'd (for they knew not how to leave him out, whilst he had that Command) with *Algernoon Sidney*, and the other Plenipotentiaries which the Rump-Parliament sent to reconcile those Crowns. Assoon as *Richard* was so cast down, the King thought *Mountague*'s relations and obligations were at an end, and was advised by those who knew him, to invite him to his Service.

THERE accompanied him at that time *Edward Mountague*, the eldest Son of the Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton*, and his near Kinsman; with whom he had a particular Friendship. This Gentleman was not unknown to the King, and very well known to the Chancellor, to have good Affections and Resolutions; and one who, by the correspondence that was between them, he knew, had undertaken that unpleasant Voyage, only to dispose his Cousin to lay hold of the first opportunity to serve his Majesty. At this time Sr *George Booth* appear'd, and all those designs were laid, which, it was reasonably hoped, would engage the whole Kingdom against that odious part of the Parliament which was then possessed of the Government. And it was now thought a very seasonable Conjuncture to make an experiment, whether *Mountague* with his Fleet would declare for the King.

THE Chancellor thereupon prepared such a Letter in his own Name, as his Majesty thought proper, to invite him to that resolution, from the distraction of the times, and the determination of all those Motives which had in his youth first provoked him to the engagements he had been in. He inform'd him of "Sr *George Booth*'s being possessed of *Chester*; "and in the head of an Army; and that his Majesty was as- "sured of many other Places; and of a general Combination "between Persons of the greatest Interest, to declare for the "King; and that, if he would bring his Fleet upon the "Coast, his Majesty, or the Duke of *York*, would immedi- "ately be on Board with him. This Letter was inclosed in another to *Edward Mountague*, to be by him deliver'd, or Not deliver'd, as he thought fit; and committed to the care of an Express, who was then thought not to be without some Credit with the Admiral himself; which did not prove true.

How-

However, the Meſſenger was diligent in proſecuting his Voyage, and arriv'd ſafely at *Copenhagen* (where the Fleet lay; and where all the Plenipotentiaries from the Parliament then were) and without difficulty found opportunity to deliver his Letter to the Perſon to whom it was directed; who, the ſame Night, deliver'd the other to his Couſin. He receiv'd it chearfully, and was well pleaſed with the hopes of ſuddain Revolutions in *England*.

THEY were both of them puzled how to behave themſelves towards the Meſſenger, who was not acceptable to them, being very well known to the Fleet, where though he had had good Command, he had no Credit; and had appear'd ſo publickly, by the folly of Good-fellowſhip, that the Admiral, and many others, had ſeen him and taken notice of him, before he knew that he brought any Letter for him. The concluſion was, that he ſhould without delay be ſent away, without ſpeaking with the Admiral, or knowing that he knew any thing of his Errand. But *Edward Mountague* writ ſuch a Letter to the Chancellor, as was evidence enough that his Majeſty would not be diſappointed in his expectation of any Service that the Admiral could perform for him. With this Anſwer the Meſſenger return'd to *Bruſſels*, where there was a great alteration from the time he had left it.

WITHIN few days after this Meſſenger's withdrawing from *Copenhagen*, of whoſe being there the Plenipotentiaries were ſo jealous, that they had reſolv'd to require of the King of *Denmark*, that he might be committed to Priſon, Admiral *Mountague* declared, "That he ſhould not be able to ſtay lon-"ger there for the want of Victual; of which he had not "more than would ſerve to carry him home; and therefore "deſir'd, that they would preſs both Kings, and the *Dutch* "Plenipotentiaries, to finiſh the Negotiation. By this time the News of the Commotions in *England* made a great noiſe, and were reported, according to the Affections of the Perſons who ſent Letters thither, more to the King's advantage than there was reaſon for; and the other Plenipotentiaries came to know, that the Man, of whom they were ſo jealous, had privately ſpoken with *Edward Mountague*; who was very well known, and very ill thought of by them. And from thence they concluded, that the Admiral, who had never pleaſed them, was no ſtranger to that Negotiation; in which jealouſy they were quickly confirm'd, when they ſaw him with his Fleet under Sail, making his courſe for *England*, without giving them any notice, or taking his leave of them; which if he had done, they had ſecret Authority from their coming thither (upon the general apprehenſion of his Inclination) to have ſecured his Perſon on Board his own Ship, and to have

diſpoſed

disposed of the Government of the Fleet; of which being thus prevented they could do no more than send Expresses over Land to acquaint the Parliament of his departure, with all the aggravation of his pride, presumption, and infidelity, which the bitterness of their nature and wit could suggest to them.

When the Fleet arriv'd near the Coast of *England*, they found Sr *George Booth* defeated, and all Persons who pretended any affection for the King, so totally crushed, and the Rump Parliament in so full exercise of it's Tyrannical power, that the Admiral had nothing to do but to justify his return "By his scarcity of Victual, which must have failed, if he had "staid till the Winter had shut him up in the *Sound*; and his return was resolv'd upon the joynt Advice of the Flag-Officers of the Fleet; there being not a Man but his Cousin, who knew any other reason of his return, or was privy to his purposes. So that, assoon as he had presented himself to the Parliament, and laid down his Command, they deferr'd the examination of the whole matter, upon the Complaints which they had receiv'd from their Commissioners, till they could be at more leisure. For it was then about the time that they grew jealous of *Lambert*; so that *Mountague* went quietly into the Country, and remain'd neglected and forgotten, till those Revolutions were over which were produced by *Lambert*'s Invasion upon the Parliament, and General *Monk*'s march into *England*, and till near the time that the Name and Title of that Parliament was totally abolished, and extinguished; and then the secluded Members being restored call'd him to resume the Command of the Fleet; which he accepted in the manner aforesaid.

This, together with the other good Symptoms in the State, raised his Majesty's hopes and expectation higher than ever, if it had not been an unpleasant allay, that in so great an alteration, and application of many who had been eminently averse from his Majesty, of the General, who only could put an end to all his doubts, there was *altum silentium*; no Persons trusted by his Majesty could approach him, nor was any word known to fall from him that could encourage them to go to him, though they still presumed that he meant well.

The General's Counsels at this time.

The General was weary and perplexed with his unweildly Burthen, yet knew not how to make it lighter by communication. He spent much time in consultation with Persons of every Interest, the King's Party only excepted; with whom he held no conference; though he found in his every day's discourses in the City, with those who were thought to be Presbyterians, and with other Persons of Quality and Consideration,

deration, that the People did generally wiſh for the King, and that they did believe, there could be no firm and ſettled Peace in the Nation, that did not comprehend His Intereſt, and compoſe the prejudice that was againſt His Party. But then there muſt be ſtrict Conditions to which he muſt be bound, which it ſhould not be in his Majeſty's Power to break; and which might not only ſecure all who had borne Arms againſt him, but ſuch who had purchaſed the Lands of the Crown, or of Biſhops, or of Delinquents, and no body ſpoke more favourably, than for the confirming all that had been offer'd by his Father in the Iſle of *Wight*.

He had a conference with divers at Northumberland *Houſe.*

WHETHER by invitation, or upon his own deſire, he was preſent at *Northumberland* Houſe in a Conference with that Earl, the Earl of *Manchester*, and other Lords, and likewiſe with *Hollis*, Sr *William Waller*, *Lewis*, and other eminent Perſons, who had a truſt and confidence in each other, and who were looked upon as the Heads and Governours of the moderate Presbyterian Party; who, moſt of them, would have been contented, their own ſecurity being provided for, that the King ſhould be reſtored to his full Rights, and the Church to its Poſſeſſions. In this Conference, the King's Reſtoration was propoſed in direct terms, as abſolutely neceſſary to the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Satisfaction of the People; and the queſtion ſeem'd only to be, upon what terms they ſhould admit Him: ſome propoſing more moderate, others more ſevere Conditions. In this whole Debate, the General inſiſted upon the moſt rigid Propoſitions; which he preſſed in ſuch a manner, that the Lords grew jealous that he had ſuch an averſion from Reſtoring the King, that it would not be ſafe for them then to proſecute that advice; and therefore it were beſt to acquieſce till the Parliament met, and that they could make ſome judgment of the temper of it. And the General, though he conſulted with thoſe of every Faction with much freedom, yet was by many then thought to have moſt familiarity, and to converſe moſt freely with Sr *Arthur Haſlerig*, who was irreconcilable to Monarchy, and looked upon as the Chief of that Republican Party, which deſired not to preſerve any face of Government in the Church, or Uniformity in the publick Exerciſe of Religion. This made the Lords, and all others, who were of different affections, very wary in their diſcourſes with the General, and jealous of his Inclinations.

He conſults with Mr Morrice.

THERE was, at this time, in much converſation, and truſt with the General, a Gentleman of *Devonſhire*, of a fair Eſtate and Reputation, one Mr *William Morrice*, a Perſon of a retired Life, which he ſpent in Study, being Learned and of good Parts; and he had been always looked upon as a Man

far from any Malice towards the King, if he had not good Affections for Him; which they who knew him beſt, believ'd him to have in a good meaſure. This Gentleman was ally'd to the General, and entirely truſted by him in the management of his Eſtate in that Country, where, by the death of his elder Brother without Heirs Male, he inherited a fair Fortune. And *Morrice*, being choſen to ſerve in the next enſuing Parliament, had made haſte to *London*, the better to obſerve how things were like to go. With Him the General conſulted freely touching all his perplexities and obſervations; how "He found moſt Men of Quality and Intereſt inclined to "call in the King, but upon ſuch Conditions as muſt be very "ungrateful, if poſſible to be receiv'd; and the *London* Miniſters talked already ſo loudly of them, that the Covenant being new Printed, and by Order fixed up in all Churches, they, in their Sermons, diſcourſed of the ſeveral Obligations in it, that, without expoſing themſelves to the danger of naming the King, which yet they did not long forbear, every body underſtood, they thought it neceſſary the People ſhould return to their Allegiance.

THAT which wrought moſt upon the General, was the choice which was begun to be made in all Counties for Members to ſerve in Parliament; very many of them being known to be of ſingular Affection to the King, and very few who did not heartily abhor the Murther of his Father, and deteſt the Government that ſucceded: ſo that it was reaſonably apprehended, that, when they ſhould once meet, there would be warmth among them, that could not be reſtrain d or controled; and they might take the buſineſs ſo much into their own hands, as to leave no part to Him to merit of the King; from whom he had yet deſerv'd nothing.

Mr MORRICE was not wanting to cultivate thoſe conceptions with his information of the Affections of the Weſt, "Where the King's Reſtoration was, he ſaid, "ſo impatiently "longed for, that they had made choice of few or no Mem-"bers to ſerve for *Cornwall* or *Devonſhire*, but ſuch, who, "they were confident, would contribute all they could to in-"vite the King to return. And when that Subject was once "upon the Stage, They who concurr'd with moſt frankneſs, "would find moſt credit; and they who oppoſed it, would "be overborne with laſting reproach. When the General had reflected upon the whole matter, he reſolv'd to advance that deſign; and ſo conſulted with his Friend how he might manage it in that manner, before the Parliament ſhould aſſemble, that what followed might be imputed to His Counſels, and Contrivance.

THERE was then in the Town a Gentleman well known to

to be a Servant of eminent Truſt to the King, Sr *John Greenvil*, who, from the time of the Surrender of *Silly*, had enjoy'd his Eſtate, and ſometimes his Liberty, though, under the jealouſy of a diſaffected Perſon, often reſtrain'd. He had been privy to the ſending to the General into *Scotland* the Clergy-man; his Brother; and was converſant with thoſe who were moſt truſted by his Majeſty, and at this time were taken notice of to have all Intimacy with Mr *Mordaunt*; who moſt immediately correſponded with *Bruſſels*. This Gentleman was of a Family to which the General was ally'd; and he had been obliged to his Father, Sr *Bevil Greenvil*; who loſt his Life at the Battle of *Lanſdown* for the King, and by his Will had recommended his much impair'd Fortune, and his Wife and Children, to the care and counſel of his Neighbour and Friend, Mr *Morrice*; who had executed the Truſt with the utmoſt Fidelity and Friendſhip.

Sir John Greenvil *introduced to the General by* Mr. Morrice.

THE General was content, that Sr *John Greenvil* ſhould be truſted in this great Affair, and that Mr *Morrice* ſhould bring him ſecretly to him in a private Lodging he had in St *James's*. When he came to him, after he had ſolemnly conjured him to ſecrecy, upon the peril of his Life; he told him, "He meant to ſend him to the King; with whom, he pre-"ſumed, he had credit enough to be believed without any "teſtimony; for he was reſolved not to write to the King, "nor to give him any thing in writing; but wiſhed him to "confer with Mr *Morrice*, and to take ſhort Memorials in "his own hand of thoſe particulars he ſhould offer to him in "diſcourſe; which when he had done, he would himſelf con-"fer with him again at an hour he ſhould appoint. And ſo he retired haſtily out of the Room, as if he were jealous that other Men would wonder at his abſence.

THAT which Mr *Morrice* Communicated to *Greenvil*, was, after he had enlarged upon "The perplexity the General was "in, by the ſeveral humours and factions which prevailed, "and that he durſt not truſt any Officer of his own Army, or "any Friend but himſelf, with his own ſecret purpoſes; he adviſed, "That the King ſhould write a Letter to the Gene-"ral; in which, after kind and gracious Expreſſions, he "ſhould deſire him to deliver the incloſed Letter, and Decla-"ration to the Parliament; the particular heads, and materials for which Letter, and Declaration, *Morrice* diſcourſed to him; the end of which was to ſatisfy all Intereſts, and to comply with every Man's humour, and indeed to ſuffer every Man to enjoy what he would.

AFTER Sr *John Greenvil* had enough diſcourſed all particulars with him, and taken ſuch ſhort Memorials for his Memory as he thought neceſſary, within a day or two he was

The Transactions between the General, Morrice, *and* Greenvil.

brought with the ſame warineſs, and in another place, to the General; to whom he read the ſhort Notes he had taken; to which little was added: and the General ſaid, "That if the "King writ to that purpoſe, when he brought the Letter to "him, he would keep it in his hands, till he found a fit time "to deliver it, or ſhould think of another way to ſerve his "Majeſty. Only he added another particular, as an advice abſolutely neceſſary for the King to conſent to, which was, his Majeſty's preſent remove out of *Flanders*. He undertook to know, that the *Spaniard* had no purpoſe to do any thing for him, and that all his Friends were jealous, that it would not be in his power to remove from thence, if he deferr'd it till they diſcover'd that he was like to have no need of them. And therefore he deſired, "That his Majeſty would make haſte "to *Breda*, and that, for the publick ſatisfaction, and that it "might be evident he had left *Flanders*, whatſoever he ſhould "ſend in writing ſhould bear date as from *Breda*; and he enjoyn'd Sr *John Greenvil* "Not to return, till he had himſelf "ſeen the King out of the Dominions of *Flanders*. Thus inſtructed he left him, who taking Mr *Mordaunt* with him for the Companion of his Journey, ſet out for *Flanders* about the beginning of *April* 1660, and in few days arrived ſafely at *Bruſſels*.

Thus inſtructed, Sr J. Greenvil *goes over to* Bruſſels *with Mr.* Mordaunt.

It was no unpleaſant proſpect to the King, nor of ſmall advantage to him, that the *Spaniard* look'd upon all theſe Revolutions in *England* as the effects of the ſeveral animoſities, and emulations of the different Factions among themſelves; a Contention only between the Presbyterian-Republicans on one ſide, and the Independent and Levelling Party on the other, for Superiority, and who ſhould ſteer the Government of the State, without the leaſt reference to the King's Intereſt: which, they thought, would in no degree be advanced which ſide ſoever prevailed. And therefore *Don Alonzo*, by his *Iriſh* Agents (who made him believe any thing) continued firm to the Levellers, who, if they got the better of their Enemies, he was aſſured, would make a good Peace with *Spain*; which above all things they deſired: and if they were oppreſſed, he made as little doubt they would unite themſelves to the King, upon ſuch conditions as he ſhould arbitrate between them. And in this confidence he embraced all the ways he could to correſpond with them, receiving ſuch Agents with all poſſible ſecrecy who repaired to him to *Bruſſels*; and when Inſtruments of moſt credit and importance, would not adventure thither, he was contented to ſend ſome Perſon, who was intruſted by him, into *Zeeland* to confer and treat with them. And in this kind of Negotiation, which was very expenſive, they cared not what Money they diſburſed, whilſt they

they neglected the King, and ſuffer'd him to be without that ſmall ſupply which they had aſſign'd to him.

In this temper were the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, when Mr *Mordaunt* and Sr *John Greenvil* came to *Bruſſels*. And *Don Alonzo* had ſo fully poſſeſſed the Court at *Madrid* with the ſame Spirit, that when the Chancellor, in his Letters to Sr *Harry Bennet*, his Majeſty's Reſident there, intimated the hopes they had of a Revolution in *England* to the advantage of the King, he anſwer'd plainly, "That he durſt not Communicate any of "thoſe Letters to the Miniſters there; who would laugh at "him for abuſing them, ſince they look'd upon all thoſe hopes "of the King as imaginary, and without foundation of Senſe, "and upon his condition as moſt deplorable and abſolutely "deſperate.

Sir John Greenvil *gives the King an account of his Negotiation with the General.*

When Sr *John Greenvil* had at large inform'd his Majeſty of the Affairs of *England*, of the manner of the General's conference with him, and the good affection of Mr *Morrice*, and had communicated the Inſtructions and Advices he had receiv'd, as his Majeſty was very glad that the General had thus far diſcover'd himſelf, and that he had open'd a door for correſpondence, ſo he was not without great perplexity upon many particulars which were recommended to be done; ſome of which he believ'd impoſſible and unpracticable, as the leaving every body in the ſtate they were in, and confirming their poſſeſſion in all the Lands which they held in *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, by purchaſe or donation, whether of Lands belonging to the Crown and Church, or ſuch who for adhering to his Father and himſelf, were declared Delinquents, and had their Lands confiſcated and diſpoſed of as their Enemies had thought fit. Then, the complying with all humours in Religion, and the granting a general liberty of Conſcience, was a violation of all the Laws in force, and could not be apprehended to conſiſt with the Peace of the Kingdom. No Man was more diſpoſed to a general Act of Indemnity and Oblivion than his Majeſty was; which he knew, in ſo long and univerſal a guilt, was abſolutely neceſſary. But he thought it neither conſiſtent with his Honour, nor his Conſcience, that thoſe who had ſat as Judges, and condemn'd his Father to be murther'd, ſhould be comprehended in that Act of Pardon: yet it was adviſed, "That there might be no Exception; or "that above Four might not be excepted; becauſe, it was alledg'd, "That ſome of them had facilitated the General's "march by falling from *Lambert*, and others had barefaced "advanced the King's Service very much.

The King's deliberations upon the terms propoſed by the General.

After great deliberation upon all the particulars, and weighing the importance of complying with the General's advice in all things which his Conſcience and Honour would permit,

his Majeſty directed ſuch Letters and Declarations to be prepared, as ſhould be, in a good degree, ſuitable to the Wiſhes and Counſel of the General, and yet make the tranſaction of thoſe things which he did not like, the effect of the power of the Parliament, rather than of his Majeſty's approbation. And the confidence he had upon the general Election of honeſt and prudent Men, and in ſome particular Perſons, who, he heard, were already choſen, diſpoſed him to make a general reference of all things which he could not reſerve to himſelf, to the wiſdom of the Parliament, upon preſumption that they would not exact more from him then he was willing to conſent to; ſince he well knew, that whatever title They aſſum'd or He gave them, they muſt have another kind of Parliament to confirm all that was done by them; without which They could not be ſafe, and contented, nor his Majeſty obliged.

THE Advice for his Majeſty's remove out of *Flanders* preſently, was not ungrateful; for he had reaſons abundant to be weary of it: yet he was without any great inclination to *Holland*; where he had been as unkindly uſed as it was poſſible for any Gentleman to be. But beſides the Authority which the General's advice deſerv'd to have, the truth is, his Majeſty could remove no whither elſe. *France* was equally excepted againſt, and equally diſagreeable to the King; and the way thither muſt be through all the *Spaniſh* Dominions: *Dunkirk* was a place in many reſpects deſirable, becauſe it was in the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, from whence he might Embark for *England* upon the ſhorteſt warning. And upon the firſt alterations in *England*, after the Peace between the two Crowns, the King had ſent to *Lockhart*, the Governour, and General of the *Engliſh* there, by a Perſon of Honour, well known and reſpected by him, to invite him to his Service by the proſpect he had of the Revolutions like to enſue (which probably could not but be advantageous to the King) and by the uncertainty of *Lockhart*'s own condition upon any ſuch Alterations. The Arguments were urged to him with clearneſs and force enough, and all neceſſary offers made to perſwade him to declare for the King, and to receive his Majeſty into that Garriſon; which might be facilitated by his Majeſty's Troops, if he did not think his own Soldiers enough at his devotion: yet he could not be prevailed with, urging "The "Truſt he had receiv'd, and the indecency of breaking it; though, he confeſſed, "There was ſuch a jealouſy of him in the "Council of State, for his relation and alliance to *Cromwell*, "that he expected every day to be removed from that Com-"mand; as ſhortly after he was. Whether this refuſal proceeded from the punctuality of his Nature (for he was a Man of parts, and of honour) or from his Jealouſy of the Garriſon,

ſon, that they would not be diſpoſed by him (for though he was exceedingly belov'd, and obey'd by them, yet they were all *Engliſh-men*, and he had none of his own Nation, which was the *Scotiſh*, but in his own Family) certain it is, that, at the ſame time he refuſed to treat with the King, he refuſed to accept the great offers made to him by the Cardinal; who had a high eſteem of him, and offer'd to make him Marſhal of *France*, with great appointments of Penſions and other Emoluments, if he would deliver *Dunkirk*, and *Mardike* into the hands of *France*; all which Overtures he rejected: ſo that his Majeſty had no place to reſort to preferable to *Breda*.

THE King was reſolv'd rather to make no mention of the Murtherers of his Father, than to pardon any of them, and except four, as was propoſed; but choſe rather to refer the whole conſideration of that Affair, without any reſtriction, to the Conſcience of the Parliament; yet with ſuch expreſſions, and deſcriptions, that they could not but diſcern that he truſted them in confidence that they would do Themſelves and the Nation right, in declaring their deteſtation of, and preparing vengeance for, that Parricide. And from the time that the ſecluded Members ſate again with the Rump, there was good evidence given that they would not leave that odious Murther unexamined and unpuniſhed; which the more diſpoſed the King to depend upon their Virtue and Juſtice.

WHEN the Summons were ſent out to call the Parliament, there was no mention or thought of a Houſe of Peers; nor had the General intimated any ſuch thing to Sr *John Greenvil*; nor did Sr *John* himſelf, or Mr *Mordaunt*, conceive that any of the Lords had a purpoſe to meet at firſt, but that all muſt depend upon the Commons. However, the King thought not fit to paſs Them by, but to have a Letter prepared as well for Them as for the Houſe of Commons; and likewiſe another to the Fleet; and another to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of *London*; who, by adhering to the General, were like to add very much to his Authority.

The Letters prepared to the Parliament, &c. which the General adviſed.

WHEN all thoſe things were prepared, and peruſed, and approved by the King, which he reſolv'd to ſend by Sr *John Greenvil* to the General (*Greenvil*'s and *Mordaunt*'s being in *Bruſſels* being unknown; They, attending his Majeſty only in the Night at the Chancellor's Lodging, concealing themſelves from being taken notice of by any) his Majeſty viſited the Marquis of *Carracena*, and told him, "That he intended "the next day to go to *Antwerp*, and from thence to *Breda*, "to ſpend two or three days with his Siſter the Princeſs of "*Orange*; to whom the Dukes of *York* and *Gloceſter* were already gone, to acquaint her with the King's purpoſe; and his Majeſty

The King declares to the Marquis of Carracena "That he intended to go for "ſome days to Breda, "to meet "his Siſter.

Majesty likewise, in confidence, inform'd him, "That there "were some Persons come from *England*, who would not "venture to come to *Brussels*, from whom he expected some "Propositions and Informations, which might prove benefi- "cial to him; which obliged him to make that Journey to "confer with them.

THE Marquis seem'd to think That of little Moment; and said, "That *Don Alonzo* expected every day to receive assur- "ance, that the Levellers would unite themselves to the King's "Interest upon more moderate Conditions than they had "hitherto made; but desired his Majesty, "That the Duke of "*York* might hasten his Journey into *Spain*, to receive the "Command that was there reserv'd for him; and the King de- sired him, "That the Forces he had promised for his Service, "might be ready against his return to be Embarked upon the "first appearance of a hopeful occasion. So they parted; and his Majesty went the next day to *Antwerp*, with that small re- tinue he used to Travel with.

The Spaniards design to seise his Majesty, discover'd.

HIS departure was some hours earlier than the Marquis imagin'd; and the reason of it was this: In that Night, one Mr *William Galloway*, an *Irish* young Man, Page at that time to *Don Alonzo de Cardinas*, came to the Lord Chancellor's Lodgings, and finding his Secretary in his own Room, told him, "He must needs speak presently with his Lord; for he "had something to impart to him that concern'd the King's "life. The Chancellor, though at that time in Bed, order'd him to be admitted; and the poor man trembling told him, "That his Lord *Don Alonzo*, and the Marquis of *Carracena* had "been long together that Evening; and, that himself had "overheard them saying something of sending a Guard to at- "tend the King: that, about an hour after, they parted; and "the Marquis sent a paper to *Don Alonzo*; who, when he "went to Bed, laid it on his Table: that himself, who lay in "his Master's Ante-Chamber, look'd into the Paper, when "his Master was in Bed; and, seeing what it was, had brought "it to the Chancellor: It imported an Order to an Officer to attend the King with a Party of Horse, for a Guard wherever he went (a respect that never had been paid him before) but not to suffer him, on any terms, to go out of the Town. As- soon as the Chancellor had read the Order, he sent his Secre- tary with it to the King; who was in Bed likewise; and his Majesty having read it, the Secretary return'd it to *Galloway*; who went home, and laid it in its place upon his Master's Table. The King commanded the Chancellor's Secretary to call up his Majesty's Query, Sr *William Armorer*; and to Him his Majesty gave his Orders, charging him with secrecy, "That "he would be gone at three of the Clock that Morning: and accordingly

accordingly he went, attended by the Marquis of *Ormond*, Sr *William Armorer*, and two or three Servants more. Between eight and nine that Morning, an Officer did come and inquire for the King; but it happen'd, by this ſeaſonable diſcovery, that his Majeſty had made his eſcape ſome hours before, to the no ſmall Mortification, no doubt, of the *Spaniſh* Governour.

The King goes towards Breda, and delivers to Sr John Greenvil the Letters prepared.

As soon as his Majeſty came into the States Dominions, which was about the midway between *Antwerp* and *Breda*, he deliver'd to Sr *John Greenvil* (who attended there *incognito*, that he might warrantably aver to the General, "That "he had ſeen his Majeſty out of *Flanders*) all thoſe diſpatches, "which were prepared, and dated, as from *Breda*, upon the ſame day in which he receiv'd them, and where his Majeſty was to be that Night. The Copies of all were likewiſe deliver'd to him, that the General, upon peruſal thereof, might, without opening the Originals, chooſe whether he would deliver them, if any thing was contain'd therein which he diſliked; and his Majeſty referr'd it to him to proceed any other way, if, upon any alterations which ſhould happen, he thought fit to vary from his former Advice.

Sir *John Greenvil*, before his Departure, told the King, "That though he had no order to propoſe it directly to his "Majeſty; yet he could aſſure him, it would be the moſt "grateful and obliging thing his Majeſty could do towards the "General, if he would give him leave to aſſure him, that, af- "ſoon as he came into *England*, he would beſtow the Office "of one of the Secretaries of State upon Mr *Morrice*; who "was as well qualified for it, as any Man who had not been "verſed in the knowledge of Forreign Affairs. One of thoſe places was then void by the Earl of *Briſtol*'s becoming Roman Catholick, and thereupon reſigning the Signet; and his Majeſty was very glad to lay that obligation upon the General, and to gratify a Perſon who had ſo much credit with him, and had already given ſuch manifeſtation of his good Affection to his Majeſty, and directed him to give that Aſſurance to the General. With theſe diſpatches Sr *John Greenvil*, and Mr *Mordaunt*, who privately expected his return at *Antwerp*, made what haſte they could towards *England*; and the King went that Night to *Breda*. The Letters which the King writ to the General, and to the Houſe of Commons, and the other Letters, with the Declaration, are here inſerted in the terms they were ſent.

Sr John Greenvil and Mr Mordaunt return towards England.

To

To Our Truſty and Well-beloved General Monk, *to be by him communicated to the Preſident, and Council of State, and to the Officers of the Armies under his Command.*

Charles R.

The Letter of the King to the General and the Army.

"TRUSTY, and Well-beloved, We greet you well: It "cannot be believ'd, but that We have been, are, and ever "muſt be, as ſollicitous as We can, by all endeavours to im- "prove the Affections of Our good Subjects at home, and to "procure the Aſſiſtance of Our Friends and Allies abroad, "for the Recovery of that Right, which, by the Laws of God "and Man, is unqueſtionable; and of which We have been "ſo long diſpoſſeſſed by ſuch force, and with thoſe circum- "ſtances, as We do not deſire to aggravate by any ſharp Ex- "preſſions; but rather wiſh, that the memory of what is paſt, "may be buried to the World. That We have more endea- "vour'd to prepare, and to improve the Affections of Our "Subjects at home for Our Reſtoration, than to procure As- "ſiſtance from abroad to Invade either of Our Kingdoms, is "as manifeſt to the World. And We cannot give a better evi- "dence that We are ſtill of the ſame mind, than in This Con- "juncture; when common reaſon muſt ſatisfy all Men, that "We cannot be without Aſſiſtance from abroad, We chooſe "rather to ſend to you, who have it in your power to pre- "vent that ruin and deſolation which a War would bring up- "on the Nation, and to make the whole Kingdom owe the "Peace, Happineſs, Security, and Glory it ſhall enjoy, to "your Virtue; and to acknowledge that your Armies have "comply'd with their obligations, for which they were firſt "raiſed, for the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, the "Honour and Dignity of the King, the Privileges of Parlia- "ment, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the fun- "damental Laws of the Land; and that You have vindicated "that Truſt, which others moſt perfidiouſly abuſed and be- "tray'd. How much We deſire, and reſolve to contribute to "thoſe good Ends, will appear to You by Our incloſed De- "claration; which We deſire you to cauſe to be publiſhed "for the Information and Satisfaction of all good Subjects, "who do not deſire a farther effuſion of precious Chriſtian "Blood, but to have their Peace and Security founded upon "that which can only ſupport it, an Unity of Affections a- "mongſt Our ſelves, an equal Adminiſtration of Juſtice to "Men reſtoring Parliaments to a full capacity of providing "for all that is amiſs, and the Laws of the Land to their due "Veneration.

"YOU have been your ſelves Witneſſes of ſo many Revo- "lutions,

"lutions, and have had ſo much experience, how far any "Power and Authority that is only aſſumed by paſſion and "appetite, and not ſupported by Juſtice, is from providing "for the Happineſs and Peace of the People, or from receiv- "ing any Obedience from them (without which no Govern- "ment can provide for them) that you may very reaſonably "believe, that God hath not been ſo well pleaſed with the "Attempts that have been made, ſince he hath uſually en- "creaſed the Confuſion, by giving all the Succeſs that hath "been deſired, and brought that to paſs without effect, which "the Deſigners have propoſed as the beſt means to ſettle and "compoſe the Nation: and therefore We cannot but hope "and believe, that you will concur with Us in the Remedy "We have apply'd; which to human Underſtanding, is only "proper for the ills We all groan under; and that you will "make your ſelves the bleſſed Inſtruments to bring this bleſs- "ing of Peace and Reconciliation upon King and People, it "being the uſual method in which Divine Providence de- "lighteth it ſelf, to uſe and ſanctify thoſe very means, which "ill Men deſign for the ſatisfaction of private and particular "Ends and Ambition, and other wicked purpoſes, to whole- "ſome and publick Ends, and to eſtabliſh that Good which is "moſt contrary to the Deſigners; which is the greateſt ma- "nifeſtation of God's peculiar kindneſs to a Nation that can "be given in this World. How far We reſolve to preſerve "your Intereſts, and reward your Services, We refer to Our "Declaration; and We hope God will inſpire you to per- "form your Duty to Us, and to your Native Country; whoſe "Happineſs cannot be ſeparated from each other.

"We have intruſted Our Well-beloved Servant Sr *John* "*Greenvil*, one of the Gentlemen of Our Bed-Chamber, to "deliver this unto You, and to give Us an account of your "reception of it, and to deſire You, in Our Name, that it "may be publiſhed. And ſo We bid you farewel.

Given at Our Court at Breda, *this* $\frac{4^{th}}{14}$ *of* April 1660, *in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

To Our Truſty, and Well-beloved, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

Charles R.

"Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well: In "theſe great and inſupportable Afflictions and Calamities, un- "der which the poor Nation hath been ſo long exerciſed, and "by which it is ſo near exhauſted, We cannot think of a "more natural and proper Remedy, than to reſort to thoſe "for

The Letter to the Houſe of Commons.

"for Counsel and Advice, who have seen and observ'd the "first beginning of Our Miseries, the progress from bad to "worse, and the mistakes and misunderstandings, which have "been produced, and contributed to inconveniences which "were not intended; and after so many Revolutions, and the "observation of what hath attended them, are now trusted by "Our good Subjects to repair the Breaches which are made, "and to provide proper Remedies for those Evils, and for the "lasting Peace, Happiness, and Security of the Kingdom.

"We do assure You upon Our Royal Word, that none of "Our Predecessors have had a greater esteem of Parliaments, "than We have in Our judgment, as well as from our ob- "ligation; We do believe them to be so vital a part of the "Constitution of the Kingdom, and so necessary for the Go- "vernment of it, that We well know neither Prince nor "People can be in any tolerable degree happy without them; "and therefore you may be confident, that We shall always "look upon their Counsels, as the best We can receive; and "shall be as tender of their Privileges, and as careful to pre- "serve and protect them, as of that which is most near to Our "Self, and most necessary for Our own Preservation.

"And as this is Our opinion of Parliaments, that their "Authority is most necessary for the Government of the King- "dom; so We are most confident, that you believe, and "find, that the preservation of the King's Authority is as ne- "cessary for the preservation of Parliaments; and that it is "not the Name but the right Constitution of them, which "can prepare and apply proper Remedies for those Evils "which are grievous to the People, and which can thereby "establish their Peace and Security. And therefore We "have not the least doubt, but that you will be as tender "in, and as jealous of, any thing that may infringe Our "Honour, or impair Our Authority, as of your own Li- "berty and Property; which is best preserv'd by preserving "the other.

"How far We have trusted you in this great Affair, and "how much it is in your Power to restore the Nation to all "that it hath lost, and to redeem it from any infamy it hath "undergone, and to make the King and People as happy as "they ought to be; you will find by Our inclosed Declara- "tion; a Copy of which We have likewise sent to the House "of Peers: and you will easily believe, that We would not "voluntarily, and of Our Self, have reposed so great a Trust "in you, but upon an entire Confidence that you will not "abuse it, and that you will proceed in such a manner, and "with such due consideration of Us who have trusted You, "that We shall not be ashamed of declining other Assistance

"which

"(which We have assurance of) and repairing to You for "more natural and proper Remedies for the Evils We would "be freed from; not sorry, that We have bound up Our own "Interests so entirely with that of Our Subjects, as that We "refer it to the same Persons to take care of Us, who are "trusted to provide for Them. We look upon You as wise "and dispassionate Men, and good Patriots, who will raise "up those Banks and Fences which have been cast down, "and who will most reasonably hope, that the same pros- "perity will again spring from those Roots, from which it "hath heretofore and always grown; nor can We appre- "hend that you will propose any thing to Us, or expect any "thing from Us, but what We are as ready to give, as You "to receive.

"If You desire the Advancement and Propagation of the "Protestant Religion, We have, by Our constant profession, "and practice of it, given sufficient Testimony to the World, "that neither the Unkindness of those of the same Faith to- "wards Us, nor the Civilities and Obligations from those of a "contrary profession (of both which We have had an abun- "dant Evidence) could in the least degree startle Us, or make "Us swerve from it; and nothing can be proposed to mani- "fest Our Zeal and Affection for it, to which We will not "readily consent. And We hope, in due time, Our Self to "propose somewhat to You for the Propagation of it, that will "satisfy the World, that We have always made it both Our "care and Our study, and have enough observ'd what is most "like to bring disadvantage to it.

"If You desire security for those who, in these Calamitous "times, either wilfully or weakly have transgressed those "bounds which were prescribed, and have invaded each o- "thers Rights, We have left to you to provide for their Se- "curity and Indemnity, and in such a way, as you shall think "just and reasonable; and by a just computation of what Men "have done, and suffer'd, as near as is possible, to take care "that all Men be satisfied; which is the surest way to sup- "press, and extirpate all such Uncharitableness and Animosity, "as might hereafter shake and threaten that Peace, which for "the present might seem established. If there be a crying "Sin, for which the Nation may be involv'd in the infamy "that attends it, We cannot doubt but that you will be as sol- "licitous to redeem it, and vindicate the Nation from that "Guilt and Infamy, as We can be.

"If You desire that Reverence and Obedience may be "paid to the fundamental Laws of the Land, and that Justice "may be equally and impartially administer'd to all Men, it "is that which We desire to be sworn to Our Self, and

"that

"that all Persons in Power and Authority should be so too.

"In a word, there is nothing that you can propose that "may make the Kingdom happy, which We will not con- "tend with You to compass; and upon this Confidence and "Assurance, We have thought fit to send you this Declara- "tion, that you may, as much as is possible, at this distance, "see Our Heart; which, when God shall bring Us nearer "together (as We hope he will do shortly) will appear to you "very agreeable to what We have professed; and We hope, "that We have made that right Christian use of our Afflicti- "on, and that the observation and experience We have had "in other Countries, have been such, as that We, and, We "hope, all Our Subjects, shall be the better for what We have "seen and suffer'd.

"We shall add no more, but Our Prayers to Almighty "God, that he will so bless your Counsels, and direct your "Endeavours, that his Glory and Worship may be provided "for; and the Peace, Honour, and Happiness of the Nation, "may be establish'd upon those foundations which can best "support it. And so We bid you farewel.

Given at Our Court at Breda, *this* $\frac{4}{14}$ *day of* April 1660, *in the twelth year of Our Reign.*

His Majesty's Declaration.

Charles R.

The King's Declaration.

"Charles, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scot- "land*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To "all Our loving Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, "Greeting. If the general distraction, and confusion, which "is spread over the whole Kingdom, doth not awaken all "Men to a desire, and longing, that those Wounds which "have so many years together been kept bleeding, may be "bound up, all We can say will be to no purpose. However, "after this long silence, We have thought it Our Duty to "declare, how much We desire to contribute thereunto: and "that, as We can never give over the hope, in good time, "to obtain the possession of that Right, which God and Na- "ture hath made Our due; so We do make it Our daily Suit "to the Divine Providence, that he will, in compassion to "Us, and Our Subjects, after so long Misery and Sufferings, "remit, and put Us into a quiet, and peaceable possession of "that Our Right, with as little blood and damage to Our "People as is possible; nor do We desire more to enjoy what "is Ours, than that all Our Subjects may enjoy what by Law "is Theirs, by a full and entire administration of Justice "throughout the Land, and by extending Our Mercy where it "is wanted and deserv'd.

"And

"And to the end that fear of puniſhment may not engage "any conſcious to themſelves of what is paſt, to a perſeve- "rance in Guilt for the future, by oppoſing the quiet and "happineſs of their Country, in the Reſtoration both of King, "and Peers, and People, to their juſt, ancient, and funda- "mental Rights; We do by theſe preſents declare, that We "do grant a free and general Pardon, which We are ready, "upon demand, to paſs under Our Great Seal of *England*, to "all Our Subjects of what Degree or Quality ſoever, who "within forty days after the publiſhing hereof, ſhall lay hold "upon this Our Grace and Favour, and ſhall by any Publick "Act declare their doing ſo, and that they return to the Loy- "alty and Obedience of good Subjects; excepting only ſuch "Perſons as ſhall hereafter be excepted by Parliament. Thoſe "only excepted, let all Our Subjects, how Faulty ſoever, rely "upon the Word of a King, ſolemnly given by this preſent "Declaration, that no Crime whatſoever committed againſt "Us, or Our Royal Father, before the publication of this, "ſhall ever riſe in judgment, or be brought in queſtion, a- "gainſt any of them, to the leaſt indamagement of them, ei- "ther in their Lives, Liberties, or Eſtates, or (as far forth as "lies in Our Power) ſo much as to the prejudice of their "Reputations, by any reproach, or terms of diſtinction from "the reſt of Our beſt Subjects; We deſiring, and ordaining, "that henceforward all Notes of diſcord, ſeparation, and diffe- "rence of Parties, be utterly aboliſh'd among all Our Subjects; "whom We invite and conjure to a perfect Union among "themſelves, under Our Protection, for the Reſettlement of "Our juſt Rights, and Their's, in a free Parliament; by "which, upon the word of a King, we Will be adviſed.

"And becauſe the paſſion and uncharitableneſs of the "Times, have produced ſeveral opinions in Religion by "which Men are engaged in Parties and Animoſities againſt "each other; which, when they ſhall hereafter unite in a "freedom of converſation, will be compoſed, or better un- "derſtood; We do declare a Liberty to tender Conſciences; "and that no Man ſhall be diſquieted, or called in queſtion, "for differences of opinion in matters of Religion which do "not diſturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and that We ſhall "be ready to conſent to ſuch an Act of Parliament, as, upon "mature deliberation, ſhall be offer'd to Us, for the full grant- "ing that Indulgence.

"And becauſe in the continued diſtractions of ſo many "years, and ſo many and great Revolutions, many Grants "and Purchaſes of Eſtates have been made to and by many "Officers, Soldiers, and Others, who are now poſſeſſed of the "ſame, and who may be liable to Actions at Law, upon ſe-

"veral

"veral Titles; We are likewiſe willing that all ſuch diffe-
"rences, and all things relating to ſuch Grants, Sales, and
"Purchaſes ſhall be determin'd in Parliament; which can beſt
"provide for the juſt ſatisfaction of all Men who are con-
"cern'd.

"AND We do farther declare, that We will be ready to
"conſent to any Act or Acts of Parliament to the purpoſes
"aforeſaid, and for the full ſatisfaction of all Arrears due to
"the Officers and Soldiers of the Army under the Command of
"General *Monk*; and that they ſhall be receiv'd into Our Ser-
"vice upon as good Pay, and Conditions, as they now enjoy.

Given under Our Sign Manual, and Privy Signet, at Our Court at Breda, *the* $\frac{4}{14}$*th day of* April, 1660, *in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

Charles R.

His Majeſty's Letter to the House of Lords.

"RIGHT Truſty and Right Well-beloved Couſins, and
"Right Truſty and Well-beloved Couſins, and Truſty and
"Right Well-beloved; We greet you well. We cannot
"have a better reaſon to promiſe Our ſelf an end of Our com-
"mon Sufferings and Calamities, and that Our own juſt Power
"and Authority will, with God's bleſſing be reſtored to Us,
"than that You are again acknowledged to have that Autho-
"rity and Juriſdiction which hath always belonged to you by
"your Birth, and the fundamental Laws of the Land: and
"We have thought it very fit and ſafe for Us to call to you
"for your Help, in the Compoſing the confounding diſtem-
"pers and diſtractions of the Kingdom; in which Your Suf-
"ferings are next to thoſe We have undergone Our ſelf; and
"therefore You cannot but be the moſt proper Counſellors
"for removing thoſe Miſchiefs, and for preventing the like
"for the future. How great a Truſt We repoſe in You, for
"the procuring and eſtabliſhing a bleſſed Peace and Security
"for the Kingdom, will appear to you by Our incloſed Decla-
"ration; which Truſt, We are moſt confident you will diſ-
"charge with that Juſtice, and Wiſdom, that becomes you,
"and muſt always be expected from you; and that, upon your
"experience how one violation ſucceeds another, when the
"known Relations and Rules of Juſtice are once tranſgreſſed,
"you will be as jealous for the Rights of the Crown, and for
"the Honour of your King, as for Your ſelves: and then you
"cannot but diſcharge your Truſt with good Succeſs, and pro-
"vide for, and eſtabliſh the Peace, Happineſs, and Honour of
"King, Lords, and Commons, upon that foundation which
"can only ſupport it; and We ſhall be all happy in each other:
"and as the whole Kingdom will bleſs God for You all, ſo We
"ſhall

"ſhall hold our ſelf obliged in an eſpecial manner to thank You "in particular, according to the Affection You ſhall expreſs "towards Us. We need the leſs enlarge to you upon this Sub- "ject, becauſe We have likewiſe writ to the Houſe of Com- "mons; which We ſuppoſe they will communicate to you. "And We pray God to bleſs your joynt Endeavours for the "good of Us all. And ſo We bid you very heartily farewel.

Given at our Court at Breda, *this* $\frac{4}{14}$*th day of* April, 1660, *in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

To Our Truſty and Well-beloved General Monk, *and General* Mountague, *Generals at Sea, to be communicated to the Fleet.*

Charles R.

His Majeſty's Letter to the Fleet.

"TRUSTY and Well-beloved, We greet you well. It is "no ſmall comfort to Us, after ſo long and great Troubles "and Miſeries, which the whole Nation hath groaned un- "der; and after ſo great Revolutions, which have ſtill increaſ- "ed thoſe Miſeries, to hear that the Fleet and Ships, which "are the Walls of the Kingdom, are put under the Command "of two Perſons ſo well diſpoſed to, and concern'd in, the "Peace and Happineſs of the Kingdom, as We believe You "to be; and that the Officers and Sea-men under your Com- "mand, are more inclined to return to their duty to Us, and "put a period to theſe diſtempers and diſtractions, which "have ſo impoveriſh'd and diſhonour'd the Nation, than to "widen the Breach, and to raiſe their Fortunes by rapine and "violence; which gives Us great encouragement and hope, "that God Almighty will heal the Wounds by the ſame "Plaiſter that made the fleſh raw; that he will proceed in the "ſame Method in pouring his Bleſſings upon Us, which he was "pleaſed to uſe, when he began to afflict us; and that the ma- "niſeſtation of the good Affection of the Fleet and Sea-men "towards Us, and the Peace of the Nation, may be the Pro- "logue to that Peace, which was firſt interrupted by the Mi- "ſtake and Miſunderſtanding of their Predeceſſors; which "would be ſuch a Bleſſing upon Us all, that We ſhould not "be leſs delighted with the manner, than the matter of it.

"IN this hope and confidence, We have ſent the incloſed "Declaration to you; by which you may diſcern, how much "We are willing to contribute towards the obtaining the ge- "neral and Publick Peace: in which as no Man can be more, "or ſo much, concern'd, ſo no Man can be more ſollicitous "for it. And We do earneſtly deſire you, that you will cauſe

"the ſaid Declaration to be publiſhed to all the Officers and "Seamen of the Fleet; to the End that they may plainly di- "ſcern, how much we have put it into Their power to pro- "vide for the Peace and Happineſs of the Nation, who have "been alway underſtood by them to be the beſt and moſt "proper Counſellors for thoſe good ends: and You are like- "wiſe farther to declare to them, that We have the ſame "gracious purpoſe towards Them, which We have expreſſed "towards the Army at Land; and will be as ready to provide "for the payment of all Arrears due to them, and for reward- "ing them according to their ſeveral Merits, as We have ex- "preſſed to the other; and We will always take ſo particular "a care of them and their Condition, as ſhall manifeſt Our "kindneſs towards them. And ſo depending upon God's "Bleſſing, for infuſing thoſe good Reſolutions into Your, and "Their Hearts, which are beſt for Us all; We bid you fare- "wel.

Given at our Court at Breda, *this,* $\frac{4}{14}$*th day of* April, 1660, *in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

To Our Truſty and Well-beloved the Lord Mayor, Alder- men, and Common Council, of Our City of London.

Charles R.

His Majeſty's Letter to the Lord Mayor and Alder- men of the City of London.

"TRUSTY and Well-beloved, We greet you well. In "theſe great Revolutions of late, happen'd in that Our King- "dom, to the wonder and amazement of all the World, there "is none that We have look'd upon with more comfort, than "the ſo frequent and publick manifeſtations of their Affecti- "ons to Us in the City of *London*; which hath exceedingly "raiſed Our Spirits, and which, no doubt, hath proceeded "from the Spirit of God, and his extraordinary Mercy to the "Nation; which hath been encouraged by You, and your "good Example, to aſſert that Government under which it "hath ſo many hundred years, enjoyed as great felicity as "any Nation in *Europe*; and to diſcountenance the Imagina- "tions of thoſe who would ſubject Our Subjects to a Govern- "ment they have not yet deviſed, and, to ſatisfy the pride and "ambition of a few ill Men, would introduce the moſt Arbi- "trary and Tyrannical Power that was ever yet heard of. How "long We have all ſuffer'd under thoſe and the like devices; "all the world takes notice, to the no ſmall reproach of the "*Engliſh* Nation; which We hope is now providing for its "own Security and Redemption, and will be no longer be- "witched by thoſe Inventions.

"HOW deſirous We are to contribute to the obtaining the "Peace

"Peace and Happineſs of our Subjects without effuſion of blood;
"and how far We are from deſiring to recover what belongs
"to Us by a War, if it can be otherwiſe done, will appear to
"you by the incloſed Declaration; which, together with this
"Our Letter, We have intruſted Our Right Truſty and Well-
"beloved Couſin, the Lord Viſcount *Mordaunt*, and Our
"Truſty and Well beloved Servant, Sr *John Greenvil* Knight,
"one of the Gentlemen of Our Bed-Chamber, to deliver to
"you; to the end, that You, and all the reſt of Our good
"Subjects of that Our City of *London* (to whom We deſire it
"ſhould be publiſhed) may know, how far We are from the
"deſire of revenge, or that the Peace, Happineſs, and Secu-
"rity of the Kingdom, ſhould be raiſed upon any other foun-
"dation than the affections and hearts of Our Subjects, and
"their own Conſents.

"We have not the leaſt doubt of your juſt ſenſe of theſe
"Our Condeſcenſions, or of your Zeal to advance and pro-
"mote the ſame good end, by diſpoſing all Men to meet Us
"with the ſame affection and tenderneſs, in reſtoring the fun-
"damental Laws to that Reverence that is due to them, and
"upon the preſervation whereof all our happineſs depends.
"And you will have no reaſon to doubt of enjoying your full
"ſhare in that happineſs, and of the improving it by Our par-
"ticular affection to you. It is very natural for all Men to do
"all the good they can for their Native Country, and to ad-
"vance the honour of it; and as We have that full Affection
"for the Kingdom in general, ſo We would not be thought
"to be without ſome Extraordinary kindneſs for Our Native
"City in that particular; which We ſhall manifeſt on all oc-
"caſions, not only by renewing their Charter, and confirming
"all thoſe Privileges which they have receiv'd from Our Pre-
"deceſſors, but by adding and granting any new Favours,
"which may advance the Trade, Wealth, and Honour of that
"Our Native City; for which We will be ſo ſollicitous, that
"We doubt not but that it will, in due time, receive ſome
"Benefit and Advantage in all thoſe reſpects, even from Our
"own obſervation and experience abroad. And We are moſt
"confident, We ſhall never be diſappointed in Our expecta-
"tion of all poſſible Service from your Affections: And ſo
"We bid you farewel.

Given at Our Court at Breda, *the* $\frac{4}{14}$*th day of* April, 1660, *in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

Sir John Greenvil *arrives in* England, *and communicates the Letters to the General.*

THE two Gentlemen lately mention'd to have been with the King, return'd to *London* before the defeat of *Lambert*, and a full week before the Parliament was to begin. The General, upon the perusal of the Copies of the several dispatches, liked all very well. And it ought to be remember'd for his honour, that from this time he behaved himself with great affection towards the King; and though he was offer'd all the Authority that *Cromwell* had enjoyed, and the Title of King, he used all his endeavours to promote and advance the Interest of his Majesty: yet he as carefully retained the Secret, and did not Communicate to any Person living (Mr *Morrice* only excepted) that he had receiv'd any Letter from the King, till the very minute that he presented it to the House of Commons.

The General's behaviour after that time.

Declarations of the King's party at this time; which had great effect.

THERE happen'd at the same time a concurrence, which much facilitated the great work in hand. For since a great obstruction that hinder'd the Universal consent to call in the King, was the Conscience of the personal injuries, incivilities, reproachful, and barbarous usage, which all the Royal Party had sustain'd, and the Apprehension that their Animosities were so great, that, notwithstanding all Acts of Pardon and Indemnity granted by the King, all opportunities would be embraced for secret revenge, and that They who had been kept under, and oppressed for near twenty years, would for the future use the power they could not be without upon the King's Restoration, with extreme Licence and Insolence; to obviate this too reasonable imagination, some discreet Persons of the King's Party caused a Declaration to be prepared; in which (after their acknowledgments and thanks to the General, "For having, next under the Divine Providence, so far "conducted these Nations towards a happy recovery of their "Laws, and Ancient Government) they sincerely professed, "that they reflected on their past Sufferings as from the hand "of God; and therefore did not cherish any violent thoughts "or inclinations against any Persons whatsoever, who had "been any way instrumental in them; and that, if the indis-"cretion of any particular Persons should transport them to "Expressions contrary to this their general Sense, they utterly "disclaimed them. They farther promised, "By their quiet "and peaceable behaviour, to testify their submission to the "Council of State, in expectation of the future Parliament; "on whose wisdom, they trusted, God would give such a "Blessing, as might produce a perfect Settlement both in "Church and State. And lastly they declared, "That, as the "General had not chosen the sandy foundations of Self-Go-"vernment, but the firm Rock of National Interest, where-"on to frame a settlement, so it was their hope and prayer,

"that,

"that, when the building ſhould come to be raiſed, it might "not, like *Rome*, have the beginning in the blood of Brethren; "nor, like *Babel*, be interrupted by confuſion of Tongues; "but that all might ſpeak one Language, and be of one Name; "that all mention of Parties, and Factions, and all Rancor "and Animoſities may be thrown in, and buried, like Rubbiſh "under the Foundation.

THESE profeſſions, or to the ſame purpoſe, under the Title of a Declaration of the Nobility, and Gentry, and Clergy, that had ſerved the late King, or his preſent Majeſty, or adhered to the Royal Party in ſuch a City or County, which was named, were Sign'd by all the conſiderable Perſons therein; as This that We have here mention'd, was ſubſcribed by great Numbers in and about the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; and ſo were ſeveral others from other places; and then all Printed with their Names, and publiſhed to the view of the world; which were receiv'd with great joy, and did much allay thoſe jealouſies, which obſtructed the confidence that was neceſſary to eſtabliſh a good Underſtanding between them.

The Affairs of Ireland *for ſome years paſt till that time.*

NOTHING hath been of late ſaid of *Ireland*; which waited upon the dictates of the Governing Party in *England* with the ſame giddineſs. The *Iriſh*, who would now have been glad to have redeem'd their paſt Miſcarriages and Madneſs by doing Service for the King, were under as ſevere a Captivity, and compleat Miſery, as the worſt of their Actions had deſerv'd, and indeed as they were capable of undergoing. After near one hundred thouſand of them Tranſported into Forreign parts, for the Service of the two Kings of *France* and *Spain*, few of whom were alive after ſeven years, and after double that Number conſumed by the Plague and Famine, and Severities exerciſed upon them in their own Country; the remainder of them had been by *Cromwell* (who could not find a better way of extirpation) tranſplanted into the moſt inland, barren, deſolate, and mountanous part of the Province of *Conaught*; and it was lawful for any Man to kill any of the *Iriſh*, who were found in any place out of thoſe precincts which were aſſign'd to them within that Circuit. Such a proportion of Land was allotted to every Man as the Protector thought competent for them; upon which they were to give formal Releaſes of all their pretences and titles to any Lands in any other Provinces, of which they had been depriv'd; and if they refuſed to give ſuch Releaſes, they were ſtill depriv'd of what they would not Releaſe, without any reaſonable hope of ever being reſtored to it; and left to ſtarve within the Limits preſcribed to them; out of which they durſt not withdraw; and They who did adventure, were without all remorſe proſecuted by the *Engliſh*, aſſoon as they were diſcover'd: ſo

that very few refuſed to ſign thoſe Releaſes, or other Acts which were demanded; upon which the Lords and Gentlemen, had ſuch Aſſignments of Land made to them, as in ſome degree were proportionable to their Qualities; which fell out leſs miſchievouſly to thoſe who were of that Province, who came to enjoy ſome part of what had been their own; but to thoſe who were driven thither out of other Provinces, it was little leſs deſtructive than if they had nothing; it was ſo long before they could ſettle themſelves, and by Husbandry raiſe any thing out of their Lands to ſupport their Lives: yet neceſſity obliged them to acquieſcence, and to be in ſome ſort induſtrious; ſo that at the time to which we are now arriv'd, they were ſettled, within the Limits preſcribed, in a condition of living; though even the hard Articles which had been granted, were not punctually obſerv'd to them; but their proportions reſtrain'd, and leſſen'd by ſome pretences of the *Engliſh*, under ſome former Grants, or other Titles; to all which they found it neceſſary to ſubmit, and were compell'd to enjoy what was left, under all the marks and brands which ever accompanied a Conquer'd Nation; which reproach the *Iriſh* had taken ſo heavily from the Earl of *Strafford*, when they were equally free with the *Engliſh*, who had ſubdued them, that they made it part of that Charge upon which he loſt his Life.

UPON the recalling, and tame Submiſſion of *Harry Cromwell* to the Rump-Parliament, aſſoon as his Brother *Richard* was depoſed, the Factions encreaſed in *Ireland* to a very great height, as well amongſt the Soldiers and Officers of the Army, as in the Council of State, and amongſt the Civil Magiſtrates. The Lord *Broghill*, who was Preſident of *Munſter*, and of a very great intereſt, and influence upon that whole Province, though he had great warineſs in diſcovering his Inclinations, as he had great guilt to reſtrain them, yet hated *Lambert* ſo much, that he leſs feared the King; and ſo wiſhed for a ſafe opportunity to do his Majeſty Service; and he had a good Poſt, and a good Party to concur with him, when he ſhould call upon them, and think fit to declare.

SIR *Charles Coot*, who was Preſident of *Conaught*, and had a good Command, and Intereſt in the Army, was a Man of leſs Guilt, and more Courage, and impatience to ſerve the King. He ſent over Sr *Arthur Forbes*, a *Scotiſh* Gentleman of good Affection to the King, and good Intereſt in the Province of *Ulſter*, where he was an Officer of Horſe. This Gentleman Sr *Charles Coot* ſent to *Bruſſels* to the Marquis of *Ormond*, "That he might aſſure his Majeſty of his Affection "and Duty; and that, if his Majeſty would vouchſafe him-"ſelf to come into *Ireland*, he was confident the whole King-"dom

"dom would declare for him: that though the preſent Power "in *England* had remov'd all the ſober Men from the Govern- "ment of the State, in *Irelaud*, under the Character of Preſ- "byterians; and had put *Ludlow*, *Corbet*, and others of the "King's Judges in their places; yet they were ſo generally "odious to the Army as well as to the People, that they could "ſeiſe upon their Perſons, and the very Caſtle of *Dublin*, "when they ſhould judge it convenient.

Sir *Arthur Forbes* arriv'd at *Bruſſels*, before the King had any aſſurance or confident hope of the General, and when few Men thought his Fortune better than deſperate: ſo that, if what Sr *Arthur* propoſed (which was kept very ſecret) had been publiſh'd, moſt Men about the Court would have been very ſollicitous for his Majeſty's going into *Ireland*. But his Majeſty well knew that that unhappy Kingdom muſt infallibly wait upon the fate of *England*; and therefore he reſolv'd to attend the viciſſitudes there; which, in his own thoughts, he ſtill believ'd would produce ſomewhat, in the end, of which he ſhould have the benefit; and diſmiſſed Sr *Arthur Forbes* with ſuch Letters and Commiſſions as he deſired; who thereupon return'd for *Ireland*; where he found the State of Affairs very much alter'd ſince his departure. For upon the Defeat of *Lambert*, and General *Monk*'s marching towards *London*, the Lord *Broghill*, and Sr *Charles Coot*, notwithſtanding the jealouſy that was between them, joyn'd with ſuch other Perſons who were Presbyterians, and though they had been always againſt the King, yet they all concurr'd in ſeiſing upon the Perſons who had been put in by *Lambert*, or the Rump-Parliament, and ſubmitted to the Orders of General *Monk*, the rather, becauſe they did imagine that he intended to ſerve the King; and ſo, by the time that the Parliament was to meet at *Weſtminſter*, all things were ſo well diſpoſed in *Ireland*, that it was evident they would do whatſoever the General, and the Parliament (who they preſumed would be of one mind) ſhould order them to do.

The Parliament met upon the five and twentieth day of *April*; of which the General was return'd a Member, to ſerve as Knight of the Shire for the County of *Devon*; Sr *Harbottle Grimſtone* was choſen Speaker, who had been a Member of the Long Parliament, and continued, rather than concurr'd, with them till after the Treaty of the Iſle of *Wight*; where he was one of the Commiſſioners ſent to Treat with the King, and behav'd himſelf ſo well, that his Majeſty was well ſatisfied with him; and after his return from thence, he preſſed the acceptance of the King's Conceſſions; and was thereupon in the Number of thoſe who were by force excluded the Houſe. His Election to be Speaker at this time was con-

The Parliament met April 25. *Sir* Harbottle Grimſtone *choſen Speaker.*

triv'd by those who meant well to the King; and he submitted to it out of a hope and confidence that the designs it was laid for would succeed. They begun chiefly with bitter Invectives against the Memory of *Cromwell*, as an odious and perjur'd Tyrant, with Execrations upon the unchristian Murder of the late King. And in these generals they spent the first days of sitting; no Man having the Courage, how Loyal soever their wishes were, to mention his Majesty, till they could make a discovery what mind the General was of; who could only protect such a Proposition from being penal to the Person that made it, by the former Ordinances of the Rump-Parliament.

Their first Proceedings.

May the first, the General acquaints the House of Sir J Greenvil's *bringing him a Letter from The King.*

Sr J. Greenvil *is called in, and delivers the Letter to the House of Commons.*

Both Letters, and the Declaration, read.

Receiv'd with universal Joy.

AFTER the General had well survey'd the temper of the House, upon the first of *May* he came into the House, and told them, "One Sr *John Greenvil*, who was a Servant of the "King's, had brought him a Letter from his Majesty; which "he had in his hand, but would not presume to open it with-"out Their direction; and that the same Gentleman was at "the door, and had a Letter to the House: which was no "sooner said, than with a general Acclamation he was called for; and being brought to the Bar, he said, "That he was com-"manded by the King his Master, having been lately with "him at *Breda*, to deliver that Letter to the House: which he was ready to do; and so, giving it by the Serjeant to be deliver'd to the Speaker, he withdrew.

THE House immediately call'd to have both Letters read, that to the General, and that to the Speaker; which being done, the Declaration was as greedily call'd for, and read. And from this time *Charles Stuart* was no more heard of: and so universal a Joy was never seen within those Walls; and though there were some Members there, who were nothing delighted with the temper of the House, nor with the Argument of it, and probably had malice enough to make within themselves the most execrable wishes, yet they had not the hardiness to appear less transported than the rest; who, not deferring it one Moment, and without one contradicting Voice, appointed a Committee to prepare an Answer to his Majesty's Letter, expressing the great and joyful sense the House had of his gracious Offers, and their humble and hearty thanks for the same, and with professions of their Loyalty and Duty to his Majesty; and that the House would give a speedy Answer to his Majesty's gracious Proposals. They likewise Order'd, at the same time, that both his Majesty's Letters, that to the House, and that to the General, with his Majesty's Declaration therein inclosed, and the Resolution of the House thereupon, should be forthwith Printed and Published.

A Committee appointed to prepare an Answer.

All Order'd to be printed.

THIS

THIS kind of Reception was beyond what the beſt affected, nay even the King, could expect or hope; and all that follow'd went in the ſame pace. The Lords, when they ſaw what Spirit the Houſe of Commons was poſſeſſed of, would not loſe Their ſhare of Thanks, but made haſte into their Houſe without excluding any who had been ſequeſter'd from ſitting there for their Delinquency; and then they receiv'd likewiſe their Letter from Sr *John Greenvil* which his Majeſty had directed to them; and they receiv'd it with the ſame Duty and acknowledgment. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, were likewiſe tranſported with the King's goodneſs towards them, and with the Expreſſions of his Royal Clemency; and enter'd into cloſe Deliberation, what return they ſhould make to him to manifeſt their Duty and Gratitude. And the Officers of the Army, and Fleet, unpon the ſight of the Letters to their Generals, and his Majeſty's Declaration, thought themſelves highly honour'd, in that they were look'd upon as good Inſtruments of his Majeſty's Reſtoration; and made thoſe Vows, and publiſh'd ſuch Declarations of their Loyalty and Duty, as their Generals cauſed to be provided for them; which they ſign'd with the loudeſt alacrity. And the truth is, the General managed the buſineſs, which he now own'd himſelf to have undertaken, with wonderful prudence and dexterity. And as the nature and humour of his Officers was well known to him, ſo he remov'd ſuch from their Commands whoſe Affections he ſuſpected, and conferr'd their places upon others, of whom he was moſt aſſured. In a word, there was either real Joy in the Hearts of all Men, or at leaſt their Countenance appear'd ſuch as if they were glad at the Heart.

Sr J. Greenvil delivers the Letter to the Houſe of Lords.

The Lord Mayor, &c. receive their Letter with the ſame duty: So does the Army and Fleet.

THE Committee who were appointed by the Houſe of Commons to prepare an Anſwer to the King's Letter, found it hard to ſatisfy all Men, who were well contented that the King ſhould be invited to return: but ſome thought, that the Guilt of the Nation did require leſs precipitation than was like to be uſed; and that the Treaty ought firſt to be made with the King, and Conditions of Security agreed on, before his Majeſty ſhould be receiv'd. Many of thoſe, who had conferr'd together before the meeting of the Parliament, had deſign'd ſome Articles to be prepared, according to the Model of thoſe at *Killingworth*, in the time of King *Harry* the Third, to which the King ſhould be ſworn before he came home. Then the Presbyterian Party, of which there were many Members in Parliament, though they were rather Troubleſome than Powerful, ſeem'd very ſollicitous that ſomewhat ſhould be concluded in veneration of the Covenant; and, at leaſt, that ſomewhat ſhould be inſerted in their Anſwer to the

diſcoun-

discountenance of the Bishops. But the warmer Zeal of the House threw away all those formalities and affectations: They said, "They had proceeded too far already in their Vote upon the receipt of the Letter, to fall back again, and to offend the King with colder Expressions of their Duty. In the end, after some days debate, finding an equal impatience without the Walls to that within the House, they were contented to gratify the Presbyterians in the length of the Answer, and in using some Expressions which would please Them, and could do the King no prejudice; and all agreed, that This Answer should be return'd to his Majesty, which is here inserted in the very words.

Most Royal Soveraign,

The Answer of the House of Commons to the King.

"We Your Majesty's most Loyal Subjects, the Commons "of *England* assembled in Parliament, do, with all humble- "ness present unto Your Majesty the unfeigned thankfulness "of Our hearts, for those gracious Expressions of Piety, and "Goodness, and Love to Us, and the Nations under Your "Dominion, which your Majesty's Letter of the $\frac{4}{14}$ of *April*, "dated from *Breda*, together with the Declaration inclosed "in it of the same date, do so evidently contain. For which "We do, in the first place, look up to the great King of Kings, "and bless his Name, who hath put these thoughts into the "Heart of Our King, to make him glorious in the Eyes of "his People; as those great Deliverances, which that Divine "Majesty hath afforded unto Your Royal Person, from many "dangers, and the support which he hath given to your He- "roick and Princely mind under various Tryals, make it ap- "pear to all the World that You are precious in His sight. "And give Us leave to say, that as your Majesty is pleased to "declare Your Confidence in Parliaments, Your Esteem of "them, and this Your Judgment, and Character of them, "that they are so necessary for the Government of the King- "dom, that neither Prince nor People can be in any tolerable "degree happy without them, and therefore say, that You "will hearken unto their Counsels, be tender of their Privi- "ledges, and careful to preserve, and protect them; so We "trust, and will, with all humility, be bold to affirm, that "your Majesty will not be deceiv'd in Us, and that We will "never depart from that Fidelity which We owe unto your "Majesty, that Zeal which We bear unto your Service. and "a constant endeavour to advance Your Honour and Great- "ness.

"And We beseech your Majesty, We may add this farther "for the vindication of Parliaments, and even of the last Par- "liament,

"liament, Conven'd under your Royal Father of happy Me-
"mory, when, as your Majesty well observes, through mi-
"stakes, and misunderstandings, many inconveniencies were
"produced, which were not intended, that those very incon-
"veniencies could not have been brought upon Us by those
"Persons who had design'd them, without violating the Par-
"liament it self. For they well knew it was not possible to
"do a violence to that Sacred Person, whilst the Parliament,
"which had vowed and covenanted for the defence and safe-
"ty of that Person, remain'd entire. Surely, Sir, as the Per-
"sons of Our Kings have ever been dear unto Parliaments, so
"We cannot think of that horrid Act committed against the
"precious life of Our late Soveraign, but with such a detesta-
"tion, and abhorrency, as We want words to express it; and,
"next to wishing it had never been, We wish it may never
"be remember'd by your Majesty, to be unto you an occasion
"of sorrow, as it will never be remember'd by Us, but with
"that grief and trouble of mind which it deserves; being the
"greatest reproach that ever was incurr'd by any of the *Eng-*
"*glish* Nation, an Offence to all the Protestant Churches a-
"broad, and a scandal to the profession of the truth of Reli-
"gion here at home; though both Profession, and true Pro-
"fessors, and the Nation it self, as well as the Parliament,
"were most innocent of it; it having been only the Contri-
"vance and Act of some few Ambitious and Bloody Persons,
"and such others, as by Their influence were misled. And
"as We hope and pray, that God will not impute the guilt of
"it, nor of all the evil Consequences thereof, unto the Land,
"whose Divine Justice never involves the guiltless with the
"guilty, so We cannot but give due praise to your Majesty's
"goodness, who are pleased to entertain such reconciled, and
"reconciling thoughts, and with them not only meet, but as
"it were prevent your Parliament and People, proposing
"your self in a great measure, and inviting the Parliament to
"consider farther, and advise your Majesty, what may be ne-
"cessary to restore the Nation to what it hath lost, raise up
"again the Banks and Fences of it, and make the Kingdom
"happy by the advancement of Religion, the Security of
"Our Laws, Liberties, and Estates, and the removing all Jea-
"lousies and Animosities, which may render our Peace less
"certain and durable. Wherein your Majesty gives a large
"Evidence of your great Wisdom; judging aright, that, after
"so high a distemper, and such an universal shaking of the
"very foundations, great care must be had to repair the
"breaches, and much circumspection and industry used to pro-
"vide things necessary for the strengthning of those repairs,
"and preventing whatsoever may disturb or weaken them.

"We

"We shall immediately apply our selves to the preparing "of these things; and in a very short time, We hope to be "able to present them to your Majesty; and for the present "do with all humble thankfulness, acknowledge your Grace "and Favour in assuring Us of your Royal concurrence with "Us, and saying, that we shall not expect any thing from you, "but what You will be as ready to give, as We to receive. "And We cannot doubt of your Majesty's effectual perfor- "mance, since your own Princely judgment hath prompted "unto you the necessity of doing such things; and your piety "and goodness hath carried you to a free tender of them to "your faithful Parliament. You speak as a Gracious King, "and We will do what befits Dutiful, Loving, and Loyal Sub- "jects; who are yet more engaged to honour, and highly "esteem your Majesty, for your declining, as you were pleas- "ed to say, all Forreign Assistance, and rather trusting to "your People; who, We do assure your Majesty, will, and "do open their Arms and their Hearts to receive you, and "will spare neither their Estates, nor their Lives, when your "Service shall require it of them.

"And We have yet more Cause to enlarge our Praise, and "our Prayers to God for your Majesty, that You have con- "tinued unshaken in your faith; that neither the temptation "of allurements, perswasions, and promises from seducing "Papist on the one hand, nor the persecution, and hard usage "from some seduced, and misguided Professors of the Prote- "stant Religion on the other hand, could at all prevail on "your Majesty, to make You forsake the Rock of *Israel*, the "God of your Fathers, and the true Protestant Religion, in "which your Majesty hath been bred; but you have still "been as a Rock Your self, firm to your Covenant with Your "and Our God, even now expressing your Zeal and Affection "for the Protestant Religion, and your care and study for the "propagation thereof. This hath been a rejoycing of heart "to all the faithful of the Land, and an Assurance to them "that God would not forsake you; but after many Tryals, "which should but make you more precious, as Gold out of "the fire, would restore your Majesty unto your Patrimony, "and People, with more Splendor and Dignity, and make "you the Glory of Kings, and the Joy of your Subjects: "which is, and shall ever be, the Prayer of your Majesty's "most Loyal Subjects the Commons of *England* assembled in "Parliament.

Which Letter was sign'd by Sr Harbottle Grimstone *Speaker.*

This Answer is deliver'd to Sir John Greenvil.

Assoon as this Letter was engrossed and sign'd, Sr *John Greenvil* was appointed to attend again; and he being brought to

to the Bar, the Speaker ſtood up, and told him, "That they "need not acquaint him with what grateful hearts they had "receiv'd his Majeſty's gracious Letter; he himſelf was an "ear and eye-witneſs of it: their Bells and their Bone-fires "had already begun the Proclamation of his Majeſty's good-"neſs, and of Their joys; that they had now prepared an "Anſwer to his Majeſty, which ſhould be deliver'd to him; "and that they did not think fit he ſhould return to their Royal "Soveraign without ſome teſtimony of their reſpects to him-"ſelf; and therefore that they had order'd five hundred "pounds to be deliver'd to him, to buy a Jewel to wear, as "an honour for being the Meſſenger of ſo gracious a Meſ-ſage; and in the Name of the Houſe he gave him their moſt hearty thanks. So Great and Suddain a Change was this, that a Servant of the King's, who, for near ten years toge-ther, had been in Priſons, and under confinements, only for being the King's Servant, and would, but three Months before, have been put to have undergone a ſhameful death, if he had been known to have ſeen the King, ſhould be now re-warded for bringing a Meſſage from him. From this time there was ſuch an Emulation and Impatience in Lords, and Commons, and City, and generally over the Kingdom, who ſhould make the moſt lively Expreſſions of their Duty and of their Joy, that a Man could not but wonder where thoſe Peo-ple dwelt who had done all the miſchief, and kept the King ſo many years from enjoying the comfort and ſupport of ſuch excellent Subjects.

THE Lords and the Commons now conferr'd together, how they might with more Luſtre perform thoſe reſpects that might be preparatory to his Majeſty's Return. They remem-ber'd, that, upon the Murder of the late King, there was a Declaration, that no Man, upon peril of his life, and forfeiture of his Eſtate, ſhould preſume to proclaim his Succeſſor; which ſo terrified the People, that they ſcarce dared ſo much as to pray for him. Wherefore, though this Parltament had now, by all the ways they could think of, publiſhed their return to their obedience, yet they thought it neceſſary, for the better information and conviction of the People, to make ſome ſo-lemn Proclamation of his Majeſty's undoubted Right to the Crown, and to oblige all Men to pay that reverence, and duty to him, which they ought to do by the Laws of God and of the Land. Whereupon they gave order to prepare ſuch a Proclamation; which being done, the Lords and Com-mons, the General having concerted all things with the City, met in *Weſtminſter*-Hall upon the 8th of *May*, within ſeven days after the receipt of the King's Letter; and walked into the *Palace*-yard; where they all ſtood bare, whilſt the He-raulds

raulds proclaim'd the King. Then they went to *White-Hall*, and did the ſame; and afterwards at *Temple-Bar*; where the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, and all the Companies of the City receiv'd them, when the like Proclamation was made in like manner there; and then in the uſual places of the City: which done, the remainder of the Day, and the Night, was ſpent in thoſe Acclamations, Feſtivals, Bells and Bone-fires, as are the natural Attendants upon ſuch Solemnities. And then nothing was thought of, but to make ſuch preparations as ſhould be neceſſary for his Majeſty's Invitation and Reception. The Proclamation made was in theſe words:

The King proclaim'd May 8.

"ALTHOUGH it can no way be doubted, but that his Ma- "jeſty's Right, and Title to his Crown and Kingdoms, is, "and was every way compleated by the death of his moſt "Royal Father of glorious Memory, without the ceremony or "ſolemnity of a Proclamation; yet, ſince Proclamations in "ſuch Caſes have been always uſed, to the end that all good "Subjects might, upon this occaſion, teſtify their duty and "reſpect, and ſince the armed violence, and other the Cala- "mities of many years laſt paſt, have hitherto deprived Us "of any ſuch opportunity, whereby We might expreſs Our "Loyalty and Allegiance to his Majeſty, We therefore, the "Lords and Commons now Aſſembled in Parliament, toge- "ther with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the "City of *London*, and other Freemen of this Kingdom now "preſent, do, according to our Duty and Allegiance, hearti- "ly, joyfully, and unanimouſly acknowledge and proclaim, "that immediately upon the deceaſe of Our late Soveraign "Lord King *Charles*, the imperial Crown of the Realm of "*England*, and of all the Kingdoms, Dominions, and Rights "belonging to the ſame, did, by inherent Birth-right and "lawful undoubted Succeſſion, deſcend and come to his moſt "excellent Majeſty *Charles* the Second, as being lineally, juſt- "ly, and lawfully next Heir of the blood Royal of this Realm; "and that, by the Goodneſs and Providence of Almighty "God, He is of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, the "moſt Potent, mighty, and undoubted King; and thereunto "We moſt humbly and faithfully do ſubmit, and oblige our "Selves, our Heirs, and Poſterity for ever.

Many Addreſſes to the King.

FROM the time that the King came to *Breda*, very few days paſſed without ſome Expreſs from *London*, upon the obſervations of his Friends, and the Applications made to them by many who had been very active againſt the King, and were now as ſollicitous his Majeſty ſhould know, that they wholely dedicated themſelves to his Service. Even before the General had declared himſelf, or the Parliament was Aſſembled, ſome, who had ſate Judges upon his Father, ſent many Excuſes

cuſes, that they were forced to it, and offer'd to perform ſignal Services, if they might obtain their Pardon. But his Majeſty would admit no Addreſs from them, nor hearken to any Propoſitions made on their behalf.

THERE was one inſtance that perplexed him; which was the Caſe of Colonel *Ingoldsby*; who was in the Number of the late King's Judges, and whoſe Name was in the Warrant for his Murder. He, from the depoſal of *Richard*, had declared, that he would ſerve the King, and told Mr *Mordaunt*, "that he would perform all Services he could, without mak-"ing any conditions; and would be well content, that his "Majeſty, when he came home, ſhould take his head off, if "he thought fit; only he deſired that the King might know "the truth of his Caſe; which was this. *The particular Caſe of* Ingoldſby.

HE was a Gentleman of a good Extraction, and near ally'd to *Cromwell*, who had drawn him into the Army before, or about the time when he came firſt to Age, where he grew to be a Colonel of Horſe, and to have the Reputation of great Courage againſt the Enemy, and of equal Civility to all Men. It is very true, he was named amongſt thoſe who were appointed to be Judges of the King, and it is as true, that he was never once preſent with them, always abhorring the Action in his Heart, and having no other Paſſion in any part of the Quarrel, but his perſonal kindneſs to *Cromwell*. The next day after the Horrid Sentence was pronounced, he had an occaſion to ſpeak with an Officer, who, he was told, was in the Painted Chamber; where, when he came thither, he ſaw *Cromwell*, and the reſt of thoſe who had ſate upon the King, and were then, as he found afterwards, aſſembled to ſign the Warrant for the King's death. Aſſoon as *Cromwell's* Eyes were upon him, he run to him, and taking him by the hand, drew him by force to the Table; and ſaid, "Though "he had eſcaped him all the while before, he ſhould now "ſign that Paper as well as They; which he, ſeeing what it was, refuſed with great Paſſion; ſaying, "He knew nothing "of the buſineſs; and offer'd to go away. But *Cromwell*, and others, held him by Violence; and *Cromwell*, with a loud laughter, taking his hand in his, and putting the Pen between his Fingers, with his own hand writ *Richard Ingoldsby*, he making all the reſiſtance he could: and he ſaid, "If his Name "there were compared with what he had ever writ himſelf, it "could never be look'd upon as his own hand.

THOUGH his Majeſty had within himſelf compaſſion for him, he would never ſend him any aſſurance of his Pardon; preſuming that, if all theſe Allegations were true, there would be a Seaſon when a diſtinction would be made, without his Majeſty's declaring himſelf, between him and thoſe other of that Bloody

Bloody Liſt, which he reſolv'd never to Pardon. Nor was *Ingoldsby* at all diſhearten'd with this, but purſued his former Reſolutions, and firſt ſurpriſed the Caſtle of *Windſor* (where there was a great Magazine of Arms and Ammunition) and put out that Governour whom the Rump had put in; and afterwards took *Lambert* Priſoner, as is before remember'd.

Mountague's Meſſage to the King.

WHILST the Fleet was preparing, Admiral *Mountague* ſent his Couſin *Edward Mountague* to the King, to let him know that, aſſoon as it ſhould be ready, (which he hoped might be within ſo many days) he would be himſelf on Board, and would then be ready to receive and obey his Majeſty's Orders: this was before the Parliament aſſembled. He ſent word what Officers he was confident of, and of whom he was not aſſured, and who he concluded would not concur with him, and who muſt be reduced by force. He deſired to know whether the King had any Aſſurance of the General, who however, he wiſh'd, might know nothing of his Reſolutions. And it was no ſmall inconvenience to his Majeſty, that he was reſtrain'd from communicating to either, the confidence he had in the other; which might have facilitated both their deſigns. But the mutual jealouſies between them, and indeed of all Men, would not permit that liberty to his Majeſty.

THE frequent reſort of Perſons to *Bruſſels*, before they knew of the King's being gone to *Breda*, and their Communication of the good News they brought to his Majeſty's Servants, and the other *Engliſh* who remain'd there, and who publiſh'd what they wiſh'd, as to come to paſs, as well as what they heard, made the *Spaniſh* Miniſters begin to think, that the King's Affairs were not altogether ſo hopeleſs as they imagin'd them to be, and that there was more in the King's remove to *Breda* than at firſt appear'd. They had every day expected to hear that the States had ſent to forbid his Majeſty to remain in their Dominions, as they had done when his preſence had been leſs notorious. But when they could hear of no ſuch thing, but of greater reſort thither to the King, and that he had ſtaid longer there than he had ſeem'd to intend to do, the Marquis of *Carracena* ſent a Perſon of prime Quality to *Breda*, "To invite his Majeſty to return to "*Bruſſels*; the rather, becauſe he had receiv'd ſome very "hopeful Propoſitions from *England*, to which he was not "willing to make any Anſwer, without receiving his Majeſty's "Approbation and Command.

The Marquis of Carracena *invites the King back to* Bruſſels.

The King's Anſwer.

THE King ſent him word, "That he was obliged, with re-"ference to his buſineſs in *England*, to ſtay where he was; "and that he was not without hope that his Affairs might ſuc-

"ceed

"ceed ſo well, that he ſhould not be neceſſitated to return "to *Bruſſels* at all. Which Anſwer the Marquis no ſooner receiv'd, than he return'd the ſame Meſſenger with a kind of Expoſtulation "For the indignity that would be offer'd to his "Catholick Majeſty, if he ſhould leave his Dominions in ſuch "a Manner; and therefore beſought him, either to return "himſelf thither, or that the Duke of *York*, and the Duke of "*Gloceſter*, or at leaſt one of them; might come to *Bruſ-* "*ſels*, that the world might not believe, that his Majeſty was "offended with the Catholick King; who had treated him "ſo well. When he found that he was to receive no ſatiſ- faction in either of thoſe particulars, though the King, and both the Dukes made their excuſes with all poſſible acknow- ledgement of the favours they had receiv'd from his Catho- lick Majeſty, and of the Civilities ſhewed to them by the Mar- quis himſelf, he reveng'd himſelf upon *Don Alonzo* with a million of reproaches, "For his ſtupidity and ignorance in "the Affairs of *England*, and of every thing relating there- "unto, after having reſided ſixteen years Embaſſadour in that "Kingdom.

The Marquis invites the King again but in vain.

CARDINAL *Mazarin* had better Intelligence from the *French* Embaſſadour in *London*; who gave him diligent Ac- counts of every days alteration, and of the general imagina- tion that *Monk* had other Intentions than he yet diſcover'd. And when he heard that the King was remov'd from *Bruſſels* to *Breda*, he preſently perſwaded the Queen Mother of *Eng- land* to ſend the Lord *Jermyn* (whom the King had lately upon his Mother's deſire, Created Earl of St *Albans*) to in- vite the King "To come into *France*; and to make that Trea- "ty, which, probably, would be between the enſuing Par- "liament and his Majeſty, in that Kingdom; which might "prove of great uſe and advantage to her Majeſty's Intereſt, "and Honour; in which the power of the Cardinal might "be of great importance in diverting, or allaying any inſolent "Demands which might be made. And the Cardinal himſelf made the ſame Invitation by that Lord, with profeſſions of wonderful kindneſs; and "That the moſt Chriſtian King was "infinitely deſirous to perform all thoſe Offices and Reſpects "to his Majeſty, which he had always deſired, but was never "able to accompliſh till Now; with this Addition, "That if "his Majeſty found that the expedition of his Affairs would not "permit him to come to *Paris*, Order and Preparations ſhould "be made for his reception at *Calais*, or any other place he "would appoint; where the Queen his Mother would attend "him; with all other expreſſions of the higheſt Eſteem; which the cunning of that great Miniſter was plentifully ſup- plied with.

Cardinal Mazarin perſwades the Queen Mother of England to ſend the Lord Jermyn to invite the King to come into France.

THE Earl of St *Albans* found the King in too good a posture of hope and expectation, to suffer himself to be much importuned upon the Instances he brought; and was contented to return with the King's acknowledgments and excuse, "That he could not decently pass through *Flanders*, af-
The King's Answer.
"ter he had refused to return to *Brussels*; and without going "through those Provinces, he could not well make a Journey "into *France*. In the mean time it was no small pleasure to his Majesty, to find himself so solemnly invited, by the Ministers of these two great Kings, to enter into their Dominions, out of one of which he had been rejected with so many disobligations and indignities; and with so much caution and apprehension had been suffer'd to pass through the other, that he might not reside a day there, or spend more time than was absolutely necessary for his Journey.

SEVERAL Persons now came to *Breda*, not, as heretofore to *Cologne*, and to *Brussels*, under disguises, and in fear to be discover'd, but with bare Faces, and the Pride and Vanity to be taken notice of, to present their Duty to the King; some being imploy'd to procure Pardon for those who thought themselves in danger, and to stand in need of them; others brought good Presents in *English* Gold to the King, that their Names, and the Names of their Friends, who sent them, might be remember'd amongst the first of those who made demonstrations of their Affections that way to his Majesty, by supplying his Necessities; which had been discontinued for many years to a degree that cannot be believ'd, and ought not to be remember'd. By these Supplies his Majesty was enabled, besides the payment of his other debts, not only to pay all his Servants the Arrears of their Board Wages, but to give them all some Testimony of his Bounty, to raise their Spirits after so many years of patient waiting for deliverance: and all this was before the delivery of the King's Letter by the General to the Parliament.

The States General congratulate the King's coming to Breda; *and the States of* Holland *invite him to the* Hague.

THE King had not been many days in *Breda*, before the States General sent Deputies of their own Body to Congratulate his Majesty's Arrival in their Dominions, and to acknowledge the great Honour he had vouchsafed to do them. And shortly after, other Deputies came from the States of *Holland*, beseeching his Majesty, "That he would Grace that Province "with his Royal Presence at the *Hague*, where Preparations "should be made for his Reception, in such a manner as "would testify the great joy of their Hearts for the blessings "which Divine Providence was pouring upon his Head. His Majesty accepting their invitation, they return'd in order to make his Journey thither, and his Entertainment there, equal to their Professions.

IN

In the mean time *Breda* ſwarm'd with *Engliſh*, a multitude repairing thither from all other places, as well as *London*, with Preſents, and Proteſtations, "How much they had longed, "and prayed for this bleſſed Change; and magnifying their "Sufferings under the late Tyrannical Government; when ſome of them had been zealous Inſtruments and Promoters of it. The Magiſtrates of the Town took all imaginable care to expreſs their Devotion to the King, by uſing all Civilities towards, and providing for the Accommodation of the multitude of his Subjects, who reſorted thither to expreſs their Duty to him. So that no Man would have imagin'd by the treatment he now receiv'd, that he had been ſo lately forbid to come into that place; which indeed had not proceeded from the diſaffection of the Inhabitants of that good Town, who had always paſſion for his Proſperity, and even then publickly deteſted the rudeneſs of their Superiours, whom they were bound to Obey.

The King removes to the Hague.

All things being in readineſs, and the States having ſent their Yachts and other Veſſels, for the Accommodation of his Majeſty and his Train, as near to *Breda* as the River would permit, the King, with his Royal Siſter and Brothers, left that place in the beginning of *May*; and, within an hour, Embarked themſelves on Board the Yachts, which carried him to *Rotterdam*; *Dort*, and the other places near which they paſſed, making all thoſe Expreſſions of Joy, by the conflux of the People to the Banks of the River, and all other ways, which the Situation of thoſe places would ſuffer. At *Rotterdam* they enter'd into their Coaches; from whence to the *Hague* they ſeem'd to paſs through one continued Street, by the wonderful and orderly appearance of the People on both ſides, with ſuch Acclamations of Joy, as if Themſelves were now reſtored to a Peace and Security.

The Entrance into the *Hague*, and the Reception there, and the Conducting his Majeſty to the Houſe provided for his Entertainment, was very magnificent, and in all reſpects anſwerable to the Pomp, Wealth, and Greatneſs of that State. The Treatment of his Majeſty, and all who had relation to his Service, at the States Charge, during the time of his abode there, which continued many days, was incredibly noble and ſplendid; and the Univerſal Joy ſo viſible, and real, that it could only be exceeded by that of his own Subjects. The States-General, in a Body, and the States of *Holland*, in a Body apart, perform'd their Compliments with all Solemnity; and then ſeveral Perſons, according to their Faculties, made their profeſſion; and a ſet Number of them was appointed always to wait in the Court, to receive his Majeſty's Commands. All the Embaſſadours and publick Miniſters of King's

Princes and States, repaired to his Majesty, and professed the joy of their Masters on his behalf: so that a Man would have thought this Revolution had been brought to pass by the general Combination, and Activity of *Christendom*, that appear'd now to take so much pleasure in it.

The English Fleet comes on the Coast of Holland.

THE King had been very few days at the *Hague*, when he heard that the *English* Fleet was in sight of *Scheveling*; and shortly after, an Officer from Admiral *Mountague* was sent to the King, to present his Duty to him, and to the Duke of *York*, their High Admiral, to receive Orders. Assoon as *Mountague* came on Board the Fleet in the *Downs*, and found *Lawson* and the other Officers more frank in declaring their Duty to the King, and Resolution to serve Him, than he expected, that he might not seem to be sent by the Parliament to his Majesty, but to be carried by his own Affection and Duty, without expecting any Command from Them, the Wind coming fair, he set up his Sails, and stood for the Coast of *Holland*, leaving only two or three of the lesser Ships to receive their Orders, and to bring over those Persons, who, he knew, were design'd to wait upon his Majesty; which Expedition was never forgiven him by some Men; who took all occasions afterwards to revenge themselves upon him.

The Duke of York as Admiral takes possession of the Fleet.

THE Duke of *York* went the next day on Board the Fleet, to take Possession of his Command; where he was receiv'd by all the Officers and Sea-men, with all possible Duty and Submission, and with those Acclamations which are peculiar to that People, and in which they excel. After he had spent the day there, in receiving Information of the state of the Fleet, and a Catalogue of the Names of the several Ships, his Highness return'd with it that Night to the King, that his Majesty might make alterations, and new Christen those Ships which too much preserv'd the memory of the late Governours, and of the Republick.

The Ships new named.

The Committee of Lords and Commons arrive at the Hague.

SHORTLY after, the Committee of Lords and Commons arriv'd at the *Hague*; where the States took care for their decent Accommodation. And the next day they desired admission to his Majesty; who immediately receiv'd them very graciously. From the House of Peers were deputed six of their Body, and, according to custom, twelve from the Commons. The Peers were, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Warwick*, and *Middlesex*, the Lord Viscount *Hereford*, the Lord *Berkley* of *Berkley*-Castle, and the Lord *Brook*. From the Commons were sent, the Lord *Fairfax*, the Lord *Bruce*, the Lord *Falkland*, the Lord *Castleton*, the Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Mandevil*, *Denzil Hollis*, Sr *Horatio Townsend*, Sr *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Sr *George Booth*, Sr *John Holland*, and Sr *Henry Cholmeley*.

Cholmeley. Theſe Perſons preſented the humble invitation and ſupplication of the Parliament, "That his Majeſty would "be pleaſed to Return, and take the Government of the King-"dom into his hands; where he ſhould find all poſſible Af-"fection, Duty, and Obedience, from all his Subjects. And leſt his Return ſo much longed for might be retarded by the want of Money, to diſcharge thoſe debts, which he could not but have contracted, they preſented from the Parliament the Sum of fifty thouſand pounds to his Majeſty; having likewiſe Order to pay the Sum of ten thouſand pounds to the Duke of *York*, and five thouſand to the Duke of *Gloceſter*; which was a very good Supply to their ſeveral Neceſſities. The King treated all the Committee very graciouſly together, and every one of them ſeverally and particularly very obligingly. So that ſome of them, who were conſcious to themſelves of their former demerit, were very glad to find that they were not to fear any bitterneſs from ſo Princely, and ſo Generous a Nature.

The City of London ſend 14 of their Citizens.

THE City of *London* had had too great a hand in driving the Father of the King from thence, not to appear equally Zealous for his Son's return thither. And therefore they did, at the ſame time, ſend fourteen of the moſt Subſtantial Citizens "To aſſure his Majeſty of their Fidelity, and moſt "chearful Submiſſion; and that they placed all their Felicity, "and hope of future Proſperity in the aſſurance of his Ma-"jeſty's Grace and Protection; for the meriting whereof, "their Lives and Fortunes ſhould be always at his Majeſty's "diſpoſal; and they preſented to him from the City the Sum of ten thouſand pounds. The King told them, "He "had always had a particular Affection for the City of *Lon-don*, the place of his Birth; and was very glad, that they "had now ſo good a part in his Reſtoration; of which he "was inform'd; and how much he was beholding to every "one of them; for which he thanked them very graciouſly, and Knighted them all; an Honour no Man in the City had receiv'd in near twenty years, and with which they were much delighted.

IT will hardly be believ'd, that this Money preſented to the King by the Parliament and the City, and charged by Bills of Exchange upon the richeſt Merchants in *Amſterdam*, who had vaſt Eſtates, could not be receiv'd in many days, though ſome of the principal Citizens of *London*, who came to the King, went themſelves to ſollicite it, and had Credit enough themſelves for much greater Sums, if they had brought over no Bills of Exchange. But this was not the firſt time (of which ſomewhat hath been ſaid before) that it was evident to the King, that it is not eaſy in that moſt

opulent City, with the help of all the rich Towns adjacent, and upon the greateſt Credit, to draw together a great Sum of ready Money; the Cuſtom of that Country, which flouriſhes ſo much in Trade, being to make their Payments in Paper by Aſſignations; they having very rarely occaſion for a great Sum in any one particular place. And ſo at this time his Majeſty was compell'd that he might not defer the Voyage he ſo impatiently longed to make, to take Bills of Exchange from *Amſterdam* upon their Correſpondents in *London*, for above thirty thouſand pounds of the Money that was aſſign'd; all which was paid in *London* aſſoon as demanded.

Divers Presbyterian Divines came alſo.

WITH theſe Commiſſioners from the Parliament and from the City, there came a Company of their Clergy-men, to the Number of eight or ten; who would not be look'd upon as Chaplains to the reſt, but being the Popular Preachers of the City (*Reynolds*, *Calamy*, *Caſe*, *Manton*; and others, the moſt eminent of the Presbyterians) deſired to be thought to repreſent that Party. They intreated to be admitted all together to have a formal Audience of his Majeſty; where they preſented their Duties, and magnified the Affections of themſelves and their Friends; who, they ſaid, "Had always, ac-
"cording to the obligation of their Covenant, wiſh'd his Ma-
"jeſty very well; and had lately, upon the opportunity that
"God had put into their hands, inform'd the People of their
"Duty; which, they preſumed, his Majeſty had heard had
"proved effectual, and been of great uſe to him. They thanked God "For his Conſtancy to the Proteſtant Religion; and profeſſed, "That they were no Enemies to moderate Epiſ-
"copacy; only deſired that ſuch things might not be preſſed
"upon them in God's Worſhip, which in their judgment, who
"uſed them, were acknowledged to be matters indifferent, and
"by others were held unlawful.

Their publick Audience of the King.

THE King ſpoke very kindly to them; and ſaid, "That
"he had heard of their good behaviour towards him; and
"that he had no purpoſe to impoſe hard Conditions upon
"them, with reference to their Conſciences: that they well
"knew, he had referr'd the ſettling all differences of that
"Nature to the Wiſdom of the Parliament; which beſt knew
"what Indulgence and Toleration, was neceſſary for the
"Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom. But his Majeſty could not be ſo rid of them; they deſired ſeveral private Audiences of him; which he never denied; wherein they told him, "the Book of Common-Prayer had been long diſcontinued
"in *England*, and the People having been diſuſed to it, and
"many of them having never heard it in their Lives, it
"would be much wonder'd at, if his Majeſty ſhould, at his
"firſt

And their private diſcourſes alſo with him.

"first Landing in the Kingdom, revive the use of it in "his own Chappel; whither all Persons would resort; and "therefore they besought him, that he would not use it en- "tirely and formally, but have only some parts of it read, "with mixture of other good Prayers, which his Chaplains "might use.

His Majesty's Reply to them.

The King told them with some warmth, "That whilst he "gave Them liberty, he would not have his own taken from "him: that he had always used that form of Service, which "he thought the best in the world, and had never disconti- "nued it in Places where it was more disliked than he hoped "it was by Them: that when he came into *England* he would "not severely inquire how it was used in other Churches, "though he doubted not he should find it used in many; but "he was sure he would have no other used in his own Chappel. Then they besought him with more importunity, "That the "use of the Surplice might be discontinued by his Chaplains, "because the sight of it would give great offence, and scandal "to the People. They found the King as inexorable in that "point as in the other; He told them plainly, "That he would "not be restrain'd Himself, when he gave others so much li- "berty; that it had been always held a decent habit in the "Church, constantly practiced in *England* till these late ill "times; that it had been still retain'd by him; and though "he was bound for the present to tolerate much disorder and "undecency in the exercise of God's Worship, he would ne- "ver, in the least degree, by his own practice, discounte- "nance the good old Order of the Church, in which he had "been bred. Though they were very much unsatisfied with him, whom they thought to have found more flexible, yet they ceased farther troubling him, in hope, and presumption, that they should find their importunity in *England* more effectual.

The King embarks for England. *And the Fleet sets Sail* May 24. *The King arrives and lands at* Dover May 26, *and went to* Canterbury *that Night*

After eight or ten days spent at the *Hague* in Triumphs and Festivals, which could not have been more splendid if all the Monarchs of *Europe* had met there, and which were concluded with several rich Presents made to his Majesty, the King took his leave of the States, with all the professions of Amity their Civilities deserv'd, and Embark'd himself on the *Royal Charles*; which had been before call'd the *Naseby*, but had been new Christen'd the day before, as many others had been, in the presence, and by the order of his Royal Highness the Admiral. Upon the four and twentieth day of *May*, the Fleet set Sail; and, in one continued thunder of Cannon, arriv'd near *Dover* so early on the six and twentieth, that his Majesty disembark'd; and being receiv'd by the General at the brink of the Sea (whom he met, and embraced, with

great demonstration of affection) he presently took Coach, and came that Night to *Canterbury*; where he staid the next day, being *Sunday*; and went to his Devotions to the Cathedral, which he found very much dilapidated, and out of repair; yet the People seem'd glad to hear the Common-Prayer again. Thither came very many of the Nobility, and other Persons of Quality, to present themselves to the King; and there his Majesty assembled his Council, and swore the General of the Council, and Mr *Maurice*, whom he there Knighted, and gave him the Signet, and swore him Secretary of State. That day his Majesty gave the Garter to the General, and likewise to the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton* (who had been elected many years before) and sent it likewise by *Garter*, Herauld and King at Arms, to Admiral *Mountague*, who remain'd in the *Downs*.

May 29. He came thro' the City to White-Hall.

On *Monday* He went to *Rochester*; and the next day, being the nine and twentieth of *May*, and his Birth-day, he enter'd *London*; all the ways thither being so full of People, and Acclamations; as if the whole Kingdom had been gather'd there. Between *Deptford* and *Southwark* the Lord Mayor and Aldermen met him, with all such Protestations of joy as can hardly be imagin'd. The Concourse was so great, that the King rode in a croud from the Bridge to *White-Hall*; all the Companies of the City standing in order on both sides, and giving loud thanks to God for his Majesty's Presence. He no sooner came to *White-Hall*, but the two Houses of Parliament solemnly cast themselves at his Feet, with all vows of affection and fidelity to the world's end. In a word, the Joy was so unexpressible, and so universal, that his Majesty said smilingly to some about him, "He doubted it had been his own fault "he had been absent so long; for he saw no body that did not "protest, he had ever wished for his Return.

Where the two Houses waited on him.

The Conclusion of the whole History.

In this wonderful manner, and with this incredible expedition, did God put an end to a Rebellion that had raged near twenty Years, and been carried on with all the horrid circumstances of Murder, Devastation, and Parricide, that Fire and Sword, in the hands of the most wicked Men in the world, could be Instruments of; almost to the desolation of two Kingdoms, and the exceeding defacing and deforming the third.

It was but five Months, since *Lambert*'s Fanatical Army was scatter'd and confounded, and General *Monk*'s march'd into *England*: it was but three Months, since the secluded Members were restored; and, shortly after, the monstrous long Parliament finally dissolv'd, and rooted up: it was but a Month, since the King's Letters and Declaration were deliver'd to the new Parliament, afterwards call'd the *Convention*:

tion: on the first of *May* they were deliver'd, and his Majesty was at *White-Hall* on the 29th of the same Month.

By these remarkable Steps, among others, did the merciful hand of God, in this short space of time, not only bind up and heal all those Wounds, but even make the Scars as undiscernable, as, in respect of the deepness, was possible; which was a glorious addition to the Deliverance. And, after this miraculous Restoration of the Crown, and the Church, and the just Rights of Parliaments, no Nation under Heaven can ever be more happy, if God shall be pleased to add Establishment and Perpetuity to the Blessings he then restored.

THE END OF THE LAST BOOK.

AN

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